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ART. I.—EGYPTIAN ARCHITECTURE.

- 1.—*Description de l'Egypte ou Recueil des Observations et des Recherches qui ont été faites en Egypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée Française*; Seconde édition. Tomes I, II, & III. 8vo. à Paris, chez Panckoucke.
- 2.—*De l'Architecture Egyptienne, considérée dans son origine, ses principes et son gout, &c. &c.* Par M. QUATREMEHE DE QUINCY, à Paris, chez Barrois l'ainé et Fils. 4to. pp. 268.

THE theories which have been propounded in relation to the origin of architecture, are two in number. Some have supposed, that, with the other arts, it took its rise with a primitive people; others, that each different nation had adopted modes of building suited to her habits and climate, and by imitations and improvements upon the first rude structures, it had finally reached that state in which it is entitled to the name of a fine art. In present opinion of the world, both opinions are no doubt entitled to attention, and are in some degree true. The nations of Europe still give to their edifices of brick and plaister, the forms of Grecian architecture, and even where a more noble material is employed, stick unmeaning columns upon structures that neither need them as a support, nor admit them as an essential part; while we are frequently found imitating the massive forms of the Doric marble in timber, and adapting them as decorations to single habitations. But it was not so in the infancy of the world. Then, no people had previously existed who had stamped the indelible character of their taste and genius upon their architectural works; communication was difficult from state to state, and pride and hostile feeling would have prevented imitation, had the means of intercourse been more easy. Each peo-

ple therefore, must have adopted the mode of building adapted to their habits of life, and embellished it with such ornaments as unaided taste would have directed.

So true is this, that even at the present day we can trace in architecture, even of the most elaborate character, the lineaments of its primitive form, and the resemblance of the rude materials of which its prototype was constructed. The still existing pyramid of Cholula, the vast mass of the Birs-Nimrod, and those we read of in the retreat of the ten thousand as existing on the borders of Media, recall to our memory the simple earthen mound, the earliest form in which it was sought to commemorate the mighty dead.

No that has viewed the long perspective of a gothic aisle, has not been compelled to think of the wicker temples of the Saxons, and that some magician

"Twixt poplars straight, the osier wand,
In many a freakish knot had tied,
Then framed a spell when the work was done,
That changed the willow wreath to stone."

Among the Etruscans, the earth was the altar of the deity, the vault of the heavens his temple. When their sacred rites were secluded by walls from their serfs, these walls were made to uphold an imitative hemisphere, whose vault we trace in successive progress through the dome of the Pantheon, still upborne on solid walls; the circular arcade of St. Sophia, and the Duomo of Florence; until we reach the sublime conception of Michael Angelo, who suspended the vault and its supporting walls in mid air.

If then we can trace forms of building that we still execute and imitate, up to the first rude essays at architecture, we are fairly warranted in attempting to discover the source of Egyptian architecture in the circumstances in which its early inhabitants were placed. For them, there was no antiquity to copy, no models of taste to emulate; circumstances of an imperative nature prescribed to them their early habitation, and their remaining edifices are, as we shall find, formed upon this single model.

We cannot interrogate history in respect to the mode of life of the early inhabitants of Egypt. Even the vast discoveries of Champollion, and Young, have only carried us to a period in which a numerous and civilized people was engaged in shaking off the yoke of barbarous conquerors, and resuming the exercise of arts whose principles and practice were derived from their progenitors. We are therefore compelled to resort to the not less sure indications which nature herself affords, indications which in respect to Egypt are too definite to be mistaken. We have the authority of direct history for the fact, that Lower Egypt was gained from the sea, by a skilful direction of the deposite of

the Nile; by bringing human industry to control and govern the action of powerful natural causes. But until the population became numerous enough to demand, or powerful enough to create, this extensive territory, it must have been confined to the valley of the Nile, and the Delta must have been a mixture of muddy lakes and impassable morasses, traversed and torn by the stream.

The valley of the Nile is confined on each side by mountains; between these two chains, the Lybian and the Arabic, there is naturally no secure position for human abode; the river, in its annual rise of thirty feet, spreads even now, from mountain to mountain, although the soil has evidently been raised by its deposit far above its original height. The mountains themselves are barren of vegetation; nor can we believe that they ever presented that clothing of wood which in moister climates will spring even from the naked rock. The *Acacia* is the only tree indigenous in Upper Egypt, and it is entirely unfit for architectural purposes, or even to form a temporary shelter from the sun and dew.

But in these very rocks they would have found abodes provided by nature. From the site of ancient Memphis, until we ascend the Nile beyond the ruins of Thebes, both mountains are composed of stratified limestone full of organic remains. Such rocks, it is well known to geologists, abound in natural caverns in all eastern countries; and although no cavities are now found in Egypt that do not bear the marks of human skill, we have no right to assert that it was not in many cases merely called in aid of nature, to smooth and embellish abodes, originally provided by her. Much of this rock too, was of a highly sectile and friable nature. We have at the moment before us, specimens, containing the fossil characteristic of the harder material of the Pyramids, which have the consistence of chalk, and which may be cut as readily as that substance. When the natural caverns then became insufficient for the growing population, the artificial formation of others would be no difficult task. With the demand, the skill of workmanship would naturally increase: harder limestones would be worked, then the flinty but friable sand-stones of the quarries of Selseleh, and finally, the hard imperishable rock that still bears the name of the city of Syene.

To understand fully the causes which led to the erection of such enormous works by the Egyptians, as still astonish and have for ages astonished the world, we must investigate other circumstances besides those of climate and position. It cannot be doubted that the form of government, the density of population, the character of the sacred rites, have an important influence upon the magnitude of the public works of a nation.

The government of Egypt was monarchical from the very

earliest date. If something of a patriarchal character may have tempered it in respect to particular classes, it was not the less despotic in its principles. Now, a monarchical and despotic government, if it be only stable, as that of Egypt was, is incontestably more favourable to the execution of magnificent structures, than one more free. This is an inference from all that we know of history. The works of the sovereigns of Nineveh and Babylon, probably equalled, if they did not surpass, in magnitude, the structures of the Pharaohs; and in Rome, from the expulsion of the kings to the reign of Augustus, no public building was undertaken at all to be compared to the structures of the Elder Tarquin. We owe the magnificence of the Parthenon to the influence of a single person over the democracy at Athens, and his taste and public spirit were gratified at a risk which seems to have operated as a warning to all subsequent popular leaders, to avoid such enterprises. In general, structures not directly devoted to public utility, are a mark of servitude. When a monarch holds in his hands the treasures of a whole nation, he distributes them according to his pleasure. If absolute, he will hesitate at no exaction which will enable him to gratify his taste, whether the object be useful, or merely contribute to inflate his vanity. History informs us, that such abuse of power was not unknown in Egypt; and we may infer that even where its exercise was not felt as oppressive, large sums might be devoted to purposes of mere ostentation. Many of the kings unquestionably constructed vast buildings, without adding to the burthens of the nation, and gained the sanction of a powerful priesthood, to what might have otherwise been considered as wanton extravagance.

So long as the government of Egypt retained a paternal character, its population was probably redundant beyond any modern parallel. Considered as a grain country alone, it was capable of supporting a population three times as great as one of equal extent in a less favoured climate; a triple harvest blesses the labours of the husbandman, and the increase in each is far greater than is known in Europe. But it besides produces those tropical plants which yield more of food on a given space of ground, than any of the vegetables of the temperate zone, and which grow, where from the aridity of the soil the cereal gramina cannot vegetate; such are various species of the palm, which if not indigenous, have long been naturalized in Egypt. Domestic animals, too, multiply with great rapidity, and the prolific influence of the waters of the Nile, is said to extend to the human race. With a population created and supported by such causes, we cannot wonder that a government, commanding without fear of accountability the whole resources of the country, could project and execute works at which the richest and most powerful nations of modern times would hesitate.

The sacred rites of the Egyptians were twofold; the worship of the gods, and the honour of departed worth. The religion of the Egyptians, although a polytheism, was not as prolific in deities as that of the Greeks, nor did the collective polytheism apply to the separate districts. Few cities, except the capitals, and for this we shall see a reason, had more than a single temple, or worshipped more than a single form of the divine presence. The priests of Egypt were a separate caste, to which the monarchs appear to have belonged. Cherished both from the ties of consanguinity, and as a sure means of supporting the royal power, the priesthood were rich and powerful, and their temples splendid. The influence of the religion was maintained by the charm of mystery; numerous gates closed by veils succeeded each other, and conducted the worshipper from vestibule to vestibule, allowing him to perceive only from a distance, and in the midst of obscurity, the true temple or sanctuary whose access was interdicted except to the initiated. In Egypt, even more than in Greece, what might be considered mere accessories, formed the principal portion of the sacred buildings; the sanctuary was small, and galleries, courts, vestibules, and habitations for the priests, swelled the mass to its imposing magnitude. But in the mode of worship, the darkness of the *penetralia*, and the mystery of the rites, we are forcibly reminded of the cavern in which the first corrupters of the true worship may have sheltered their imposture from their deceived and credulous votaries.

The rites of sepulture in Egypt grew out of circumstances peculiar to that country. The scarcity of fuel precluded the use of the funeral pile; the rocks which bounded the valley denied a grave; and the sand of the deserts afforded no protection from outrage by wild beasts; while the valley, regularly inundated, forbade it to be used as a charnel-house, under penalty of pestilence to the living. Hence grew the use of antiseptic substances, in which the nation became so skilled, as to render the bodies of their dead inaccessible to the ordinary process of decay. The mummies thus preserved, we cannot but believe, remained the inmates of their usual habitations; for even at a late day—the probable continuance as a custom, of what was at first a necessity—these relics were exhibited at their feasts. But in process of time the accumulation of corpses would have caused a change of residence, and the original habitation of the living became exclusively devoted to the dead.

Other important causes must have been still more influential in determining the abandonment of the cavern habitations of the earlier inhabitants. A growing and improving people could not long endure to be shut up in rocky grottos during the inundation, or to pursue their agricultural labours at other seasons, far from a fixed abode. A remedy for these inconveniences was found in the erection of mounds in the plain, and quays upon the banks

of the river, exceeding in elevation its utmost rise, and extended with the increase of population until they could contain important cities. Such artificial mounds are still to be seen forming the basis of all the important ruins that exist, and may even be distinguished from the surrounding, and often surpassing alluvial deposits, where traces of buildings can hardly be detected.

When we consider the remarkable skill exhibited by the Egyptians in the art of stone-cutting, manifested too at the most remote period to which we can trace them historically, we cannot but ascribe this characteristic taste to something in their original habits. The first necessities of their ancestors must have given this impulse to the national genius, and determined the character which their architecture manifests, down to the latest period of their existence, not merely as an independent nation, but as a separate people. In the same way that the Tyrians and the inhabitants of Palestine owed to their cedar forests, their taste and skill in the workmanship of wood,† the Egyptians derived from their original mode of life, from their abundant quarries, and from the facility they found in excavating the rocks into dwellings, the taste for the workmanship of stone which distinguishes them; and this taste explains the high degree of perfection they attained in this art.

We find, it may be said, in many other countries, and among other ancient nations, the traces of considerable excavations.‡ But, attentively examined, these do not furnish the same illustration of their primitive mode of life, and of the origin of their architecture, which is afforded by the *hypogæes* of Egypt. The distinction between them is indeed obvious. In Egypt, the excavations skirt the whole valley of the Nile, and are to be found wherever there was a possibility for the original population to have existed. They are beyond all doubt monuments of the mode of life of *Troglodytes*. In other countries they are confined to the neighbourhood of the chief cities, and merely show that these cities were built of materials which it was necessary to draw from beneath the surface of the earth. Such are the excavations that are found near Rome, Paris, Naples, Syracuse, and Agrigentum. And these have all in their turn become places of burial. But Upper Egypt offers throughout its whole extent, excavations beyond number, some of which still furnish its inhabitants with their permanent abode. Upon inspection too, these grottoes were obviously intended for different uses. Some were no doubt actually excavated for the object usually assigned to them, namely, to receive the embalmed bodies of the dead; others again, we may believe, were converted to that use, although originally in-

* Quatremere de Quincy, p. 21.

† Ibid, p. 22.

‡ Ibid, p. 23.

tended for one very different; and others have served for the performance of religious rites: but there are some which were applied to neither of these purposes, and history, in strict accordance with observation, informs us that they were occupied as habitations.

Of the private architecture of the Egyptians, but few remains have come down to us. It was composed therefore chiefly of perishable materials, probably of bricks dried in the sun, like those of their successors in the occupation of the country. But we have direct authority for believing they were skilful in the use of this material. Diodorus informs us that the houses of Thebes were four or five stories in height, and such a mode of structure must have been demanded by the necessity of enclosing the cities within the smallest possible space, in order to avoid trenching upon the lands, whence the means of subsistence was to be obtained. Of this material there are still remains in many public edifices, particularly in the Pyramids of Faoum and Sacara; these bricks appear to have been simply dried in the sun, and mixed with cut straw to form a bond. In the climate of Egypt, even such frail materials had sufficient solidity for private dwellings; and where the strength of an appropriate mass was added, they remain to the present day. But the simple walls of a private house would soon yield, both to natural causes and intentional violence.

Materials however of far greater solidity were used in many of their public edifices, and palaces and temples have descended to our own time in a state of wonderful preservation. By the examination of these, we can not only judge of the origin and principles of Egyptian architecture, but determine the very localities whence the materials were drawn, and the precise manner in which the mechanical construction was effected.

I. In inquiring into the origin and principles, certain prominent characters strike us at once that cannot be mistaken. The plans and great outlines of their buildings are remarkable for simplicity and sameness, however diversified they may be in decoration and ornament; openings are extremely rare, and the interior of their temples are as dark as the primitive caverns themselves; so that when within them it is difficult to distinguish between an excavation and a building; the pillars are of enormous diameter, and resemble in their proportions the masses left to support the roof of mines and quarries; nay, their hypostyle halls are almost similar in appearance to this kind of excavation; the portals, porticoes, and doors, are enclosed in masses, in such a way as to present the appearance of the entrance of a cave; and the roofs of vast stones lying horizontally, could have been imitated from no shelter erected in the open air: all indeed tends to confirm the opinion, deduced from a consideration of the

necessary mode of life of the first inhabitants of this country. We shall have occasion, in speaking of the ruins of Thebes, to describe more fully the marked characters of the buildings which still remain upon the ancient site of that metropolis.

II. The Egyptians employed in many of their edifices the stone which lay most convenient to them in the adjacent mountains. The great Pyramids still remain to attest this fact. But we find that many of their structures have disappeared, and this we can at once explain from the use which innumerable generations have made of this calcareous material in the manufacture of lime. The vast masses of the stones of the pyramids, and their comparative distance from the bank of the river, have preserved them from the fate which has caused the disappearance of the temples of Memphis, and probably of innumerable other structures in Middle Egypt.

It is not until we ascend the river to a convenient distance from quarries of a material unfit to be applied to this ignoble use, that we meet with any remains of buildings approaching to a perfect state; nay, until we actually leave the calcareous formation, that we have reason to suspect the loss of many invaluable relics. At Thebes, for instance, it is conclusively shown that a building certainly second, if not first in its fame, the *Memnonium*, has wholly disappeared in consequence of this cause.

The buildings remaining in the Thebaid, beginning with the temple of Denderah, are constructed, for the greatest part, of sand stone. This material was drawn from quarries, in mountains of that species of rock, which form a part of both the Libyan and Arabic chains, from Syene until within a day's journey of Esné, the ancient Latopolis. The breadth of this formation is about a degree of latitude, and it forms a belt of a transition character, between the primitive rocks of the cataracts and the calcareous formation of the Thebaid. For this whole extent, the valley has but little breadth. In one place, the opposite mountains approach so near to each other, as barely to leave room for the bed of the river. The quarries are in this place vastly more extensive than in any other; and, as a general rule, the quantity of excavation seems to have depended on the facility of water carriage, the quarries being more numerous and more extensively worked in those parts of the mountains most convenient to the river. This position of the principal quarries near the brink of the river, facilitates the access to them, and enables them to be readily examined. In spite of this, the French expedition first made known the nature of the rock they are composed of. Former travellers, unwilling to believe that monuments so celebrated for their durability and the richness of their ornaments, were constructed of ordinary substances, have fancied that they saw in the strata which supplied the material, as well as in the edifices

themselves, granite, porphyry, basalt, and marble. So far from this, these quarries furnish nothing but a sand-stone, composed of quartzose grains, usually united by a calcareous cement; and of this stone are constructed, almost without exception, all the buildings yet existing between Denderah and Syene.

The colours of this stone are greyish, yellowish, or even almost white; some have a slight tinge of rose colour, and others various veins of different shades of yellow. But when forming a part of the mass of a building, they produce an almost uniform effect of colour, of a light grey. Some of the stones are besides marked with innumerable small spots of black, brown, or yellow, formed of argillaceous earth, coloured by oxide of iron. Others again enclose plates of black, yellow, or silvery mica.

The hardness of this sand-stone is rarely considerable, nay it often yields to the friction of the nail, but the hardness is uniform in each separate block. The strength of these stones to resist fracture is small, but it also is equal, and it was possible to obtain large masses without vein or fissure. Much pains must have been taken by the Egyptians in the choice of the proper layers, to obtain stones possessing the last quality, so indispensable in the construction of their roofs, where instead of vaults, single stones extended from wall to wall, or from pillar to pillar.

The excavations found in these mountains are capable of having furnished a quantity of material, vastly greater than is now to be found in existing edifices. Rozière, whose statement we have followed, endeavours to account for this, by quoting a passage of Pliny, by which it appears that the sand used by the stone-cutters throughout the Roman world, was brought from the Thebaid, and formed a considerable article of commerce from the port of Alexandria. This sand must have been the quartzose *détritus* of the sand-stone, and the temples and edifices of the Thebaid may have been dilapidated for this purpose, as those of middle Egypt were, to be burnt into lime.

The *basso relievos*, and the sculptures that cover every part of Egyptian architecture, have been a subject of surprise to all travellers, in consequence of the immensity of the labour bestowed upon them. The wonder has been enhanced by false opinions as to the nature of the substance employed. It has been represented as almost impracticable to the tools of the sculptor. This might at first sight appear probable, from the silicious nature of its grains. But such is the mode of its aggregation, and the uniformity of its structure, that so far from resisting, it offers incredible facilities for the execution of hieroglyphic and symbolic sculptures. The cement yields readily to the tool, and the silicious parts separate without flying; Rozière satisfied himself by actual experiment, that the labour necessary to cover the edifices of the Thebaid with figures and characters, was not one-

fifth part of that which would have been necessary, had they been built of marble.

While the walls, the platform-roofs, the pillars, and all other essential parts of the great buildings that yet remain in the Thebaid, were of the material we have described above, their courts, their entrances, and their approaches, were embellished with obelisks, and statues of a more costly and enduring substance. This is, to apply a generic name, the *Granite* of Syene, the Cataract, and Elephantine.

The most important of the rocks of this species, is the rose-granite. The beauty of its colours, the large size of its crystals, its hardness and its durability, would render it remarkable, had not the use made of it by the Egyptians, and by the Greeks and Romans in imitation of them, assured it an eternal celebrity. From two-thirds to five-sixths of the whole mass of this rock is composed of a felspar, of a colour varying from rose to brick-red; the next substance in abundance is mica, sometimes of a green, at other times of a golden hue; the third essential part is a transparent quartz: and there is besides, occasionally present, portions of hornblende, whose black colour is sometimes assumed by plates of the mica.

The preponderance of a red felspar in this rock, gives it a constant and determinate character, although its varieties and the accidental circumstances which attend it are without number. Its shade of red varies, sometimes deepening, sometimes fading into orange or even yellow, and crystals of felspar of other colours are sometimes disseminated through it, but still its peculiar aspect will prevent its being confounded with any granite that has yet been discovered in other countries.

In ascending the Nile, this rock is not met with until Syene has been passed, and it extends itself far to the south of the island of Philæ. It seems to form a sort of bank, with innumerable pointed summits, in the midst of a formation of other primitive rocks; and extending across the river, confines its channel, and interrupts the passage, forming the first cataract. On the western side of the river it dips beneath strata of gneiss, and on the east is lost in the desert.

The environs of Syene offer in less quantity, granitic rocks of several other characters. One of these is composed of such small crystals of the essential minerals, as to present at a small distance, an uniform grey aspect; another has large white crystals of felspar, upon a black ground composed of mica mixed with hornblende; while a third, in which the felspar is disseminated in crystals so small as hardly to affect its general tint, is nearly black. But the most remarkable of these rocks is one which the ancients called by the name of Egyptian basalt. This rock is found mixed and enveloped in the rose granite, and is therefore not of

volcanic origin. It presents to the naked eye a surface of a uniform black colour; but when examined by a powerful magnifier, crystals of felspar, mica, and quartz, are still to be distinguished along with the amphibole, that gives it the most decided of its characters.

The masses of granite used by the Egyptians, by the Greeks and Romans, were not extracted from regular *quarries*, if we except the excavations at two places situated south of Syene. We must, however, for want of a better term, call all the places whence this stone was obtained, by that epithet. They are to be found wherever there were granitic rocks isolated and eas, to separate, not only on the main land and islands, but even in the bed of the river. The Egyptians, who did not wantonly increase the difficulties which their gigantic enterprises presented, chose among the projecting rocks, such as had shapes suited to that of the monument they meant to execute, and the labour consisted in separating it from its base. In many instances, too, they must have found separate masses lying upon the general bed, such as are still to be seen in the adjacent deserts, or such, as placed in vast distinct pieces upon each other, form the singular mountains between Syene and Philæ. It thus happens that the appearance of labour at the quarries bears but a small ratio to the numerous and vast monoliths, as well as smaller fragments distributed throughout Egypt, and which are still visible. And to these must be added the quantity of monuments carried off by the Greeks, the Romans, and the Turks, as well as by the nations of modern Europe. But all these taken together are probably less in quantity than those which are buried and lost for ever, in the rubbish that is heaped upon the sites of the ancient cities, or in the alluvial deposite of the Nile.

Of all the monuments now to be seen, there is not one, each block of which, even in the present advanced state of the mechanic arts, would not require years of labour, to detach it from the quarry and to smooth its surfaces. Much more would be still required when it is employed in the art of sculpture. One circumstance in respect to them is remarkable; the number of monuments in the granite of Syene is far the greatest in the places most distant from its quarries. M. Rozière attributes this in part to the successive changes in the seat of government, from Thebes to Memphis, from Memphis to Alexandria, and the removal of remarkable and interesting monuments by the ruling powers to their new residence; but more especially to the nature of the country in Lower Egypt, which furnishes no other material for building but brick. Every permanent structure must therefore have been built of the stone of the Thebaid, and when the transportation would form the chief expense, the difference in cost between the sand-stone of Silsèlèh and the granite

of Syene, would have borne no proportion to the difference in their beauty. In the Delta too, and particularly near Alexandria, the alluvial deposit is of much less depth than in the Thebaid, and fewer monuments are in consequence buried beneath it.

We have stated that one of the valuable qualities of the Syenitic rock is its great durability. A part of the monuments which are made of it have been preserved almost uninjured for many centuries, and still exhibit the admirable polish the Egyptians understood so well to give to this refractory substance. In single blocks of near an hundred feet in length, such as form obelisks, no flaw or fissure is to be seen to cause their rupture, and when they are found broken, it is always the effect of violence. But granite is not usually a durable substance; in spite of its hardness, it is much more liable to exfoliation than many softer rocks, and is in all cases more subject to disintegration from natural causes, than marble. The granite of Syene however appears less liable to their action than that of most other localities, for although in situations less favourable than the Thebaid, it has been sensibly affected, it is so in a far less degree than could have been anticipated. Chemical discoveries, made since the publication of the "*Description de l'Egypte*," have shown that there are two mineral species which have until recently been confounded by mineralogists under the term of felspar; one of these contains potassa, the other soda; now, as the former alkali is an ingredient in all soils, as is manifested by its being a constituent of the vegetables they nourish, while the latter is not, it is more than probable that the felspar containing it, is more liable to decomposition than the other. At all events, it is an interesting question, which we have not the means of solving, for want of specimens to determine to which of the two varieties the felspar of Syenitic granite belongs. We should then have the experience of forty centuries to direct us in the choice of those varieties of granite which are fit to be used as a building material. One of them is undoubtedly very liable to mechanical disintegration, the other not.

III. The mode of building among the Egyptians was very peculiar. The Greeks dressed the stones they employed to the proper size, before they set them in their place, and each applying itself accurately to the next, their walls were stable, independent of cement. From this, the most perfect species of masonry, there is a regular decline through that of the Romans, and of the middle ages, to our own days, when in most cases no more than the mere outer surface is dressed. This mechanical part was as perfect in Egyptian architecture as in that of the Greeks, but the perfection was attained in a different manner. They placed, in their columns, rude stones upon each other, after merely smoothing the two surfaces of contact, and the figure of

the column, with all its decorations, was finished after it was set up. In their walls, the outer and inner surfaces of the stones were also left unfashioned, to be reduced to shape by one general process, after the whole mass had been erected.

In all the buildings examined by the French, the courses lie perfectly horizontal and level, but the upright faces of the stones are often inclined to the vertical line; and it happens frequently that two stones lie upon each other, to make up the same horizontal course, which in the adjacent parts consists but of one; and sometimes again the same stone forms a part of two adjacent courses. The joints are in all cases admirably dressed, and so close as to be hardly perceptible; the cement which is employed, is therefore in very small quantity. But the Egyptians neither trusted to the cement, nor even to the great mass of the stones they usually employed, for the durability of their walls; they, in addition, took care to unite the stones of each course firmly together. This was effected by cavities, adapted to each other, on the upper surface of each contiguous stone of the course, and fitted for the reception of clamps. As these clamps were never found among the ruins, it was at first inferred that they had been metallic, and had been removed on account of their value. But on demolishing a portion of wall for the purpose of inquiring into this, the clamps were found to be of wood, which, inclosed in the wall, in a dry climate, had not decayed. They are about nine inches in length, and of the form of a double dove-tail, two and a half inches broad at the ends, and one and a half in the middle. The foundations, wherever they were reached, were found to be walls a little thicker than those they sustained, and in these instances, they rested on the solid rock.

These parts of the mechanical construction add to the solidity, but have little influence on the beauty of buildings; yet in those which are external, the execution of the Egyptian buildings is not less perfect. It is impossible to find in any buildings surfaces better dressed, columns better rounded, angles more sharp, or more tasteful and graceful curves. But this perfection of the chisel is still more marked in the sculptures.* The foliage of the capitals, and all the ornaments, are cut with the greatest skill and purity. The figures are not less remarkable, their forms being graceful and easy, even when the outline is defective in truth. These figures being brought into relief by cutting the stone away around them, while their most projecting parts are in the plane of the wall, are but little raised; the details of the figure are also, and as a necessary consequence, but faintly expressed; they appear as if they were enveloped in a veil, that conceals, and yet discloses their form.

* Description de l'Égypte, Vol. I. p. 104. •

So far as the art of sculpture was applied to the decoration of buildings, there is a sameness and monotony in the forms and attitudes of the figures. This was no doubt owing to the greater part of them being actually alphabetic characters, or at least anaglyphs: *LANCRET*, the member of the commission, whom we have followed in this account of the decorations, was at loss to account for the discrepancy between the skill of execution, and this monotony of form. He attempts to explain it, by supposing that the priests had chosen to prevent the progress of the art; but since the discoveries of Champollion and Young, the true reason is obvious, in the necessity of restricting homophonous characters to one prescribed and certain form. It is the same with animals; they are all represented in profile; but they too are skilfully designed, and the sculptors have seized perfectly the predominating characteristic of the species.

These invariable rules introduced in the sculptures that cover the walls of the principal buildings of Egypt, and the frequent repetition which their very nature demanded, gave room for the application of the division of labour in their execution. A single hand might have been constantly engaged upon objects of the same sort, and hence great numbers may have been employed at the same time, increasing both the rapidity of execution, and the excellence of each particular sculpture. A directing artist must have been required, but all the rest of the work may have been purely mechanical.

"It may be conceived that the forms of all the signs, and of all the figures, being determined for ages, they might have given each sculptor a single kind of object to execute, and thus employ a great number of men at a time. But further, when we consider that in the same building, all the heads of the gods, and all those of the goddesses, have an unique character; that the animals of the same species resemble each other perfectly; that, in fine, every class of objects has, in the same manner, its proper character constantly preserved, we are led to think, even one whole figure was not intrusted to a single workman to begin and finish, but that several artists worked upon it successively. For instance, a figure was first marked out by him whose business this was; then came another who carried in on a little farther, and thus successively until the last, whose duty it was to finish it. The painters then arrived in their turn, and each applied the appropriate colour according to established rules."—*LANCRET. Description de l'Égypte. pp. 107 & 108.*

It is at Thebes, the earliest known capital of Egypt, that we meet with the most extensive remains of its architecture, and many of these are in a state of tolerable preservation. They consist of excavations, palaces, and temples, and a few vestiges of the dwellings of private individuals. Before the dawn of authentic profane history, the importance of Thebes had declined, and the sacred history, of the interviews of Joseph with his brethren, and of the Exodus, prove that the chief seat of the Egyptian monarchs, even at that earlier date, was already on the confines of Lower Egypt, and probably, therefore, at Memphis.

But their tombs, and the continuation of work upon other monuments show, that if reasons of state called them to fix their principal residence nearer to the centre of population, both religious feeling, and natural inclination, still gave Thebes a preference in their estimation. It was different, when dynasties of other than Diospolitan origin, ascended the throne; from that period, the glories of Thebes began to fade. Its fall was accelerated by the ravages of Cambyzes, but does not appear to have been fully consummated, until the chastisement its inhabitants received for an ill-advised and impotent revolt against the Roman sway. Modern travellers have been successful in identifying the site of Thebes, by reference to the ancient writers who have left us descriptions of its position. Did even no such record exist, the vast extent over which ruins are scattered, and the magnitude of the principal edifices that remain, would point it out as a sovereign seat.

"Several villages are distributed over the plain of Thebes. On the western side, and at a distance of two hundred paces from the Nile, is the village of *el-Aquâltch*. Near the huts that compose it, is to be seen a handsome house that the natives call *quasr* or "the castle." It served to lodge the governors of the country, at the time of the collection of taxes. Beyond this, lower down the river and nearer the Lybian chain, is seen *Naza-Abou-Hamoud*, whose earthen houses are in part hidden by a wood of palm trees; farther still is *Koum-el-Barquat*, built upon the rubbish of ancient Thebes. Close to the mountain, *Medinet-Abou* exhibits the remains of a modern village entirely abandoned. Finally, at the extremity of the plain, to the north, is the small village of Kournah, whose savage inhabitants abandon it, when they wish to escape the payment of taxes. New Troglodytes, they then retire to the numerous grottoes with which the mountain is pierced; or accompanied by all they consider most dear and precious, their wives, their children, and their flocks, they flee to the desert.

"On the eastern side of the river, and immediately upon the bank, *Luxor* is distinguished by its low houses, surmounted by dove-cotes covered with an innumerable multitude of pigeons. *Luxor* is a considerable town, that may contain two or three thousand souls. Once a week a market is held in it to which the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages resort. Farther to the north, and lower down the stream, are found *Caffre-Karnac*, and *Karnac*, both surrounded by palm-trees: these inhabited places occupy but an inconsiderable space in the midst of the vast ruins that surround them. Still farther in the same direction, and near the foot of the Arabian chain, is situated the village of *Med-Amoud*.

"Such is the small number of scattered villages in the midst of a plain that was once occupied by an immense city. Their miserable huts contrast in the most striking manner with the opulent remains of a superb metropolis."

"The monuments situated on the left bank of the river, first attracted our attention. We established ourselves at *el-Aquâltch*; its vicinity to the Nile, made us choose it for our place of rendezvous. It was thence that we set out daily at sunrise to engage in labours, that continued through intense heat, would have appeared extremely painful, had we not been sustained by the enthusiasm produced by the view of the ruins. We felt a pleasure in reflecting that we were about to transport to our country all the products of the ancient science and industry of the Egyptians. It was, in truth, a conquest we were about to effect in the name of the arts. We were about to give to the world for the first time, an exact and complete idea of the monuments, of which so many travellers, both ancient and modern, had been able to speak only in a manner little satisfactory. We were about to realize the desires expressed by the most eloquent of our ora

tors, when speaking of Egypt, in these remarkable terms. *‘Quelle puissance, et quel art a fait d’un tel pays la merveille de l’Univers, et quelles beautés ne trouveroit on pas, si on pouvoit aborder la ville royale, puisque si loin d’elle on trouve des choses si merveilleuses !’* We were, in fact, upon the soil of this royal city, where the partial observations that had been previously made, although of little value, still promised the discovery of the most noble works. And besides, what attractions, what secret charms did not the view of the ruins present ? This glorious spectacle cannot be sought with temporary, and barren curiosity ; we were drawn to it by an ardent and lively passion, that cannot be understood by those who have not experienced it. How many times, impelled by this passion, have we not traversed the plain of Thebes, at the risk of being assassinated by the Arabs and the savage inhabitants of these countries ? How many times have we not undertaken long and painful expeditions, with the sole view of discovering new monuments, and examining distant remains ?

“The first remarkable object that presents itself on leaving el-Aquâteh is a vast enclosure which surrounds a space two thousand metres in length, and one thousand in breadth. It has been a circus, or *hippodrome*, in which the ancient Egyptians performed their races, on foot, on horseback, or in cars. In the great number of openings that this enclosure presents, one is tempted to imagine he sees the hundred gates celebrated by Homer, and by all the historians and poets of antiquity. This circus appears to have been surrounded with triumphal structures, that would have gloriously announced the approach to the ancient capital of Egypt. Formerly trodden by a vast multitude, it is now restored to cultivation, and fertilized by a canal which brings to it the waters of the inundation.

“At the northern extremity of the hippodrome are found the ruins of *Medinet-Abou*. They rise majestically upon an artificial mound, and are surrounded by an enclosure partly built of stone, and partly of brick. A small temple first shows itself at the base of the heap of rubbish ; but what particularly attracts attention is an edifice, which at the first glance may be known to have been the palace of a sovereign. Two stories, with ranges of square windows, walls crowned with battlements, announce an edifice different in its character from those consecrated to Egyptian worship. In the neighbourhood, and farther to the north, are propylæa which form the entrance to a temple of great antiquity.”

To the west of these, and near the Lybian chain, are remains of still greater importance, the ruins of the palace of *Ramesses Meiamoun*, a description of which we shall cite in another part of this paper.

“The Lybian chain towers over these remains of ancient structures : it is only separated from them by a narrow portion of desert. Its precipitous rocks, brilliant with the light of the sun, the numerous catacombs with which it is filled, form a picturesque ground on which these magnificent ruins rise in great beauty. The opposition between the grey colour of the rubbish and the stone of the monuments, form contrasts that present beautiful effects to the painter.

“Setting out from *Medinet Abou*, and following the road traced along the edge of the desert, every step rests on pieces of broken statues, on trunks of columns, and fragments of all kinds. On the left of the road, is found a rectangular enclosure of raw bricks, filled with remains of colossi, and members of architecture, adorned with well chiseled hieroglyphics. They are the remains of an edifice destroyed to its very foundation. All the materials have been calcareous rock, drawn from the neighbouring mountain ; they therefore have been used to burn into lime. Positive traces of this ravage still exist in the kilns that have served to burn the stone, and the vitrification produced by the fire.”

On the right of the road is the wood of *Acacias* occupying the site of the true *Memnonium*, and between the wood and the river are the gigantic statues called *Tama* and *Chama* by the natives of the country. They may be perceived at a distance of four leagues, like vast rocks rising in the middle of the plain. Af-

ter leaving these statues, and returning to the road along the border of the desert, the ruins are speedily reached which are usually known as the Memnonium, but in which our travellers conceive they have found the tomb of Osymandias.

"Continuing to follow the same path, an enclosure of unburnt brick is next met with, and not far from it, on the right, a mount of rock detached from the Lybian chain, in which the Egyptians have excavated one of those *synges* so celebrated in antiquity. It is a real labyrinth, into which it is unsafe to enter without proper precautions. The great number of passages, of halls, of shafts that lead to lower apartments, present the aspect of a place intended for the ceremonies of initiation, and the celebration of mysteries.

"In the vicinity of this *syrix* is a long range of small heaps of calcareous fragments; they are the remains of an avenue of sphinges, which lead to buildings now in ruins, and near the mountain to an edifice that seems to show, both that the Egyptians had attempted the construction of vaults, and that they had succeeded but ill.

"Returning again to the road that skirts the desert, and passing the fragments of two statues of black granite, Kourna is soon reached, the palace of this place furnishes an instance of a portico formed of a single range of columns, which has in consequence some resemblance to the buildings of the Greeks; it has rather the air of having never been finished, than of having fallen to ruin."

"A wood of palm trees extends from the ruins of Kourna to the Nile, and closes in an agreeable manner, this side of the fine plain of Thebes.

"In the mountain that strikes the river below Kourna, are situated numerous excavations which served as tombs.

"We have taken a rapid view of the ruins on the Lybian side of the Nile, let us now cross the river to its right bank, where wonders await us, not less striking than those we have already seen. Let us first direct our course to Luxor. What can be more rich or more varied than the scene that offers itself to our view! Islands brilliant with vegetation and verdure: a fine river rolling with rapidity its fertilizing waters, and animated by the motion of barks with large triangular sails, which transport to every part of Egypt the products of this fertile country; *Fellahs* plunging into the Nile, and dragging as they swim, nets filled with water-melons; the yellow and tranquil tone of the plains on which are raised specimens of a noble architecture; the broad shadows cast by their colossal masses; Arab buildings that unite in a picturesque manner with the most magnificent ruins; beyond, a plain covered with palm trees and verdure; and to close the view, the mountains of the Arabian chain. Such is a slight sketch of one of the most beautiful spectacles which man can enjoy.

"To arrive at the principal entrance of the palace of Luxor, it is necessary to penetrate the village through narrow streets, filled with rubbish. What is seen gives an idea of the most abject misery, associated with the recollection of the greatest opulence. In fact, by the side of these wretched huts, two superb obelisks show themselves suddenly, formed each of a single block of granite, and seventy-five feet in height.* Behind these obelisks are seated statues, thirty-four feet in height; and then a *pylon*† fifty feet in elevation. There is not one of these monuments, which if seen alone, would not command admiration, and they appear united here in a manner that produces in the spectator the most profound impression. The obelisks offer to the astonished eye, hieroglyphics executed with all the care and precision that is found on the finest gems. The statues are remarkable for the gravity and tranquillity of their attitudes; the pylon is covered with sculptures representing battles of chariots, passages of rivers, and the capture of fortresses."

"Leaving the village of Luxor, by the street that faces the principal entry of

* These obelisks bear upon their sides the royal legend of Sesostris, and on their front that of Rameses I., his great grandfather, by whom they were probably erected.

† We shall explain this term, and the reason of its use, hereafter

the palace, the artificial mound on which this quarter of Thebes was erected, is soon passed. If a course towards the north be taken, it may be performed on a well beaten road, on the sides of which are seen, at small intervals, the fragments of pedestals and the remains of sphinges. The nearer we approach to Karnac, the more numerous these fragments become; and at Karnac itself entire sphinges are seen, having women's heads upon the bodies of lions. Thus from Luxor to Karnac, that is to say, for the space of two thousand metres,* an avenue extends, which must have contained six hundred sphinges. Along the whole right side of this road, are mounds of rubbish, the remains of buildings that appear to have united these two remarkable places."

"From this alley of sphinges, if we turn a little to the left, we enter a broader avenue, formed entirely of couchant rams mounted upon pedestals, at the extremity of which is a triumphal gate of the most elegant proportions. These form the approach to a temple that shows in all its parts the marks of the highest antiquity, and is notwithstanding constructed of materials which had already been used in former monuments."

Near at hand are seen ruins of far greater importance: they are also approached by an avenue of sphinges, the largest that exist among the Egyptian ruins. At the first view from this side, the building presents the aspect of total dilapidation; but by entering from the south, it is possible to ascertain the disposition of its parts.

Entering as usual by a pylon which appears never to have been finished, we reach

"A first court, decorated on its sides with long galleries, and enclosing temples and habitations. In the midst is an avenue of columns, seventy feet in height, sapped at their foundation; the greater part of them have fallen, each in a single mass, and stretch out like trunks, formed of layers of stone, in the original order they had when erect. A single one stands upright, as if to attest a magnificence, that can now be scarcely imagined. A second pylon, preceded by two colossal statues, serves as the entrance of a great hall, which extends in its greatest dimension, three hundred and eighteen feet, and in its least, one hundred and fifty-nine. The stones that form its flat roof, rest upon architraves supported by one hundred and thirty-four columns, still standing. The largest of these are not less than eleven feet in diameter, and seventy feet in height. The capitals spread out, and form each a surface of sixty-four square feet, on which an hundred men might readily find room to stand.

"Passing through another pylon, we enter a sort of court, in which there formerly stood two obelisks of granite, sixty-nine feet in height; one alone still stands upon its base. A great gate and another pylon lead to a hall destroyed to the very foundation; it had galleries formed of caryatid pillars, and it contains the largest obelisk that is now to be found in Egypt. It is ninety-one feet in height; its sculptures are of the most perfect execution, and seem to exceed whatever the arts of modern Europe could effect. Another gate leads to apartments, ~~built~~ built of granite, that appear to have been finished with greater care than any other part of this vast edifice. Beyond, are still to be seen multitudes of columns, and a vast number of apartments."

Such is the palace of Karnac, the proud residence of the Diospolitan dynasties, in which the monarchs of Egypt exhibited a magnificence that succeeding ages have long wondered at, but may despair of ever equalling. So extraordinary is the command of labour, and of skill in the arts, which is here displayed, that

* Nearly a mile and a quarter.

those who have visited the spot can hardly realize the truth of the impressions of their senses, and feel almost inclined to regard the whole as the fiction of a wandering and fantastic imagination.*

After the palace of Karnac, little else of importance presents itself upon the remainder of the site of Thebes; we shall in consequence here close our citations in illustration of the topography of that once mighty city.

Thebes, contrary to the usual belief, was never surrounded by walls. Its exact limits are therefore difficult to determine. But as it must have been confined on the one side by the Arabic, on the other by the Lybian, chain of mountains, it is only in respect to its extent along the river that uncertainty remains. Hence the estimate made by the French travellers, of the space included within its boundaries, may be considered as not far from the truth. We shall not copy their numbers, but resort to the more familiar mode of comparison with existing cities, which they also give. Cairo, the present capital of Egypt, covers but one-half of the ground comprised within the narrowest probable circuit of Thebes; while the extent of the city of Paris, within the new *Boulevards*, is twice as great as the latter. Of the other successive capitals of Egypt, we have the testimony of Diodorus, that Memphis exceeded Thebes a little in extent; but the latter was greater than Alexandria in its proudest days, as we can determine by comparing their ancient circuits with each other.

In adopting these comparisons, we receive as true, that the whole of the plain, of which by far the greatest part is now inundated at the rise of the Nile, and much of it in tillage, was once covered with buildings. In addition to calculation, there is direct evidence of a deposite of from twelve to sixteen feet of the mud of the Nile around the bases of the colossus of Memnon and its fellow, and these were no doubt erected upon ground considered at the time far above the reach of danger. Such a deposite is sufficient to have covered all the more ancient ruins of private edifices; while the separate mounts of rubbish that are visibly must have arisen from the successive renewals of habitations by the decreasing population, around the objects of their sacred reverence, or the sites most convenient for commerce. In such places alone do we find these accumulations, while the remaining surface presents no vestige of the busy multitude that once peopled it. The remains of the buildings erected under the

* A part of the palace of Karnac, appears to have been built before the invasion of the shepherds, and bears the legend of a king of the name of Mandouci; but by far the greatest proportion was executed under the reign of the eighteenth Dynasty. Still it did not cease to receive embellishments from succeeding monarchs; and, after a long neglect under the Persians, one of its edifices was finished, and bears the names and titles of the Macedonian Alexander.

Egyptian dynasties, have served as foundations for those of the subjects of the Persians, and they for the dwellings of Grecian and Roman times; which in their turn have given way for those erected under the empire of the Arabs, or even in times more modern. The Egyptians of the present day do not repair their houses, when they cease to be habitable; they find it cheaper to erect new ones. The same reason must have applied in former times, while the constant rise of the bed of the river must have furnished an additional inducement to elevate the new mansion on the rubbish of the old.

Of the architecture of these private dwellings, in the times of Theban splendour, we have no direct means of forming a judgment. But one passage of any ancient author throws any light upon the subject.* From this it appears, that they were raised to the height of four or five stories, but nothing further is stated. There is however a marked resemblance in distribution, growing no doubt out of like causes, between the better mansions of modern Cairo, and the palaces remaining at Thebes. Large halls are in both combined with small chambers. The houses of Cairo consist of a low basement, over part of which are large saloons, which rise to the roof of the building, but contiguous to these are several stages of small apartments. At Luxor and Karnac, the Egyptian sovereigns inhabited immense hypostyle halls, where they passed the day, but had also small apartments of granite for their hours of privacy. Similar principles no doubt governed the distribution of private dwellings. They were also most probably arranged in narrow streets, and crowded upon each other, except upon the lines of the great avenues, used for commercial or sacred purposes. A narrow street is alone adapted to the climate of Egypt, and particularly to that of Thebes, where the sun is more ardent, because more nearly vertical than at Cairo or Alexandria, where this is yet indispensable to the comfort of the inhabitants.

With such buildings and arrangements, the population may have been very great; it may be considered as unquestionably twice as large as that of Cairo at the present day; and hence the whole population of Egypt, when Thebes was its sole capital, and the Delta formed no very important part of its territory, as double that contained now by the whole country.

The Necropolis of Thebes, or the vast excavations which bear that name, was situated on the Lybian mountain, and here therefore we are to look for the origin of the city. Here, too, Bruce

* Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οἰκίας ἃς μὲν τετραπόρους, ὅς δὲ πενταπόρους, κατασκευάζουσι.

But in like manner they built the houses of private individuals, some to the height of four, others to that of five stories.—*Diad. Sic. Biblioth. Hist. Lib. I.*

supposed that he recognised in the modern Medinet-Abou, Medinet-*Tabou*, or City *Tabou*, the ancient name. This side, the earliest settled, was the soonest deserted, and the inhabited Diospolis of the Romans, was, according to the authority of Strabo, confined to the right bank. On this last was situated the greatest royal residence, the palace of Karnac; while on the Lybian side, the domain of the dead appears to have continued its encroachments on that of the living, the greatest existing monument, usually considered as the Memnonium, but expressly identified by the French voyagers with the tomb of Osymandias, being a mausoleum; while one even more extensive, whose portal was guarded by the two vast twin colossi, so often spoken of, and which was in reality the Memnonium, was probably like the former, shared between the honours of the dead and the service of the living.

We have said that there is no appearance nor even probability of Thebes having been ever surrounded with walls. It might at first sight appear difficult to reconcile this with the epithet *hecatompylos*, applied to it by Homer. Where no wall existed, there could be no need of gates; yet Homer has been found in all other cases so precise in adapting his epithets to the true character, not only of men, but of cities and countries, that it would be strange to find him at fault in this case. There is an obvious explanation, which serves to give an additional proof of the wonderful skill of that poet in this branch of his art. The most striking perhaps of all the characteristics of Egyptian architecture, are the pyramidal masses of masonry, far exceeding in height every other part of the edifice, between which the portals, not only those that form the main entrance, but the passages between its courts, are placed. In these almost useless masses, the architect seems to have sought to imitate the hewn face of the lofty rocks, in which the entrance of the excavations are usually formed. Many of these still remain; and in the days of Theban greatness, many more must have existed; for even the better class of private mansions may very probably have imitated this general feature, both of sacred and civil architecture. Later Greek writers have given the name πυλών to this species of entrance. So different is it from any thing in other architectures, that no modern language has any corresponding term; the French have proposed the adoption of the word *pylone*, which is sufficiently expressive; and we have, in conformity, made use of the analogous term pylon. The numbers of this very peculiar structure united at Thebes, may well have given it the epithet of hundred gated. But the French voyagers appear, as we have seen, rather to attribute its origin to the numerous openings in the hippodrome of Medinet-Abou, which has all the characteristics of a place of exercise for troops; and whence, after being united and organized, the armies of the Pha-

raohs issued to combat the enemies of their country. The twenty thousand men, with chariots and horses, which Homer makes to issue from these gates, correspond in a remarkable manner with what Diodorus states. In his day, he says that the foundations of one hundred stables were still to be seen, in the vicinity of the river, between Memphis and Thebes, in each of which two hundred horses were kept; and the sculptures show, that each war-chariot was drawn by a single horse, and carried but a single person.

Thebes was probably among the most ancient cities of the world. Its edifices bear the traces of the violence of the shepherd kings; and of the works of the seventeenth dynasty, of those of Egypt; but the taste and genius of the architecture is not developed until the accession of the eighteenth dynasty, when the whole of Egypt became united under one monarchy. Before the invasion of the Shepherds, it was probably no more than the head of a petty principality, distinguished perhaps from its neighbours by some advantages of situation. On this head, we shall however most probably receive important information from the mission of Champollion, who has at last sailed from France to undertake new researches in that country, and having in his possession the instrument by which the dark writings of the tombs and obelisks are to be compelled to give up the historic truth they have hitherto concealed, rather than recorded.

In choosing the remains of Thebes to illustrate the subject of Egyptian architecture, we have an opportunity of citing it in all its remaining varieties. We shall begin with the catacombs, as in our opinion the most ancient, and as in all respects the most remarkable. Of these excavations, by far the greater part have become places of sepulture, although some have never been appropriated to that purpose. Of the former, some are obviously excavated expressly to receive the bodies of the dead, and even those of particular individuals; but by far the greater part have, beyond all doubt, been constructed for other purposes, and afterwards embellished and adorned with the care the Egyptians bestowed upon their places of burial. If any of them had been originally natural caverns, such as the nature of the rock induces us to believe must have existed, the hand of art has obliterated all trace of their original rude form.

"If it be wished to form a general idea of the *hypogæes* of Thebes, we must imagine a part of the Lybian chain contiguous to the plain of Kourna, of the Memnonium and of Medinet-Abou, more than two leagues in length, and three or four hundred feet in height, pierced from place to place with rectangular openings at all heights. If it be then imagined that low galleries, and of even less width than height, setting out from these openings, penetrate the body of the rock, sometimes horizontally, sometimes inclining, and even sometimes in a serpentine direction; that these galleries are interrupted here and there by halls and by pits; and that many of them are divided into numerous ramifications,

which sometimes return to the point whence they departed, and render the way difficult to recognise. If communications were established between all these galleries, they would form the most inextricable labyrinth.

“To reach the *hypogæes*, narrow paths must be followed, cut in the face of the mountain. These paths have but a small declivity, but are still dangerous in consequence of the steepness of the mountain: however, so much temptation is found to stop frequently to satisfy curiosity, that no fatigue is experienced in traversing them. At one moment lofty gates are met with, at others low doors, some square, some crowned by arcades; some entirely open and accessible, others having only a narrow passage; and others again filled up to the top by heaps of sand. The portals of the principal catacombs are preceded by vestibules open to the day, whose sides are smoothed and polished, but which are rarely adorned with paintings; the entrances of others, open immediately from the face of the mountain. A last distinction which remains to be stated, is that the simplest tombs occupy the top, the most magnificent the base of the mountain.”
—*Description de l’Égypte*. Vol. iii. p. 8 & 9.

These subterranean galleries are at present the refuge of a race of Arabs, living in the most wretched manner, and who were robbers by profession up to the period of the French expedition. At this time they appear to have discovered, that more was to be made by cheating travellers, than by robbing them. Before, they had been the residence of Christian hermits, and even places where worship was performed, probably in times of persecution.

The mountain in which these excavations are made, is composed of a calcareous rock, of a fine and equal grain, in no place very hard, in others quite soft. Petrifications of Ammonites and Belemnites occur in it, and occasional masses of siliceous matter. On the roofs of the excavations, stalactites are occasionally formed, and crystallizations of salt. Both show in a marked manner the dryness of the climate, for in one more moist, the stalactites would have been far more abundant, and the saline matter would not have been deposited.

The caverns have in their interior a remarkably high temperature, amounting to nearly 70° of Fahrenheit’s thermometer, and this is uniform in them all. In considering them as human abodes, then, they are far different from the dripping caverns of other regions, and possess throughout the year a mean temperature, which even to our own sensations would not be disagreeably high, but to those habituated to the climate of Thebes, must have been grateful and salubrious.

Among the catacombs whose entrances are known, none have escaped the most complete pillage. The mummies are neither left in their places nor in their cases, but are thrown in disordered heaps upon the ground, so that occasionally the passage is choked up with them. Although the foot at times penetrates the bandages, and is retained among bones and folded linen, yet no disagreeable smell accompanies this mass of mortal remains; every thing yields to the overcoming odour of the bitumen. Nor is the feeling of disgust that might be supposed to attend such a passage through heaps of dead bodies predominant, the curiosity

which could alone lead to the research, is powerful, but it is counterbalanced frequently by the dread that cannot but arise, lest the lights should inflame the combustible matters, or being extinguished, should leave you in total and inextricable darkness. Jomard, who drew up the accounts of the catacombs from which our extracts are made, was nearly perishing from the first of these accidents, and two other members of the expedition were in the utmost danger from the latter. He remarks, that the dread of fire occurs most frequently to the imagination, because the walls are often seen to be blackened by the smoke of previous conflagrations, and the Arabs may be seen piling in heaps the mummies they have broken, and lighting fires of them, which burn long and brilliantly.

We extract the account given of the adventure of the two persons of whom we have spoken.

“They had penetrated at about five o'clock in the afternoon, to the bottom of a vast catacomb, decorated with the greatest magnificence, and composed of halls, galleries and passages, that made frequent angles.”

“They had met upon their route with a pit which they supposed to be about thirty feet in depth; in order to pass it they had been obliged to sit down on its edge, and push themselves forwards with their hands. Not having counted the turns of the path, nor constantly examined the floor, they conceived that they had left behind them several other pits, and there were in fact others of even greater depth in the catacomb. They had, in truth, but a confused and even false idea of the shape of the place.”

“By an imprudence of which experience alone could teach them the whole danger, they had no more than two candles to enlighten their way. At a moment when they were attentively examining some sculptures, a numerous swarm of bats suddenly rushed from a passage, agitating the surrounding air; one of the lights is struck and extinguished. He who held it runs to light it at the other, but this, struck at the same instant, is also extinguished. The sudden change from light to darkness, inspires them with horror; they feel that they are enclosed in a labyrinth, and surrounded by precipices. The wick, yet red, may guide them for a few seconds; they profit by this interval, and retreat as fast as possible, but the last gleam soon dies, and the obscurity becomes total.

“They halt, motionless with terror. How can the disorder and the crowd of thoughts that agitate them be painted? The hope of safety, or horrible despair, the choice of means, the want of resources, the idea of the morrow, the recollection of their country, a thousand contrary emotions oppress them at a time. Their reason fails, and imagination reigns alone. To be interred alive in these tombs, a prey to hunger; to perish miserably after three or four days of anguish, is all that the future offers to their view, without a single ray of hope.

“~~However~~ For, their minds recover at length from this first trouble; and reason resumes its sway. They agree upon signals, in case they should be forced to separate. One claps his hands aloud, to draw the attention of any others who might be in the catacomb, the other shouts shrilly for assistance. Their efforts are vain; a total silence, or the echo of their own voices, is the only reply they receive. As they had entered into the catacomb near the close of the day, all their companions had already set out for the banks of the Nile, distant half a league. To be heard by the Arabs, was by no means a likely chance, for the number of persons, who reside in these caves, is not great. Still, however, they repeat the attempt several times, cry with all their might, and then listen anxiously; a horrible silence, or the more horrible hissing of the flight of bats, convinces them

they are alone. One of them proposes to search carefully for the pit they had passed; but how is this to be effected? It would be necessary to recollect the various turns they had made, and to recognise them by the sense of touch. At last they abandon themselves to this weak and uncertain chance. In order to explore the ground as fully as possible, they agree to join hands, and to march stooping, and striding widely, each constantly touching one of the sides of the gallery, or the floor. The extent of this chain is increased by a pick-axe that one of them had carried with him. In this way they explore the road, with the assurance of not passing a wall, an aperture, or a pit, without being aware of it. After some hundred steps, both walls escape their grasp at a time, and they are aware that they are in a large hall; they retire affrighted and seize the wall. But they dare not hesitate long, for fear of their strength abandoning them; they determine to follow the wall to the right, and not to leave it, however it might wind. This might carry them farther into the labyrinth, but it might also lead them nearer to the entrance."

As they proceed.

"On a sudden, the first perceives a void beneath his feet, and gives the signal of a precipice; the other at the same instant perceives the edge of a pit. But what is this pit? How is it to be passed? together, or one after the other? Without delay, each seats himself on the narrow edge. With the head and back, glued as one may say to the wall, the legs and more than half the thighs suspended over the abyss, they drag themselves gently along, by raising the body on the hands, and without advancing at each effort more than six inches. Finally, the precipice is passed, but not without a false movement of one of them, who, seizing the other, would have dragged him with him into the pit; but the latter had at the instant reached the opposite angle of the cavity, and by grasping it firmly, gave his companion a support; and they are soon beyond the gap. To the first emotion of joy at this unlooked-for escape, new fears succeed. If this pit be not the one they are in search of, it must be passed a second time; and if they go forward, they, in this case, go farther astray. But there is but one plan, which, if persevered in, can save them; they therefore constantly follow the wall on the right hand. As they march in this direction, a gleam almost insensible, and to all appearance far distant, strikes their desiring eyes. Those who have watched for some hours in a place entirely dark, know that the eye occasionally perceives illusions, and fancies lights that do not exist. Our travellers ask themselves if it be such an illusion that deceives them. Is it a gaseous emanation, that has taken fire spontaneously, is it the lamp of an Arab, or a mere affection of the visual organ? In spite of this uncertainty, they direct their steps to this feeble ray: the light appears to increase; it is not red like that of a lamp, nor is it bounded. It quickly enters into their minds, that it is near the hour of sunset, and that the twilight may have penetrated to the bottom of the catacomb, and may cast a reflected light on the neighbourhood. Struck with this sudden thought, they rush without precaution to the enlightened space, it is the light of day.

"It was about six o'clock; the light reflected from the atmosphere, had penetrated to the end of the great avenue of the catacomb, through an interval of two hundred and eighty feet, and from the end wall was reflected into the neighbouring galleries. Our travellers had not made in their return, a single false or useless step, and the pit they had passed, was the very same they had passed in entering. With what beating hearts do they press to the avenue. One of them, seized with a lively and sudden emotion, not of joy, but of horror, runs breathless until he escapes from the catacomb. In this manner they were restored safe to the light and to their fellow-travellers, after the most cruel alternations of hope and despair."

Besides the thousands of mummies which cover the bottom of the catacombs, there are frequently found amulets, small statues, and fragments of larger ones, in terra-cotta, porcelain, stone, alabaster, and granite. These are very remarkable from the supe-

riority of their fabric, over the articles of the same description found in Lower Egypt. The confusion is still further increased by numerous fragments of the stone, forced by the saline crystallizations from the roofs, which have in consequence often suffered excessively. On the other hand, the walls have remained almost free from injury, except from occasional conflagrations, and in some of the more accessible grottoes, where travellers have endeavoured to detach portions to convey to Europe.

We extract a description of the more magnificent class of these catacombs.

"They are preceded by an open vestibule, in which is a descent of several steps; thence the passage is through a large entrance, shaped at top like an arch; this conducts to several halls, twelve or fifteen feet in height, arranged on each side of the same axis, and supported by pillars, (left in the excavation) square or polygonal. At the end of this suite of halls or peristyles is a chamber of less dimensions, containing an elevation of four steps. At the end, is the representation of a person seated, sometimes accompanied by two female figures. To the right and left of these halls, are passages to which the entrances are by lateral doors, and in these are sunk the pits that contain the mummies. These pits are squares of from six to nine feet, and from twenty-four to fifty feet in depth."

It frequently happens, that fresh passages branch off from the last of the halls, leading to other galleries, and other pits, and, bending twice at right angles, return to the original entrance, or seek a new opening on the face of the rock. Other classes of catacombs are of less magnificence, and less perfect construction, until the passages become extremely narrow, and the chambers of small dimensions, and in these, no pains has been taken in fixing the direction of the several parts.

The walls of these sepulchral vaults, are destitute of architectural ornaments, or any projecting parts, such as form the members of walls erected on the surface of the earth. Pictorial representations alone embellish them from the floor to the roof; but the latter is adorned with a degree of richness which is not to be found either in palaces or temples. Patterns of every possible variety of form and colour are to be found on these ceilings. The walls are interrupted occasionally by large figures, left projecting in high relief, and sometimes pannels are cut deeper than the general surface, in which small figures are left executed in the same manner. With the exception of these reliefs, the embellishments of the walls consist in fresco paintings, in which the figures are distributed in parallel and horizontal bands; or in very low reliefs, either projecting, or separated by lowering the wall around them, and which are sometimes colourless. These figures are usually on a small scale, and their execution has frequently been interrupted by the accidental contents of the rock, the petrifications and nodules of silex of which we have spoken. In such cases, the artist has carefully removed the obstacle with the surrounding rock, forming an excavation of the figure of a

rectangle, which is then filled up by a slab of the same stone, sealed with cement, and dressed to the level of the adjacent surface. The joints are so close as scarcely to be perceptible, and the work is in consequence continued without interruption.

In relation to the subjects represented in these pictures, they are almost always those of domestic life, and give a lively idea of the customs of the ancient inhabitants, which often have a marked analogy with those of their more ignorant successors. Thus the methods of carrying burthens, two of which are peculiar, are still found in use upon the spot. It is far otherwise with the subjects that have reference to the liberal arts: in these, a degree of proficiency is remarked, which causes our surprise. Musical instruments are seen as perfect in principle, and decorated with as much taste, as at the present day, and the Parisian maker of harps has been under obligations in the last respect to his Theban predecessor. The dance, the chase, the fishery, and gymnastic exercises, furnish in their turn objects of decoration; numerous mechanic arts, particularly the making of chariots, and of pottery, and the weighing of merchandise by balances, little different from what we use at present, were copied and engraved for the French work. Of one scene we shall extract the description.

"Under the lateral galleries of a vast catacomb, I have seen the picture of a repast served to the master and mistress of the house, and several guests, by a multitude of servants; some carry legs of mutton and fillets of veal; others ducks; some vegetables, and others again fruits, and many other species of provisions. To the abundance which reigns in the feast, is added, the pleasure of music, which is performed on various species of instruments, both wind and stringed. All the figures of this scene, are models of finish and delicacy, and the hieroglyphics themselves, have a perfection, I have no where else found, even in the most perfect of the great monuments; this is in part owing to the fineness of the grain of the stone in this place. As to the vases in which the meat is served, they are of exquisite taste. The purity of the outlines of so great a number of objects is astonishing. The whole is painted upon a coat of stucco, and the figures part are *en creux*, part in relief, of very small projection."—
JOMARD. *Description de l'Égypte*. Vol. iii. p. 52.

One can hardly believe, that such a gay and smiling scene should be a decoration of a tomb: yet it is so. But such may not have been the original destination of the excavation, and in support of this, similar ones have been found, in which there are no pits for the reception of mummies. One of these is described at p. 183 of the 3d volume. It may be here however, remarked, that the Egyptians made themselves strangely familiar with death, living in the midst of the mummies of their ancestors, which they preserved in their houses, and causing them to be brought to their feasts.

But if the original destination of many of the grottoes of the Necropolis of Thebes be doubtful, there is no question, that those of the valley of Beban-el-Molouk, were excavated expressly for tombs, and that they were the receptacles of the bodies of kings.

This valley is a branch of one that opens into the Lybian chain, near the palace of Kourna; or, perhaps, is rather an isolated chasm in the rock, which has been joined to that valley, by an artificial passage. The main valley leaves the plain of Thebes in a north-western direction, and winds, by continually bending to the left, until it tends to the south-west; in this way it again approaches the river, so as to be separated from the site of the tomb of Osymandyas, only by a narrow cliff. Through this, it is not irrational to presume, there must exist a subterranean passage, which probably formed the principal entrance to Beban-el-Moulouk. Thirteen tombs are now known in this valley; eleven have been open since the time of Strabo, by whom they were visited; a twelfth was discovered by two members of the French expedition; and the last has more recently been explored by the enterprising Belzoni.

These tombs are constructed upon a plan nearly uniform, and less complicated than many of the private excavations on the face of the mountain. They consist of long galleries, and halls of various dimensions; but in each of these, one hall is distinguished from the rest, by the care that has been bestowed on its structure and embellishment, and in this the body of the royal founder lay. Although any one of these excavations, if it were found alone, would be an interesting object of study, they differ extremely among themselves, both in size and magnificence. Their extent varies from fifty to three hundred and seventy feet, and while some are loaded with ornaments, others are almost entirely bare.

The most magnificent of all these tombs, is that distinguished by the name of the catacomb of harps, and which, by the use of the alphabet of Champollion, has been shown to be the tomb of Ramses Meiamoun, the grandfather of the celebrated Sesostris, and the father of the monarch under whose reign the *Exodus* took place. The great hall of this tomb is remarkable for its size, and the beauty of its roof, which is cut into the form of flat vault, and is supported by eight pillars. The sarcophagus stands at the entrance; it is a vast oblong vessel of rose Syenitic granite, adorned both without and within with hieroglyphics and paintings; its dimensions are such as to conceal within it a man when standing erect. The cover had disappeared, and was not seen by the French commission, but Champollion states, that it is the one since found by Belzoni, and placed in the Museum of the University of Cambridge; it is ten feet in length, of the same material with the sarcophagus, and bears upon it, sculptured in high relief, the image of Ramses Meiamoun, surrounded by his titles and royal legend. The sarcophagus is so large, that it could never have passed the gate of the valley, and must therefore have either been raised over the ridge, or brought through a subterranean passage now unknown. The view presented by this great

sepulchral hall, is terrific. A frieze extends around it, covered with the representations of men actually beheaded, or suffering that punishment; above them stand the executioners waving their swords, and the blood flows in all directions.

As a contrast to this scene of carnage, one of the lateral chambers that open from the first gallery, contains a picture of great interest and beauty, and which has given its name to the tomb, from its comprising the figures of two players on the harp. These were first noticed by Bruce, and a delineation of them published in his travels. The whole scene appears to represent an act of public worship, and the musicians chant the praises of the divinity. The attitudes of the harpers are easy, and their hands appear to run over the strings exactly as those of the players of the present day. The harps are decorated with a taste and elegance, which, in the words of the work before us, "our most renowned modern makers would not disavow, although we live at a time when this instrument, become fashionable, is more regarded for its beauty of decoration, than even for its musical perfection." One of the harps has no fewer than twenty-one strings, and wants nothing that the modern ones have, except the pedals.

But the Valley of Beban-el-Molouk did not suffice to contain the mighty shades of the Egyptian kings. In after times, those who resided at Memphis, erected mountains to contain and hide their ashes, and many of the Theban monarchs appear to have had tombs built in the open air, instead of being excavated in the rock. One at least, and the most magnificent of all, was thus constructed,—the celebrated sepulchre of Osymandyas. This edifice has been recognised and ascertained by the labours of the French commission, and such evidence is adduced by them of the identity of the monument they describe, and that mentioned by Diodorus, that we cannot resist it.

We shall first cite portions of the description of that author, and then mention the parts and works of art which have been found still in existence, and are unquestionably identical.

"At the entrance of this monument, is a *pylon* built of stones, painted of various colours; its length is two *plethra*, (two hundred feet) its height forty-five cubits; passing from this, a square *peristyle* is met with, each side of which is four *plethra*; in place of columns, there are monolith figures sixteen cubits in height; the whole roof is composed of single stones, two *orgyia* (twelve cubits) in width, and embellished with stars upon a blue ground. Beyond this peristyle is another passage and *pylon* similar to that first spoken of, but more fully adorned with various sculptures; in the entrance are seen three statues cut from a single block of Syenitic stone.* One of these, which is seated, is the greatest of all that exist in Egypt; whose foot exceeds in length seven cubits. The other two, which are placed at his knees, one on the right, the other on the left, do not equal it in magnitude. This work is not only worthy of praise from its magnitude, but wonderful for its style of art, and remarkable for the excellent nature of the stone, as

* See American Quarterly Review. Vol. i. p. 457.

On its vast mass no flaw or fissure is to be detected. There is inscribed upon it 'I am Osymandyas, King of Kings. If any one wish to know how great I am and where I lie, let him excel some one of my works.' But there is also another statue of his mother, a monolith of twenty cubits, having three queens upon her head, to signify that she was the daughter, the wife, and the mother of kings. After this pylon, was a peristyle, more worthy of praise than the former, in which were various sculpturcs, representing the war carried on by him against the revolted Bactrians."

"Upon the first wall, the king is seen attacking a fortification surrounded by water, and fighting in the van against some of the enemy along with a lion who assists him strenuously, which some of the interpreters say, is to be understood of a real lion, which the king had tamed and brought up, and which partaking with him of the dangers of battle, aided by his vigour to rout his enemies. But others say, that being excessively brave and warlike, he wished to be thus flattered, signifying the qualities of his mind by the image of the lion."

"Against the last wall (of this peristyle) are seen two seated monolith statues, twenty-seven cubits in height, and beside them, are three passages, by which a hall supported upon pillars, after the manner of an odeon, is entered, each of whose sides are two *plethra*."

"There is an ascent hence to the top of the tomb, which being mounted, there is upon the monument a golden circle three hundred and sixty-five cubits in circumference, and a cubit in thickness, the days of the year are inscribed upon divisions each of a cubit, with a notation of the rising and setting of the stars according to observation, and of the significations to be drawn from them according to the Egyptian astrologers. But they say this circle was carried away by Cambyses and the Persians, at the time that he conquered Egypt. Such, then, they say, is the tomb of the king Osymandyas, which not only excels the others in the magnificence of its structure, but also in the skill of the workmen."

Diod. Sic. Biblioth. Histor. Lib. i.

Let us see how far the edifice whose remains are still seen, corresponds with this description. It is first to be remarked, that it is on the Lybian side of the river, on the narrow border of barren soil that lies between the mountain and the inundated valley; that it is, of all the edifices extant, nearest to the tombs of the kings, lying beneath the narrow cliff which separates the valley of Beban-el-Molouk from the plain of Thebes.

The entrance to the building is by a gate inserted between two pyramidal masses; the height is, as near as our estimate of ancient measures will reach, the same as that given by Diodorus, as is the extent of the front. The stones show traces of decoration, but are too far worn to exhibit them clearly. This gate gives entrance to a rectangular peristyle or court, whose dimensions correspond with those of the pylon, and not with those given in the text of Diodorus. But as it is obvious that the pylon must have formed one of the sides, the present text cannot be correct in assigning a different dimension. The lateral enclosures of this court have disappeared, but fragments of its flat roof remain, exhibiting yellow stars on a blue ground. The second pylon and its passage can still be identified, and are in all respects conformable to the description of Diodorus. The court itself is filled with such quantities of fragments of

granite, that at first sight it seems like a quarry of that material. On closer examination, these fragments appear to be the remains of an enormous colossal statue, of which the head, the trunk, and one arm, from the elbow upwards, still remain in one piece. Another block lies near, which contains the rest of the body and the thighs. These two pieces have been separated by wedges, the traces of which are still to be seen.* The head of the statue has retained its shape, and the ornaments of the head-dress are still distinguishable, but the face is entirely mutilated. Among the scattered fragments, the left foot and hand have been found. The pedestal of this statue is yet in the place pointed out by the Greek author, and both it and the statue are of the beautiful rose granite of Syene: the polish is exquisite. From the measures taken on the spot, this colossus, when seated in its place, must have been fifty-four French feet in height.

To this court succeeds, after passing the portal of the pylon, another peristyle, on the sides of which caryatides are still seen remaining, in the place of pillars, as described by Diodorus in the first court, and which he permits us to infer, formed also the decoration of the second. On the first wall are figured representations of warlike actions. The site of the war is marked by a river, which, distinguished by undulating lines, and painted blue, passes from the top of the wall on the left, to the bottom, where it traverses its whole length. This river surrounds with its waters a citadel, which appears to be the object of attack and defence. But its inhabitants have not waited for the invaders within the walls, but have passed the river to meet them. They are mounted in cars, each of which carries three warriors dressed in long tunics. They have long beards, and by them, their dress, and the shape of their shields, are distinguished from the Egyptians. The latter are led by their king, who is attended by a lion. We have not room for extracting the remainder of the description of this interesting picture. Enough has been given to assist in showing the identity which is to be established.

Against the fourth wall are still the remains of two monolith statues, and three doors conduct thence into a vast hall supported by pillars, of which many yet remain. Beyond this, all is rubbish; but we think that the evidence, more particularly that of the battle of the fortress, and of the vast monolith statue, the greatest in Egypt, is irrefragable, and that this monument is no other than the tomb said to be of Osymandyas, and described by Diodorus. The name then of Memnonium, and palace of Memnon, given by Danville and several modern travellers, is errone-

* The exact spot, whence the block out of which this enormous colossus was chiselled, has been found, bearing the marks of the tools, by Jonard, the member of the French commission who describes the vicinity of Syene.

ous. The hieroglyphic inscriptions have been decyphered by Champollion, and all have reference to Sesostris.

A monument of similar character once existed within a short distance of this tomb; its place is still marked by two vast colossi that remain seated in their original position. Behind these, scattered for a considerable distance through a wood of acacias, are to be found the fragments of granite statues. But the building has itself disappeared; evidences however exist to show, that its material was the limestone of the neighbouring mountains, and that it has been used to burn into quick-lime. These vast statues are formed of a breccia of agatised pebbles, held together by a siliceous cement. One of them, although mutilated and defaced, is still in a single block; the other has been broken, and the head adapted to the lower part of the body by courses of the common sand-stone, used so generally in the buildings of Thebes. This broken statue is identified, by innumerable inscriptions which testify the fact of its having emitted sounds, with the vocal Memnon; and its hieroglyphic legend shows it to have been the effigy of Amenophis II. We shall insert translations of two of the inscriptions.

"I Publius Balbinus heard the divine voice of Memnon, or Phamenoph. I came in company with the Empress Sabina, at the first hour of the sun's course, the 15th year of the reign of Adrian, the 15th day of Athyr, the 25th of the month of November."

The other is as follows,

"I write after having heard Memnon."

"Cambyses hath wounded me, a stone cut into an image of the Sun-king. I had formerly the sweet voice of Memnon, but Cambyses has deprived me of the accents that express joy and grief." "You relate grievous things. Your voice is now obscure. O wretched statue! I deplore your fate."

This statue then was Memnon,—the building at whose portal it stood, the Memnonium.

Having given an account of the sepulchre of King Ramse Meiamoun, we shall, as a specimen of an Egyptian palace, describe that which appears by its hieroglyphic inscriptions to have served him for a residence while living.

The entrance is by a pylon two hundred feet in length, about thirty in thickness, and nearly seventy in height; decorated in a manner peculiar to itself, with small squares, enclosing cyphers that cover the whole front. This pylon has a wide and lofty gateway, which leads to a vast court enclosed on two sides by galleries, and on that opposite to the entrance by a second pylon. One of the galleries is formed of seven large square pillars, each side of which is six feet. To the outer face of these are attached as many statues of Egyptian divinities, twenty-three feet in height. The opposite gallery is supported by eight large columns, with unequal intercolumniations.

"The irregularity of this colonnade, all of whose intercolumniations are unequal, and whose columns, more numerous than the caryatid pillars, which form the other gallery, do not correspond with them, might lead us to believe that the Egyptian architects had made it their object in this case, to violate all the rules of symmetry. But this symmetry was not what they had chiefly in view, at least in details; they sought to produce great effects, and in this they have rarely failed. The long and fine lines of their architecture principally strike us, and excite the highest degree of astonishment, thus we have ourselves experienced in paying our tribute of admiration to this beautiful court, before we perceived the want of symmetry in its parts."

The pylon which forms the bottom of the court, has a gate nine feet in width, whose casing is of granite ornamented with hieroglyphics. The whole front is decorated with religious subjects, and hieroglyphic characters. After having passed the gate of this pylon, a court is entered, which is a true peristyle, having galleries entirely surrounding it. These are supported on two opposite sides by eight pillars with caryatides, and on the other two, by five large columns. All the ceilings are decorated with stars painted on a blue ground, with the exception of the two centre soffits, which are adorned with falcons with spread wings.

"Nothing adds so much to the effect which this peristyle produces, as the caryatid pillars that adorn it. How, in fact, can we avoid being seized with profound and religious respect, at the view of this council of gods, assembled, as it might seem, to dictate the laws of wisdom and philanthropy, which are seen every where inscribed on the walls of the palace? The Egyptian artists, in thus attaching the statues of deities to pillars, which bear rich ceilings, embellished with golden stars, scattered over a blue ground, appear to have wished to represent the divinity, beneath the azure vault, which he fills with his immensity."

These pillars seem to have given to the Greeks the idea of their caryatides, but in this case the original exceeds the copy in taste. The statues of the Egyptians stand out from massive columns which support the roof, while the Greek caryatides appear borne down by the weight of the architrave with which they are loaded.

These galleries have their walls covered with sculptures, painted of brilliant and lively colours, some of which are extremely interesting; we shall return to the description of a part of them, after completing that of the edifice itself. Beyond the wall of the farthest gallery, are four small apartments, the proper entrance to which was from the opposite side to the peristyle, and has been closed up; they are now approached by a forcible passage made in the wall. They are richly adorned, and seem to have been the private apartments of the personage who resided in the palace, and held his court in the magnificent peristyle. The gate which leads from the peristyle on the side opposite to the entrance, is shut to its very lintel with rubbish, partly of the additional buildings of the palace, partly of modern dwellings, so that here all further researches were at an end.

The most interesting of the sculptures to which we have referred, as existing upon the walls of the peristyle, represents the

triumph of the hero, whose great actions form the subject of the principal part of the other representations.

"Two ranges of figures, which, in the ceremony that this basso-relievo commemorates, probably marched abreast, are represented one above another. The three figures on the left* of the upper range, are soldiers who bear lances in their right hands, and have bucklers upon their arms; in their left hands they carry a species of club. Eight figures clothed in long robes, and grouped in pairs, precede them, bearing long palms in their hands; four of them also carry battle-axes; their heads are adorned with plumes, the emblem of victory: two other figures, one of which carries a quiver, and the other a stem of the lotus with its flower, are in front, and march preceded by two personages that seem to direct this first column of the procession. Beneath, are eight men, carrying steps that are probably intended to ascend and descend from the triumphal car. Eight persons who precede, have their heads ornamented with plumes, and are clothed in transparent drapery; they carry sacrificial axes, and rods of lotus surmounted with feathers. Four figures placed in front, are bare headed, and also carry the lotus and plumes; they are a little bent, and in the attitude of persons penetrated with respect for the august ceremony in which they are engaged. The hero himself, is seated on a throne, placed in a sort of palankeen richly adorned, borne upon the shoulders of twelve persons of the military caste, grouped in pairs; they are clothed in long robes, and crowned with plumes. In the intervals of the three first groupes, appear the heads of two personages who seem to direct the march. Standards are also seen borne by three other persons, whose figures are entirely hidden. The throne is covered with rich stuffs, and the feet of the hero repose luxuriously on cushions; he bears in his hands the attributes of the divinity; behind him are two protecting genii, that shelter him with their wings; at his side are the emblems of the qualities which distinguish him, the lion that announces his courage, the hawk which is the symbol of his victories, the serpent indicating the extent of his conquests and dominions, the sphinx, which no doubt has relation to his knowledge in all that concerns religion and the gods. Before and behind the head of the hero, are hieroglyphics, which probably indicate his name and the subject of his triumph.† On the base of the palankeen are small figures, clothed in long robes, that carry his arms, his quiver, and his arrows. The palankeen is decorated in its lower part with two small erect figures, and at the top with the Egyptian cornice surmounted by fourteen *ubai* with disks on their heads; the two uprights are terminated with flowers of the lotus. Two priests, placed one above the other, march before him, turning their heads and a part of their bodies to the hero; they burn perfumes. In front of the lower of the two priests, is seen a personage bearing a portfolio, attached by a shoulder strap to his body; he has drawn from it a volume which he unrolls, and seems to proclaim the mighty deeds, and the glory of the triumphing monarch. This personage is preceded by four soldiers clothed in robes and crowned with feathers, they bear badges of office, rods with flowers of lotus surmounted each by a long plume; they have battle-axes in their left hands. Six soldiers similarly dressed are below them, some carrying battle-axes and plumes, others augural staves and stems of the lotus. The procession is on its march to the temple of the great divinity of Thebes, and has in front of the whole, two priests. Four figures marching in an opposite direction, appear to come to meet the hero, in order to receive and conduct him into the temple, to the mysterious place where the chest that contains the image of the divinity reposes."

Within the temple.

"The hero, in the dress of a sacrificer, offers in one hand a censer in which incense is burnt, and holds in the other three vases tied together, with which he

* The description begins on the left, and in the rear of the procession.

† It is from these that Champollion has shown that the king represented is Ramses Meiamoun.

prepares to pour libations upon an altar, on which lie different productions of nature, such as foliage, and the branches and flowers of the lotus."

"The sacrifice finished, the march continues, but now the statue of the divinity forms itself a part of the procession. Four personages that are recognised as priests by their shaven heads, bear trees in a coffer; above, two priests bear a great tablet, apparently designed to have inscribed upon it, the victories of the hero, and his august triumph; or perhaps, to perpetuate the memory of the sacrifice he has been just offering.

"The statue of the god is borne on a litter by twenty-four priests; it has been withdrawn from the sacred place in which it was shut up; it is surrounded with all the pomp of religious ceremony, with garlands, branches and flowers of the lotus, standards, and plumes. A rich drapery, covered with embroidery, envelops all the priests who bear the litter, so that their heads and feet are alone visible. Two small figures are at the feet of the divinity; one of them, seated on its heels, makes an offering of two vases, in which are probably contained the first fruits of the inundation. In front marches the hero, clothed in other garments, and wearing another head-dress; he holds in his hands the attributes of supreme power. Above his head hovers a vulture bearing his royal legend. The sacred bull appears himself in the midst of the procession, perhaps that kept at Hounonthis near Thebes; his neck is ornamented with sacred fillets; he bears on his head a disk surmounted by two plumes; a priest burns incense before him."

"The march continues, and a personage who is entirely surrounded with hieroglyphic inscriptions, unrolls a volume, and seems to proclaim the actions of the hero. But the scene soon changes, and the hero again becomes a sacrificer; armed with a sickle, he cuts a bundle of branches and buds of the lotus which a priest presents to him. Another priest follows, and holds a rouleau of papyrus elevated in his hands, on which he seems to read; they are perhaps the prayers prescribed for the occasion. The sacred bull figures again in this scene, which appears entirely devoted to agriculture. This sacrifice appears to be the prelude to another which the triumpher is about to make, after approaching more near to the sanctuary, where the statue of the great divinity of Thebes is deposited; and in the last scene of this triumphal march, the Egyptian hero presents perfumes to Harpocrates."

"With this act terminates this grand religious and military procession, which may be considered as a faithful representation of all the ceremonies that are observed at the triumph of a warrior king. Sacrifices offered to the gods, began and closed this august act."

Such are the remains of the palace of Medinet-Abou, and such one of the numerous basso relievos that decorate its walls. In magnificence and extent however, it falls far short of the palace of Karnac, probably the most splendid in material and decoration, ever erected by the hand of man.

The comparison which Messrs. Jollois and Devilliers make between the extent and magnitude of the buildings of Thebes, and those of other countries and ages, is extremely curious, and tends to show how far the most powerful and magnificent of succeeding nations, have been from equaling the architectural grandeur of this ancient people.

"As nothing in nature has an absolute size, and as the mind of man judges of all that the universe affords to his observation by relation alone, it is only by bringing into comparison analogous objects, that we can form a just idea of their extent and importance. It therefore appears to us to be proper, in order to leave nothing to be desired in respect to the knowledge of the monuments of Thebes,

and more particularly of those of Karnac, to institute a parallel between them and edifices that are well known.

"In order to accomplish our object, we shall first compare the monuments of Karnac, with the edifices erected by the Greeks and Romans. These last, which have been better appreciated since the revival of the arts, and have been sought out with eagerness, have become classic, and are in consequence well adapted to meet our views.

"The monuments properly called Grecian, those for instance, which were constructed under the government of Pericles, at a time when a taste for the arts was so eminent, and when Athens was free and flourishing, cannot enter into comparison, in point of extent, with those of Egypt. The temple of Theseus, the Propylæa and the Parthenon, are buildings of small extent; the last has about the same dimensions as a single temple, that of the south, at Karnac.

"The monuments of Magna Grecia, whose ruins still exist at Paestum, and which appear to date from that age of architecture, when the severe taste of the Greeks admitted of no superfluous ornament, are no more comparable in point of dimensions, than those of Athens, to the vast structures of Egypt.

"In the prosperous age of Greece, the Athenians erected temples of exquisite taste, but of small dimensions; but under the government of the Romans, Athens saw raised within her walls, edifices which added to the merit of purity of design, colossal dimensions. The mention of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, recalls to our memory one of the greatest buildings of the Romans; it is however no longer known but in the descriptions of Pausanias and Vitruvius. If we are to believe their testimony, it was in the midst of a vast enclosure - it was therefore one of the monuments which might best compare with those of Egypt.

"If from Athens we pass to Palmyra and Balbec, we there find ruins of monuments so magnificent, that they might have been considered as the most difficult effort of human power, before the ancient capital of Egypt became as well known as it now is. Who is there who has not been seized with admiration in reading the stories of travellers, in relation to the wonders which these cities, once so flourishing, but now so desolate, contain? Who is there who has not learnt with astonishment, that at Palmyra, in a place enveloped on all sides by the desert, there still exist ruins of such magnificence, as the imagination can hardly conceive? The great temple of the Sun is situated in an enclosure, two hundred and forty-six metres* in length, and two hundred and twenty-one† metres in breadth; three hundred and sixty-four columns, upwards of four feet in diameter, and forty-eight feet in height, supported its long galleries, and vast porticoes. The temple itself, now in ruins, occupies a space of seventy‡ metres by forty-two.§ The portico and peristyle are formed of forty-one columns, all of white marble, and more than fifty feet in height. The colossal dimensions of these edifices are not what most excites our wonder, but we admire still more, the sculptures with which the friezes, the cornices, and the soffits, are covered; the rich ornaments which decorate the casings of the windows and the doors. In point of taste, of purity of design, and elegance of proportions, Thebes has no sculptures to oppose to those of Palmyra; but is far superior in the extent of the sculptured surface of its numerous monuments. The palace of Karnac, without counting the buildings immediately connected with it, is three hundred and fifty-eight metres|| in length, and one hundred and ten¶ in breadth, so that in point of size, it is far beyond the temple of the Sun; but besides, how great is the difference in the manner in which the surrounding spaces are occupied! * The temple of the Sun stands alone and isolated in the middle of its enclosure, while the walls that surround the palace of Karnac, contain a series of contiguous buildings, that scarcely leave any void within their immense circuit.

"Palmyra is especially remarkable for its long avenues of columns, of a single block of marble. Four ranges of them are to be seen forming avenues to the three openings of a beautiful triumphal arch. They occupy a length of twelve hundred and twenty-nine** metres, and terminate at a magnificent tomb; they

* 260 English yards.

† 138 English feet.

** A little more than three quarters of a mile.

‡ 242 English yards.

§ 392 English yards.

|| 230 English feet.

¶ 120 English yards.

form vast porticoes, adorned with a quantity of statues and monumental inscriptions. The least number at which all these columns can be reckoned, is fourteen hundred and fifty, but no more than one hundred and twenty-nine remain upright. To all this magnificence, Karnac can oppose its numerous avenues of sphinges. placed in one continuous line, they would occupy a length of twenty nine hundred and twenty-five* metres, and one of them has itself an extent of two thousand† metres. They must have comprised at least sixteen hundred sphinges, of which two hundred still remain. These colossi contain vastly more matter, and have required far more labour than all the columns of the vast porticoes of Palmyra.

"It is true, that Palmyra still proudly shows other imposing ruins, and numerous columns, among which, are some of a single portion of granite; but Karnac also, which is but a portion of Thebes, comprises besides the palace, the remains of temples, of magnificent gates, and more than forty monolith statues. Palmyra has two triumphal columns, sixty feet in height: but the great columns of Karnac are ten feet higher, and are in numbers sufficient to form an avenue. What farther reasons should we have to allow the superiority of Thebes, if instead of considering no more than a portion of this celebrated city, we should enumerate the monuments which it encloses in its whole extent! In fact, there are not less than eight monolith obelisks, of which, four are entire, and are all of prodigious height; seventeen pylons of colossal dimensions; seven hundred and fifty columns almost perfect, some of which have a greater diameter than that of Trajan. There are besides, still to be seen at Thebes, seventy-seven monolith statues, the least of which is larger than life, and the largest is fifty-four feet in height.

"The circuit of the ruins of Palmyra is five thousand seven hundred and seventy-two‡ metres. This is nearly the same with that of the ruins of Karnac. But, as we have already said, Karnac was no more than a part of the city of Thebes, whose whole circumference could not have been less than fourteen or fifteen thousand metres."§

We pass by the comparison between the tombs of Palmyra and those of Thebes, as well as the parallel with Balbec.

"In order to complete the rapid parallel which we have undertaken to make, it remains to compare the monuments of ancient Rome with those of Thebes. Probably no city in the world was ever embellished with a greater number of noble edifices. It still contains the remains of many temples, among which may be cited those of Jupiter Stator, of Jupiter Monans, of Antonines and Faustina, of the Sun and Moon; however, no one of these monuments can do more than enter in comparison in extent with the temple of the South at Karnac. Rome contains edifices of another character, of colossal dimensions: it has its Pantheon, its Coliseum, and its theatres. But it is particularly in the baths built by the emperors, that there shines a magnificence truly extraordinary: a single hall of the Thermæ of Dioclesian, is fifty-eight and a half metres|| in length, and twenty-four¶ in breadth. Great, however, as are these dimensions, they are far beneath those of the hypostyle hall of Karnac, which is one hundred and four** metres in length, and fifty-two‡ in breadth.

"If we examine the modern city of Rome, among the numerous edifices with which it is filled, one surpasses all the rest in grandeur and magnificence, this is the basilic of St. Peters, whose cupola, suspended in the air, is one hundred and thirty-seven feet in height, an elevation almost equal to that of the great pyramid of Memphis. This church has in length, two hundred and eighteen metres,‡‡ and one hundred and fifty five metres§§ in breadth. Two galleries, arranged in the figure of a horse shoe, serve as avenues to this majestic edifice, and add considerably to its extent, which, including them, is four-hundred and ninety-seven|| metres. But this is thirty-seven metres less than the space comprised between

* A mile and five-sixths.

† More than three miles and a half.

** 75 feet.

‡ 170 English yards.

** 318 feet.

|| 543 English yards.

† Nearly a mile and a quarter.

§ About nine miles.

‡‡ 180 feet.

|| 233 English yards.

|| 180 feet.

the sphinges that precede the western entrance of the palace of Karnac, and its eastern gate."

Our authors continue the parallel between the palace of Karnac and those of Caserta, of the Escurial, and the united mass of the Louvre and the Tuilleries, and with national vanity, accord the preference to the latter.

"In truth, these structures have little thickness, but when the large space they enclose, shall be filled with the monuments of which the execution has been ordered, they will exceed the palace of Karnac, and, in consequence, all known buildings."

In space alone, the enclosure of the Louvre and Tuilleries may exceed the palace of Karnac; but when we compare their walls of rubble, merely faced with hewn stone, to the vast blocks jointed to each other, of the pylons of Karnac; the pigmy triumphal arch of the Carousel, to the vast avenue of votive columns: their plaister partitions and wooden *parquets*, to the royal chambers of polished Syenite; the cocks and H's, that replace the eagles and N's of Napoleon, to the innumerable basso relievos, which load every part of the Egyptian edifice: we are forced to confess that *this*, the chosen specimen of modern magnificence, shrinks into insignificance in comparison with *that*, the wonder of ancient splendour.

It remains that we should give a description of an Egyptian temple. We shall select for this purpose, that of Teutyris, (the modern Denderah), which although far more recent in date than the buildings of Thebes, is still completely Egyptian in its style, and has the advantage of being more perfect.

The front of its portico or *pronaos*, is composed of six columns arranged in one line; of two lateral supports like the *antæ* of Greek buildings; of an architrave surmounted by an elegant cornice; and finally of an Egyptian *Torus*, which forms, as it were, a frame, containing the whole space beneath the cornice. The capitals of the columns are composed, each of four colossal masks of the goddess Isis, surmounted by a die, each face of which represents a species of temple. The space between the two middle columns is double that between the others, and gives the front of the portico an unusual air of majesty. The other intercolumniations are shut up by low walls, and hence, the centre space being the only entrance, there is a good apparent reason for its greater width. The front is decorated with sculptures symmetrically arranged, which are extremely curious, both from the nature of their subjects, and the richness of the dresses that are represented.

The general figure of the ground plan, is that of the letter T, and it is composed of two distinct parts, the portico or *pronaos*, and the true temple. The height of the portico is fifty-five feet, that of the temple forty. The lateral faces, and rear of the tem-

ple, are chiseled to a regular slope, which gives to the whole edifice an appearance of solidity and strength; they are also covered with sculptures, finished in the very best style.

The entablature of the temple equals the rest of the building in the richness of its sculptures. In the midst of the architrave of the front is a colossal mask of Isis; on each side of this, are figures of the deities Osiris and Isis, seated on rich thrones. Thirty-one figures advance towards them, some bearing offerings, others in the attitude of adoration. Above the architrave is a cornice, decorated in the middle with the winged globe, which rises upon a ground of flutings. The rest of this member of the entablature, is adorned with a succession of ornaments, each consisting of two *ubæi* enveloping a disk to which are attached wings, and upon the listel of the cornice, there is seen a Greek inscription, which records the dedication of the pronaos, to the gods worshipped in the temple, under the reign of the Emperor Tiberius.

The portico is entered by a gate fifteen feet in width, whose door posts rest each against one of the columns that form the middle intercolumniation; the interior of the portico has the shape of a rectangle of one hundred and twelve by sixty feet. Twenty-four columns, distributed in six files of four each, including the six that form the front, bear architraves supporting the flat stones, which compose the roof. The base of these columns is slightly conical, the lower and greater diameter of which is about seven feet. They stand upon a low cylindrical base, and with the capital composed of the four faces of Isis, of which we have spoken, its die, and a species of cushion on which the architrave rests, are forty-three feet in length.

The wall that closes the portico, contains the front of the temple itself, which projects a short distance into the pronaos. It has, like all other buildings of Egypt, an external slope, and is surrounded by a torus, which runs along the angles. It is crowned by a beautiful cornice, over which the wall of the pronaos again appears, in consequence of the difference of elevation between the portico, and the temple itself. The interior of the portico is covered with basso relievos, all of which were originally painted, and much of the colour remains; the exterior has also been painted, but the colours have disappeared.

The ceiling of the portico is decorated with magnificent sculptures; and in the two extreme soffits are sculptured the signs of the Zodiac in two straight bands, being one of those remarkable representations, which have caused so much discussion.

We have stated that the front of what may properly be called the temple, is in the wall that closes the hinder part of the portico. In the middle of this front, is a door crowned by a cornice; this forms the entrance into a hypostyle hall, whose roof rests

upon two ranges, each containing three columns. This species of second portico is forty-two feet square, and has on each side three small chambers.

Two successive vestibules, each having lateral cells, lead to the sanctuary which terminates the suite of apartments. Around the sanctuary are arranged small dark cabinets. The whole of the walls of all these apartments, whether small or large, are equally covered and adorned with sculptures. One arrangement is common to this temple, to the palace of Karnac, and indeed to all other Egyptian edifices in which the parts are sufficiently perfect to admit of its being observed; the apertures of the doors regularly decrease from the exterior inwards; and thus an optical deception is added to the effects of perspective, to enhance the estimate of distance.

A staircase, communicating with the first vestibule, leads to the terrace roof of the temple, a great part of which is occupied by the remains of a village, once inhabited by the Arabs.

On the terrace of the temple are situated two uncovered halls, that lead to several small apartments. One of these is remarkable in consequence of having sculptured upon its roof, a circular representation of the constellations visible in Egypt. This planisphere is very curious from its being the oldest existing instance of a representation of the vault of the heavens upon a plane surface. Biot has examined and determined the principle of its projection, which is extremely simple. It has, in connexion with the zodiac of the portico, and another similar representation discovered in the temple of Esné, been tortured into an argument to prove the enormous antiquity of Egyptian science. As has been already shown in a previous number of this review, this argument was destitute of foundation. The roof of this apartment, with its sculptured constellations, has recently been removed, and is now in Paris.

The whole length of this beautiful building, is two hundred and sixty-six English feet; the front of the portico is one hundred and thirty-five English feet; but it is even more remarkable for the labour bestowed upon its embellishment, and the beauty of its form, than for its size. This great temple, with a lesser one and several other sacred edifices, was surrounded by a wall of unburnt bricks, forming an enclosure, almost an exact square, of about three hundred and twenty yards in each direction. This wall was from fifteen to eighteen feet in thickness; it is now almost wholly in ruins, no more remaining than suffices to point out its extent, and determine its dimensions.

The whole of this great space, was no doubt devoted to sacred purposes, contained the habitations of the priests, and received the worshipping multitude, who were not admitted into the temple itself, which was in truth no more than the sanctuary

of this vast place of devotion. The temple itself is so much incumbered with rubbish, that many of its apartments are hardly accessible, while the terrace can be mounted by means of them, in spite of its elevation above the original soil. A less temple has been nearly lost beneath them, and to judge from what is found at Thebes, many other edifices are probably buried. Several splendid gates led to this enclosure, decorated like the temple itself with rich sculptures.

ART. II.—INSTRUCTIONS TO REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. Burke's Speech to the Electors of Bristol, on his being declared by the Sheriffs duly elected one of the Representatives in Parliament for that City, on Thursday, the third of November, 1774. Burke's Works: Boston edition of 1826, volume 2d, page 5.

AMONG the democratic spirits of Great Britain, and universally perhaps among the ultra advocates of Parliamentary reform, an opinion has long prevailed, that as a legislative government by representation is only adopted from the impossibility of a whole people meeting to transact personally their own business as citizens of a political community, the representatives who are substituted for the constituents, are to act as the constituents themselves would act, could they be personally present: That, as each section of the people would naturally be induced in a national assembly, to consult its own interests rather than the opposing interests of other sections, this collision would ultimately result in the adoption of those measures which tended to promote the interest of the majority. Hence it follows, that a sectional representative does not truly represent the constituents who send him, unless he speak the sentiments of the majority of them. Whenever therefore they can and do speak for themselves in the form of instructions to their substitute or representative, he is bound to follow those instructions, or he is not a real and faithful representative of that part of the community from whom he is delegated. If each representative, being bound by the instructions of his constituents, votes accordingly, the interest of every section of the community comes fairly before the legislature, and

the interest of the majority is sure to be adopted. Such is the substance of the arguments in favour of instructing the representatives of the people, to be found in *Burgh's Political Disquisitions*, in the writings of *Major Cartwright*, and other strenuous advocates for a reform in the representation of the people in the British Parliament. It must be acknowledged that ancient practice, from the times when the representatives received daily pay from their constituents, was in favour of this right, though rarely exercised. We do not recollect any formal remonstrance against it by a member of the British Parliament, until this speech of Mr. Burke. The right of instruction had long been doubted and denied in obiter parliamentary declarations, and formally by Judge Blackstone in his *Commentaries*, v. i. p. 161; but if there be any formal argument against it extant, previous to this bold and honest declaration of Mr. Burke, it has escaped us.

In this country, we regard the question as unsettled: although the prevailing opinion, particularly throughout Virginia, (1 Tucker's Bl. app. 193.) is in favour of the right of instructing the representative, and the obligatory character of such instructions.

Mr. Burke's argument is as follows:—

“I am sorry I cannot conclude without saying a word on a topic touched upon by my worthy colleague. (Mr. Cruger.) I wish that topic had been passed by, at a time when I had so little leisure to discuss it. But since he has thought proper to throw it out, I owe you a clear explanation of my poor sentiments on that subject.

“He tells you, that the topic of instructions has occasioned much altercation and uneasiness in this city: and he expresses himself, if I understand him right, in favour of the coercive authority of such instructions.

“Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion high respect; their business unremitting attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions, to theirs; and above all, ever and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But, his unbiassed opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment: and he betrays instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.

“My worthy colleague says, his will ought to be subservient

to yours. If that be all, the thing is innocent. If government were a matter of will on any side, yours without question ought to be superior. But government and legislation are matters of reason and judgment; not of inclination: and what sort of reason is that, in which the *determination* precedes the *discussion*? In which, one set of men deliberate, and another decide? And where those who form the conclusion, are some hundred miles distant from those who hear the argument?

“To deliver an opinion is the right of all men; and that of constituents is a weighty and respectable opinion, which a representative ought always to rejoice to hear; and which he ought always most seriously to consider. But *authoritative* instructions—*mandates* issued—which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote, and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgment and his conscience—these are things utterly unknown to the laws of this land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenor of our Constitution.

“Parliament is not a *Congress* of ambassadors from different and hostile interests; which interests each must maintain as an agent and advocate against other agents and advocates. But, Parliament is a *deliberative assembly of one nation* with *one* interest, that of the whole. Where, not local purposes, or local prejudices ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole. You choose a member indeed: but when you have chosen him, he is not a member of Bristol, but a member of *Parliament*. If the local constituent should have an interest, or should form a hasty opinion, evidently opposed to the real good of the rest of the community, the member from that place ought to be as far as any other from any endeavour to give it effect. I beg pardon for saying so much on this subject; I have been unwillingly drawn into it; but I shall ever use a respectful frankness of communication with you.

“We are now members of a rich commercial *city*; this city however is but a part of a rich commercial *nation*, the interests of which are various, multiform, and intricate. We are members for that great nation, which is, however, itself but part of a great and extended *Empire*.”

So far Mr. Burke. His reasonings, we are well persuaded, have had a strong effect on the thinking portion of the British public, and for many years we have heard little of instructions to members of Parliament from their constituents. All that occur to our memory at this moment, since the conclusion of what in England is called the American war, were gotten up for the promotion of local and partial interests, disgraceful to the parties who wished to enlist the talents of the members in their cause.

They have generally been from manufacturers, in support of some local monopoly.

In the United States, Judge Brackenridge of Pennsylvania, in his *Miscellanies* p. 96, denied the obligation of instructions. and in the fall of 1823, the following passage appeared in a pamphlet, *on the proposed alteration of the tariff*, by Dr. Thomas Cooper, of the South Carolina college: distributed among the members of the Congress of 1823-24. That gentleman says, p. 24 of the 3d edition.

“I say out of doors: because it is with great reluctance I can bring myself to believe, that any man in Congress can so far prostitute his talents, as to advocate a measure for the sake of popularity with his immediate constituents, which is hostile to the interests of the nation at large. The man who does so, if such a man there be, is an unworthy citizen.”

“Every man called to the national representation, is a national, not a local, representative. He is sent to debate, and *after debate*, to decide on the great interests of the nation. Of what use is a deliberative assembly, with power to send for persons and papers, and to ascertain all dubious and necessary facts on the highest responsible authority, if a member may decide without, or in the face of them? The very essence and constitution of a representative assembly, imply that mutual deliberation and discussion must precede the vote. A member from another state, has a right to say to an instructed member, ‘Sir, we are entitled here to the benefit of your opinion, *founded upon the investigations and discussions that take place here*. Your constituents do not know what passes here. We have no opportunity of communicating with *them*; our arguments cannot reach them; they are not acquainted with the facts we have called up before us; they are therefore not competent, constitutionally, or in any other way, to decide. They have no right to decide upon imperfect information, or partial deliberation. In appointing *you*, *they* have given up that right: nor can you be bound by such a decision. Moreover, you belong to us, not to them. You are sent here to the *national* council, to deliberate for the *nation*, and not for the petty district where you reside. If you are allowed at any time to advocate their immediate interests, it is upon the presumption that they can be shown to be coincident with national interests, and that you are likely to possess more *impartial* local knowledge, than the rest of us. If they have taken ill founded opinions, or prejudices, from partial views of the subject, it is your duty not to foster and defend, but to correct them.’”

Such are the reasonings of the President of the South Carolina College on this litigated point. It is high time that this question should be settled: and if the right claimed by the con-

stituent, be determined in his favour by the public voice, that some fixed principles should be established, regulating its exercise. At present, all is doubt and uncertainty in the theory, and vagueness and informality in the practice. The popular opinion is, that the constituents have a right to instruct their representative in any case whatever; and that he is bound to pursue those instructions. This right has been repeatedly and formally acknowledged by many eminent members of Congress. We do not say this acknowledgment has proceeded in almost every case, more from a fear of losing popularity among their constituents, than from any conviction that the right claimed is well founded, but we have a right, from experience and observation, to suggest the probability, that the motive alluded to, has had more than its due share of influence on the practice, if not in every case, in the great majority of cases.

With a view to further discussion, and to contribute as much as we can, to bring this question fairly before the public, we are disposed, (until better informed) to deny that the constituents have a right to insist that the representative nominated by them, should obey the instructions they may be pleased to transmit to him, in any case whatever. We deny, that he is their servant, agent, or representative. The members from Maine, are members also for Maryland; and vice versâ, and the constituents of Maryland have as much a right to require implicit obedience from the representatives of Maine, as from the representatives of Maryland. The questions referred to them are national, not local.

Let us suppose a democratic community, so few in number, that the members composing it could meet personally in their legislative assembly, without much inconvenience; and, that being able to dispense with a representative legislature, no members were elected in that capacity. For what purpose would they meet? To enact laws and regulations. Of what kind and description? Confined to the interests of a particular section, or number, or for objects in which the whole community were interested? Doubtless, for the latter purpose, and for that purpose only. A sectional, local, or partial interest, would require only a sectional, local, or partial meeting. A general meeting of the community would take place, only when the good of the community required consideration and discussion. The members present, therefore, would meet as members of the community, for public, not private or sectional purposes: and they would meet together, that the public questions might be considered with solemnity, discussed by any member who chose to take a part in the discussion, and decided after due deliberation, by the votes of the members present; each member voting as a member of the community, and not because he lived in this or that state, or section. All this is obvious from the nature of

things; and was in fact the practice at Athens, and is so in all our American tribes. A public meeting is appointed for public purposes, and a private meeting, for private purposes. A member who attends a meeting of the whole community, attends for the interest, and on behalf of the whole community. No argument can make this clearer than the statement itself.

Suppose the community should grow so numerous, that they could not attend these public meetings personally, owing to the confusion and inconvenience arising from numbers. They must appoint, in that case, some persons to represent them, and to act for them, as they would have acted for themselves if they could have attended personally. A popular democracy will in this case become a representative democracy, or republic. The representative then will be, what his constituents would have been, and their duties in such an assembly will become his duties, and their rights his rights.

What were their duties?

To meet in public assembly as members in common of the whole community.

To deliberate on and discuss, not private, but public questions, embracing the interest of the whole community. The meeting is a public meeting for public purposes.

To act upon private, local, or sectional questions, in so far only as they might have a bearing on the common interest—the interest of the whole.

To deliberate and discuss among each other, the public business; for if they could manage and transact it without deliberation and discussion, they might as well have staid at home.

To call for information from the proper officers, concerning facts necessary to be known.

To decide, not previously to, but after deliberation and discussion.

Such would be their duties, manifestly pointed out by the nature of the case.

If the persons sent in their stead therefore, be really and truly their representatives, their duties will be the same. They will be present, not as the agents or representatives of private and local interests, but of the public interest; they will belong to the whole community; and they will have public and national measures—those which appertain to the whole community, to consider, discuss, and decide upon. The members so sent, will stand collectively in the place of the whole community collectively. What the community, if personally convened, could do, their representatives can do; what the community personally convened could not do, their representatives cannot do. Thus;

The community meet to vote on public business, and to decide after mutual discussion and deliberation. They can have

no reason for meeting together, but this : and they could not vote or act, till discussion and deliberation were over. Therefore their representatives are bound to discuss and deliberate before they vote. A representative who decides before a question is discussed, has no business there. The meeting is a deliberative meeting, and he who resolves beforehand how he shall vote, is not upon equal terms with his fellows : he does not adopt nor abide by the common compact. All deliberation, all argument, all evidence, are expended upon him in vain. He permits his fellow members to address his understanding, determined beforehand that it shall be without effect. This appears to us a manifest infraction of the implied compact ; a violation of the essential character of the assembly ; and a downright fraud upon his colleagues, who are exerting their best abilities to pour out information upon a post—an insensible and inanimate semblance—whose impracticable understanding is locked up, and who obstinately sets matter of fact and sound argument at absolute defiance.

Moreover, the members of an unrepresented community, when met together on behalf of the community, are equal. They are all alike members of the nation, and do not meet as members of any particular section of it. Hence they have no power or authority of ordering, directing, or instructing each other. There is no binding authority among them, but the vote ultimately taken after mutual discussion. To instruct, order, or direct, any particular member, would be a presumptuous interference, not only with his rights, but with the rights of the rest of the community, who have a claim on each member for his conscientious vote, founded on his real unbiassed opinion ; and who have a stronger hold over any particular member, wherever he happens to reside when at home, than any portion of the community can have. The members meet as members of the whole community, and not as persons partially and locally interested. So therefore does each member in a representative government : else he does not represent that portion of the community who depute him ; for in a democratic meeting they could be members on no other condition. And when that portion instruct a member, as if he were (body and soul) their separate and exclusive property, they infringe on the rights and claims of the whole community, and commit an act of gross usurpation. The person deputed belongs, as they who depute him would have done, to the nation. He is the nation's member, not the member of a part, or a party ; for this plain and unanswerable reason, that those whom he represents would have been so too, if they had attended instead of him. To suppose that in a national meeting, a member would be bound to sacrifice the interest of the nation to that of his immediate constituents, is the manifest absurdity

that the doctrine in question plainly involves. To us it seems most strange, that a man of sense and independence, can submit to this real degradation; nor indeed can he do it till he has brought himself to renounce all independence of character. He is willing to keep back all his fair and expected contribution of talent and information—to sacrifice the general interest to local and partial interest—and to value his popularity at home, more than the good of the nation to which he belongs. How such a member can make pretension to political integrity or independence, while he condescends to renounce his own deliberate opinions in favour of the instructions of his half informed constituents, we are at a loss to conceive; unless indeed he pursue the practice of John Wilkes, of well known celebrity, who always took care to draw up the instructions of his constituents in his own way, and to his own liking, beforehand.

But if the instructions of constituents be obligatory, let us consider when and how, and under what regulations, they are so.

Upon a point of such moment, is it not strange that the Constitution affords no support whatever to the popular doctrine? When the members of Congress meet, they meet from all parts of the Union, to consult for the general good. They are not Pennsylvania members, or Massachusetts, or Georgia members; they are members of Congress. What right can any section of the country have to dictate to a member of the Congress of the whole Union? To paralyse his faculties; to destroy his utility; to forbid the exercise of his talents for the common good, and to order him to vote blindfold, without debate, and possibly in utter defiance of the plainest fact and the most conclusive argument? Yet such not only may be, but has been the case in repeated instances, during the history of our national sessions.

When a member is called upon to vote, he is called upon to give his own vote, not the vote of other people whose slave he is, and who put yes or no upon his lips without his consent. But if he substitutes the vote of other people who are not members of Congress, in lieu of his own vote which is demanded of him, does not he commit a falsehood and a fraud? Certainly not, if he does it openly and declares the truth; but is such a vote valid? Is it such as the Constitution contemplates? As the house has a right to expect? Is it not provoking to other members to find that they have been anxiously labouring to convince a man whose understanding has neither eyes nor ears? a mere stock and a stone?

Then, again, what number of constituents meeting, would suffice to bind a member by their instructions; and upon what previous notice? Can the instructions of any thing less than a numerical majority be binding? And how is this to be ascertained? Who has a right to call the meeting? what obligation is

there upon the constituents to attend? How are those to be bound by the resolutions of such a meeting, who are in no wise bound to attend it?

Further, suppose that a number of constituents in Maine, or in Georgia, meet for the purpose of instructing a member how to vote on some subject of general interest; what right can they have to determine a national measure, without conference or consultation with other states, or other districts, or other constituents equally interested? The member instructed is a component part of a body essentially deliberative; whose members are expressly appointed to confer and consult with each other upon every proposed measure, before it be adopted: what force ought the instructions of a partial body of electors to have on such a member?—instructions drawn up without conference or consultation with the rest of the people, whose interests and whose opinions are utterly disregarded?

Suppose such a meeting of electors held at home. The member to be instructed is absent. The instructions are debated, resolved on, transmitted. The member is bound; he cannot open his mouth but in obedience to the orders he has received. That is, the citizen of the district, who is by common consent chosen as being best qualified to deliberate and decide, is the only inhabitant of the district who has had no opportunity of attending, deliberating, or deciding. He is ordered to have no voice, no sentiment of his own; his lips are closed; and he plays the automaton!

How easy is it moreover to get up a party meeting, on short notice, for party purposes, whose instructions are binding or not binding, as it may suit the cunning or obsequiousness of a member to consider them? Is not this a very obvious remark to those who have had an opportunity of observing the manœuvres practised on such occasions? The whole system is so manifestly open to party manœuvring, to interested bargaining, to popularity hunting, and all the low arts of electioneering, that in our opinion, a truly honest and independent man, will not degrade himself by submitting to it.

That every honest member will pay serious and deliberate attention to, and treat with unfeigned respect, the recommendations of a *clear majority* of his constituents, no one can doubt; and the more, in proportion to the validity of the arguments, and the cogency of the facts advanced in support of them. Nor is it likely, that a *decided majority* of constituents can be brought to act in the way of instructions, unless in cases where strong reasons and circumstances of great interest urge them to the measure. But the member instructed is the member of the nation. He is sent to deliberate and to act, not for his own locality, but for the nation. If in his deliberate opinion he cannot con-

scientifically vote as his constituents require him, let him resign. He ought not to renounce his own independence, or accustom himself, from motives of mere expedience, to say yes, when honour and conscience say no.

The cases where a man of sense and integrity would be apt to differ with the great body of his constituents, are so few, and so unlikely to occur, that no great evil can reasonably be apprehended from the prevalence of the doctrine we have endeavoured to support. At any rate, it is a doctrine which men who are above all time-serving expedients, who would scorn to earn a short-lived popularity by unworthy concessions, and who value independence as the first of blessings, will not hastily reject.

ART. III.—*Historia de la Revolucion de la Republica de Colombia, por JOSE MANUEL RESTREPO, Secretario del Interior del Poder Ejecutivo de la misma Republica.* Paris: 1827. 10 tom.

THE important work, of which these volumes form a part, contains the only digested and authentic account of the revolution of Colombia, within our knowledge. • Its author was an advocate of the province of Antioquia, at the commencement of the war of independence, and has uniformly acted an honourable and distinguished part in the cause of his country. In 1814, being then secretary of the government of Antioquia, he was elected, without having been previously consulted, to be one of three persons, intrusted with the executive authority of the United Provinces of New-Granada; but declined accepting the post. He reversed Morillo's proscription of the promising patriots, and, in 1821, we find him a member of the constituent congress of Colombia, assembled at Rosario de Cacha, and chairman of the committee which reported the present constitution.† For several years past, he has been secretary of the interior; in the government of Colombia, in which capacity he has served the republic with great, and doubtless well deserved, reputation. From these circumstances, it is apparent, that he must possess the requisite qualifications for composing the history of his country's independence; and that he enjoys the best possible opportunity for obtaining correct knowledge of the events which he undertakes to relate. Whether, in his actual situation, he would exercise the independence and the impartiality due to his subject

• *Histor. de la Rev.* v. 89.

† *Colombia* (London 1822) II. 505.

and to himself, has been a matter of some question, which nothing but the publication of the work could determine. His countrymen, therefore, and that portion of the reading public abroad, who take an interest in the subject, have anticipated the appearance of Mr. Restrepo's history, with no small solicitude; and we apprehend that their favourable expectations will not be disappointed on perusing it. Our present object is to make our readers acquainted with the merits of the work, by such occasional observations as an examination of it suggests, and by translating some characteristic passages, in illustration of its spirit, and of the nature of its contents.

Of the volumes before us, the first consists of introductory matter, including a view of the general causes of the revolution, a sketch of the geography and present political condition of Colombia, and a comparative view of the statistics of the country, since it has acquired independence, and while it was under the Spanish dominion. The three last volumes consist of documents, many of them curious and rare, appertaining to the topics treated in the work. The intermediate volumes comprise the history of the revolution in New-Granada, until the beginning of 1819. It is intended, in a second part, to give the history of Venezuela, down to 1820; and, in a third, to continue that of the two countries, united as the republic of Colombia. Of course, what is now published, affords but an imperfect account of the Colombian revolution, as one entire subject; although very complete, and full of instruction and interest, so far as New-Granada is concerned.

It is reasonable to look with distrust upon cotemporary history, especially when written by one who was a conspicuous actor in the events described. We naturally fear, lest feeling, prejudice, or passion, should direct the thoughts, or colour the language of the writer, and impair his veracity as an historian. National and individual prepossessions, may produce an effect unfavourable to the credit of history, either by leading to statements false in fact, to fabrications, and the addition or suppression of material circumstances; or by imparting a false colouring to the opinions expressed, and the conclusions maintained. Where an author of distinction and honourable character, compiles a narrative of recent facts, from sources notorious to the world, and sends it forth to meet the penetrating scrutiny of the literary criticism of the present day, there is little hazard of his venturing upon any intentional misstatement of material facts. It is not so easy to assure his work against the influence of strong national feelings, the bias communicated by education, acquired habits of thought, and principles of action, frequently among the most noble and praiseworthy belonging to the nature of man. If the presence of such feelings is openly displayed, or frankly admitted by the

historian, they cease to afford just ground of reproach. We do not esteem Clarendon the less, that we know him to be animated with the liveliest interest in the cause of his king, and perceive his sentiments of loyalty pervading the admirable legacy which his genius has bequeathed to posterity. It is natural that the actor in great events, should impress upon his description of them, some portions of the high passions and sentiments, which alone could have incited and sustained him in the hour of trial. There is no deception, no misrepresentation in this; it is what the reader is prepared and expects to meet, and what he continually finds, in many of the purest and finest productions of the human mind.

It is not, therefore, any cause of surprise, that Mr. Restrepo should exhibit feelings, and uphold doctrines, proper to his position and to the situation of Colombia. We can sympathize with the manly indignation of the suffering patriot, when depicting the wrongs inflicted on his country by its relentless oppressors; when relating the story of its abject colonial bondage, of its desperate struggle for deliverance, of the fiery ordeal through which it passed before it attained the condition of an independent republic. Of Spain and the Spaniards, in their treatment of New-Granada and Venezuela, it is natural that he should speak in the language of a Colombian who witnessed Morillo's proscriptive and judicial murder of the best and wisest of his countrymen, and lives to record their virtues. But, except in this respect alone, we apprehend that Mr. Restrepo's impartiality as an historian is not likely to be impeached. He discusses the motives and conduct of the leading men of the revolution with freedom and candour; maintaining a uniform spirit of moderation, which commends the correctness of his views, while it must protect him from any resentment on the part of those among his compatriots, whom he may have had occasion to censure. His style is clear, plain, and easy; and his language, especially when contrasted with the turgid character of much that comes to us from the prominent men in South America, is remarkable for its purity and simplicity. He makes no pretensions, indeed, to profound or novel views of men or events; nor to any elaborate elegance of diction; seeming to aim at perspicuity and truth, rather than to be ambitious of effect.

In Venezuela and New-Granada, the revolution was precipitated by particular circumstances, to which we shall advert in the sequel; but there, as in other portions of Spanish America, general causes existed, of a nature to alienate the feelings of the people from Spain, and to bring on that separation between the metropolis and its colony, which seems to be as much in the ordinary course of events, as the regular growth of a new settlement from infancy to maturity. Mr. Restrepo presents his ideas

of these causes at some length; and his explanation is valuable, because it applies, with more or less exactness, to all the emancipated states of the South. First among them was the impolitic exclusion of the Americans in general, from all the high civil and military employments and ecclesiastical dignities, arising not from any specific law, but from the absurd practice of the cabinet of Madrid. Latterly, even the inferior offices in the treasury and army had become the prey of multitudes of needy adventurers from the Peninsula, whose only object was to extort a sudden fortune from the oppressed country. Another cause was the overbearing and insolent deportment of the European Spaniards towards the Creoles. Still more insupportable, especially in New-Granada and Venezuela, was the tyranny of the Inquisition, whose prisons in the noxious climate of Carthage were justly the terror of all ranks of men, exposed, although guiltless of crime, yet without remedy, to be buried alive in those frightful dungeons. It was the capricious despotism of the Inquisition which so effectually prevented the diffusion of knowledge among a people whose want of right education has been the source of so many of their misfortunes.

These were grievances, intolerable it is true, but which affected the better classes of the Americans more directly, whose condition in life gave them inducements to look to official stations for occupation and distinction, and who sought for and appreciated the higher branches of knowledge. But what dried up the fountain of public prosperity, and by impoverishing the richest countries on earth, went home to the business and means of subsistence of every inhabitant, from the highest to the lowest, was that monstrous engine of wrong and oppression, the colonial system. The European colonial system is, in all its forms and bearings, the instrument of injustice without measure. Even as it existed in our own country, in a shape comparatively mild, it was more than our peaceful and patient fathers could bear. France or England, moreover, may be pardoned in their enforcement of the system, being rich, powerful, and industrious nations themselves, possessing resources amply sufficient for the supply of their colonies with the manufactures and other productions of Europe. But for Spain, nearly destitute of manufactures, reduced in population, with a marine insufficient for its own protection,—for Spain, in the nineteenth century, to straiten the bonds of commercial monopoly around the vast regions of America, was a species of desperate and short-sighted infatuation, directly injurious to herself, and created a state of violence essentially incapable of long duration. Spanish America was driven, by the blind impolicy of Spain, to obtain the necessary articles of European production through a contraband trade with foreign nations, paying them in the precious metals, at an exorbitant

price, to the entire prostration of her own agriculture and other domestic sources of wealth. It was the pressure of the colonial system and commercial restrictions of the mother country, which most forcibly impelled the inhabitants of Venezuela and New-Granada to independence, and stimulated them to endure the privations of their revolutionary war.

• “But nothing,” says Mr. Restrepo, “exercised an influence so powerful to prompt the thinking and well-informed inhabitants of Venezuela and New-Granada to long for independence, as the example of the United States of North America. It was, indeed, a most brilliant and alluring spectacle, that of a new people, who, rending asunder the strong ties that bound them to England, had rendered themselves independent; who, organized as a great republic, enjoyed the most perfect liberty which man can possess in the social state; who, under wise and beneficent institutions, had prospered prodigiously, and augmented in numbers with astonishing rapidity; who, in fine, were Americans more recently settled on the continent than the natives of Venezuela and New-Granada, who seemed destined to the same high career with their brethren in the north, could they but establish their independence of Spain. It was impossible that these ideas should not spread with celerity among the Granadins, Venezuelans, and other intelligent inhabitants of South America, and that they should not prepare the elements of a wide conflagration. Undoubtedly, the passions of the moment, blinded the counsellors of Charles III. of Spain, when they resolved to assist the North Americans in rendering themselves independent of Great Britain, since they failed to see the pernicious example which they were about to give to their vast colonies on the American continent. After they had admitted, tacitly at least, that colonists might separate from their metropolis, it was evident that those of Spain would not long delay doing so, and then the cabinet of Madrid would have nothing to reply to the arguments advanced by the Spanish colonies, drawn from the conduct of their neighbours and the very operations of their own mother country. These political presentiments have been realized; but the example of his grandfather, has embarrassed but little the Spanish monarch. ‘Thus I will, and thus I command,’ this all powerful reason of kings, has constituted the reply of Ferdinand VII. to the just representations of the South Americans. The cannon, the bayonet, death, and devastation, have every where accompanied his cruel agents, desolating those fine regions on which nature had lavished her richest bounties.”—*Restrepo, t. I., pp. 116. 118.*

Our author justly observes upon the difficult situation of a country having colonies which it wishes to preserve: *If the mother country adopts a comparatively liberal policy towards its colony, and encourages the development of its physical and moral resources, the latter speedily acquires a capacity for self-government, and animated by the holy flame of freedom, claims and obtains the rank of an independent nation. Such was the case with the citizens of the United States, who, from familiarity with the possession of political rights, escaped the protracted warfare, and many of the subsequent disorders, of which South America has been, or still is the theatre. On the other hand, if the mother country oppresses its colony with prohibitions and monopolies, the colonists are maddened into resistance by the pressure of tyranny, as happened in Venezuela and New-Granada. But when such a people takes up arms, the mass of the inhabitants will be found immersed in ignorance, incapable of appreciating the blessings of liberty, and many of them attached to*

royalty, while the leaders themselves will be destitute of experience and of sound views of government.

Peculiar circumstances operated to retard the progress of the Spanish American colonies towards independence, to lengthen out their struggle with Spain, and to produce opposite parties, divisions in sentiment, chimerical or false principled notions, and even the horrors of civil war, as in Mexico, Colombia, and Peru. The vast countries of Spanish America, were thinly inhabited, by people scattered over an extensive territory, and divided into separate viceroalties or *capitanias*, having little or no mutual communication, or means of concerting combined movements of resistance to Spain. The people themselves, were, as a body, deplorably ignorant, and divided into numerous castes, all opposed to each other in feeling or interest. They had contracted a habit of obeying the Spanish princes; for nowhere had the maxim of passive obedience and the divine right of kings, been so earnestly inculcated by all the power of the priesthood. Second only to the clergy in means of influence, were the European Spaniards, whose power and riches, were, of course, actively engaged in sustaining the authority of Spain; and by engrossing all the important offices, they deprived the Creoles of any opportunity for obtaining the requisite qualifications for public employments. Finally, Spanish America had so long enjoyed a profound peace, that its inhabitants possessed no military habits or knowledge, and were even destitute of arms and munitions of war; all these being in the arsenals of the government, or in the hands of the small body of troops which it maintained in convenient stations upon the sea-coast. Owing to these unfortunate circumstances in their condition, and that of their respective countries, the patriots of the South, in this respect unlike to ourselves, had the whole structure of independence to begin from every foundation. And such was the unpreparedness of men and things around them, for the state of revolution which they were forced into by the total disorganization of the royal government, that the high-minded patriots of the new republics deserve applause for the great good which they have accomplished, rather than censure for the existence of evils, which no exertions of theirs could prevent, because they are inevitable consequences of the condition of the countries wherein they have happened. Those who are familiar with the history of the revolution in Mexico, and in the several governments of South America, will readily call to mind the untoward events produced by the circumstances to which we have adverted. Signal examples of this, occur in the two great questions of fundamental policy, which, from the beginning of the revolution to the present day, have convulsed and agitated the new republics. We allude to the question of the territorial extent of individual states, as exem-

plified, for instance, in the claim of the late republic of the Rio de la Plata to jurisdiction over Paraguay, the Banda Oriental, and Upper Peru; and also to the question between the central and federal parties, the main subject at the present time of the internal differences in almost every one of the great fragments of Spanish America. Illustrations of each occur in the pages of Mr. Restrepo, who makes no attempt to disguise his own sentiments on these delicate points.

In the United States, we are accustomed to revert to the declaration of independence, as the epoch from which the regular commencement of our national being shall be dated. What preceded that solemn act, constituted the inducements, which persuaded the Congress of 1776, in the name of all the colonies, to proclaim the people of the United States absolved from their allegiance to the King of Great Britain. It was not the premature act of Virginia, of Pennsylvania, of Massachusetts, alone; it was the deliberate, well-considered declaration of the colonies united, speaking one unanimous voice through their representatives in Congress. It was far otherwise in Colombia. Not only did Venezuela proceed in this important matter independently of New-Granada, which, from the careful separation of those governments under the Spanish authority, was reasonably to be expected; but even the several provinces of New-Granada, each acted upon its individual responsibility, in issuing a declaration of independence. Thus we have the act of independence of the province of Cartagena, a long argumentative instrument, dated November 11th 1811; that of Cundinamarca, dated July 16th 1813; and that of Antioquia, dated August 11th 1813.* The natural and necessary consequence of this mistaken conduct was a series of most fatal disputes between these high and mighty sovereignties, leading to repeated acts of civil war; Cundinamarca marching its troops upon Tunja; the United Provinces compelling Cundinamarca to join the confederacy, by sending Bolivar to lay close siege to Bogotá, and reduce the refractory city into the paternal union by force of arms; and Bolivar again as general of the army of New-Granada, investing Cartagena, to punish the provincial government for withholding its quota of munitions of war.

Another fact is curious, in illustration of the contrast between the proceedings of New-Granada and the United States. The several acts of independence above referred to, dwell at some length, as it was necessary and proper they should do, upon the dissolution of the regular government of Spain, occasioned by the intrigues of Napoleon, as the immediate cause of the revolution, alluding only very generally to the settled system of mal-ad-

* Restrepo, t. ix., pp. 46, 152, 161.

ministration of which the colony so long had been the victim. Our ancestors, on the contrary, placed in the foreground of their solemn appeal to the world the proofs of a design on the part of the mother country to reduce them under an absolute despotism, evinced by a long train of abuses and usurpations, the nature of which they set forth in the simple dignity of men standing upon their unalienable rights and the unchangeable laws of nature. South America availed herself of an auspicious opportunity to throw off the chains which cramped her limbs, and to obtain, by emancipation from colonial servitude, that freedom which belonged to her of right. North America, on the contrary, had always been comparatively free; and entered upon the revolutionary war, estimating it truly as an appeal to arms, to determine whether, by acquiescing in the usurpations of Great Britain, she would submit to be stripped of the qualified liberty she then possessed, or she would not rather by timely resistance achieve a complete independence.

In further explanation of this fact, we translate part of the Declaration of Independence of Cundinamarca, in order that its resemblance to, and difference from, our own, may be judged by comparison.

"We, the representatives of the people of Cundinamarca, rightfully and legally assembled to treat and resolve concerning their felicity, having taken into consideration the important question, whether the time has yet come for solemnly proclaiming our absolute and entire independence of the crown and government of Spain, by the [state of] emancipation in which we have naturally remained since the events in the Peninsula, and dissolution of the government on which we depend: having held long and mature discussions, wherein the ancient obligations which unite us to the mother-country were compared with those newly assumed: the space of three years that we have kept ourselves in a state of expectation and neutrality respecting the incidents in European Spain," &c.

The instrument then proceeds to explain the state of things in the colony, brought on by the abdication of Charles and Ferdinand, and the events that followed; after which it concludes, word for word, in the following manner, which we cannot think is any improvement upon its noble prototype:—

"In consequence of all this, and in consideration, finally, of the incontestable imprescriptible right of all the nations of the earth, to provide for their safety, and to institute such a form of government as they deem most likely to effect their happiness:—We, the representatives of the people of Cundinamarca, using this right, and compelled to hazard this step by the efforts of our impolitic and cruel oppressors, declare and solemnly publish, in the name of the people, in the presence of the Supreme Being, and under the auspices of the immaculate conception of Maria Santisima our patroness, that henceforth Cundinamarca is a free and independent state, which remains separated for ever from the crown and government of Spain, and from all other authority, which does not emanate immediately from the people or their representatives; that all political union with the metropolis in the nature of dependence is totally dissolved; and that as a free and independent state, it has full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts which independent states can and may of right do. And full of the firmest reliance on

the Supreme Judge, who knows the rectitude and justice of our proceedings, we pledge, for the support of this declaration, our lives, our fortunes, and our honour, which after the solemn oath we have taken is the most sacred upon earth."

Restrepo, t. ix. p. 152-158; t. iv. p. 76.

Our limits would not warrant us in following Mr. Restrepo, volume by volume; nor is it necessary; it is sufficient to say, that his arrangement of his subject is clear and intelligible, and regularly unfolds the beginning and progress of the revolution, in its civil as well as military details. With this remark, we shall continue to offer such detached extracts, as appear especially worthy of note, without attempting any strict observance of their connexion. Passing over the history of the deposition of the viceroy of Santa Fé, Don Antonio Amar, the establishment of a revolutionary junta in the capital, and afterwards in the provinces, and the adoption of provisional constitutions by various provinces of New-Granada, we come to the year 1812, when the latter were nominally confederated, excepting Cundinamarca, which, actuated by its president, Don Antonio Nariño, exerted its powerful influence in favour of centralism. In this period, we observe notices of a citizen of the United States as somewhat prominent in the city of Popayan. He is introduced on the following occasion:—

"A happy casualty contributed to preserve the government of Popayan, and all the inhabitants attached to the republican system, from being destroyed by the royalists of Patia. Alexander Macaulay, a young adventurer from the United States, happened to arrive at that city. He observed the movements of the *Patianos*, their neglect of discipline, and that most of them were only armed with lances. He proposed, then, to Cabal and the other chiefs, that they should surprise the enemy's camp at five o'clock in the morning of the day ensuing, (May 23d 1812). Adopting the plan, and assembling about four hundred men during the night, they gave to Macaulay the direction of the battle. The enemy, who did not dream of being attacked, were completely surprised in their camp on the Exido; and in a few minutes this band of assassins was dispersed in flight. At seven in the morning, the patriots returned to the city, and marched against the division which occupied the bridge of Cauca, which met with the same fate."

To this passage there is a note, which seems to convey a complaint.

"He (Macaulay) was a native of York, in Virginia, and, desirous of gaining glory in the new republics of South America, had come to Venezuela the year before. Thence he passed into New-Granada; he was in Pamplona, Tunja, and Cundinamarca, from whence the president Nariño ordered his departure, thinking he was a spy. He proceeded, then, for the south, intending to go to Quito, and offer his services in a military capacity to the junta of that city. He is one of the very few North Americans, who have combated in the noble cause of their brethren of the south, to which, in general, they have contributed only with a sterile sympathy."—*Restrepo, t. iii., pp. 145, 146.*

After this brilliant beginning, Macaulay's career was honourable, but short. In July he received the command of a column of six hundred men, in consequence of the courage and military science he had displayed, and was despatched against Pasto, the

strong-hold of the royalists in the presidency of Quito. He succeeded in forcing the formidable pass of Juanambu, although it was vigorously defended by the *Pastusos*, and conducted his little army to the neighbourhood of the city, which he contemplated taking by assault. Hereupon the inhabitants had recourse to a *ruse* for their preservation. They set at liberty Caycedo, late president of the Junta of Popayan, whom they had on a previous occasion made captive; concluded, through his mediation, an armistice for the exchange of prisoners, and procured a suspension of the attack, under pretence of wishing to treat directly with the junta. Meanwhile, Macaulay discovered that treachery was intended, and found it necessary to retire to some safe post, to avoid being attacked at disadvantage. But his guides betrayed their trust, and led him into an ambush, where he was encountered by the royalists. An obstinate engagement ensued, in which the *Pastusos* were at first repulsed; but obtaining reinforcements, they at length obliged the patriots to fortify themselves in a dwelling-house. Caycedo then proposed a capitulation, against Macaulay's advice; but during the negotiations, the *Pastuso* captain, Delgado, violated the law of arms by suddenly attacking Macaulay's troops, who were thus thrown into disorder, and completely routed, most of the officers being killed or taken prisoners. Macaulay escaped, but in a few days was made captive by the Indians of Buesaco. The unfortunate issue of this expedition induced the junta to abandon Popayan, and leave it to be occupied by the wild *Patianos*. Afterwards, when Don Toribio Montes, president of Quito under the regency of Cadin, had subjugated the whole province in the course of the same year, and obtained a temporary ascendancy over the patriots there, he ordered Caycedo and Macaulay to be shot as rebels, with every fifth man among the officers, and every tenth among the soldiers, made prisoners in Pasto; and this barbarous sentence was executed upon them by the *Patianos*, early in the year 1813.*

At this period, although eighteen months had elapsed since New-Granada became free, it had made small progress in its political organization, or in preparing for defence against Spain. There was no general government. Each province proceeded in its own way, as sovereign and independent: even the smallest of them adhering to the phantom of sovereignty, although destitute of means to support their pretensions, seduced by the example of some of the small states in this country, of which they knew little, except their narrow geographical extension. Controversies respecting territorial limits, or whether the general government should be central or federal, agitated the country,

* Restrepo, † iii., pp. 151 and 169.

and introduced distraction into the councils of the patriots. Cundinamarca, as we have observed, supported the central system, of which her president, Nariño, was the most intelligent advocate, whilst the federalists were headed by Dr. Camilo Torres. Already one short civil war had taken place, in consequence of the attempt of Cundinamarca to aggregate to itself some districts claimed by other provinces. A much graver contest was now arising between the same antagonist parties, on the subject of the federal government, which was finally organized by the concurrence of nearly all New-Granada, except Cundinamarca. Remarks continually occur upon this question, in Mr. Restrepo's pages, which are pointed and strong. It has been very ably and fully discussed, as many of our readers are aware, in the state papers of the Spanish American republics; and is a subject well deserving the attention of curious inquirers in the United States. Abstaining from entering into it ourselves in this place, we copy a pertinent note of Mr. Restrepo's, which contains the substance of the dispute.

"Experience, which illuminates with the torch of truth, the most difficult questions of political philosophy, afterwards made it manifest to New-Granada, that Nariño was right in the main. The want of intelligence, of population, of resources, made of several provinces mere dead limbs for the Union. The revenues of Chocó, Neiva, and Casanare, scarcely sufficed for the pay of the provincial officers; and left nothing for the common defence. With great difficulty could individuals be found to fill the various offices, when the constitution took effect the first time. To supply the periodical changes, it was necessary to have recourse to the same persons, or to lay hands on farmers, merchants, and miners. How should these understand the ingenious and complicated federative system, and the laws which they sanctioned? All was confusion and real anarchy."

"The author of this history concurred in forming the federal constitution, and was an enthusiastic admirer of that system. Seduced by the rapid aggrandizement of the republics of the United States, and by the complete freedom which the citizens of that country enjoyed, he held their political institutions in the greatest veneration. At that time he thought with the leading men of New-Granada, that our provinces were in the same state with those of North America in 1776, when they formed a confederacy. But the lessons of time, and the events which he has witnessed, joined with his own reflections, have satisfied him of the contrary. There is great difference between the condition of the United States, founded and established under the shelter of republican institutions, and that of provinces which have always depended on a monarchical and despotic government. In the latter, democratical forms were absolutely new, and many of them opposed to our customs, habits, and inveterate prejudices. In the former, generally, little else was necessary, but to vary the appointment of governors, who were commissioned previously by the king of England. The constitutional charters, and the laws of the former provinces of North America, answered for the same when transformed into republics. In New-Granada it was necessary to alter almost every thing which existed. There is nothing wonderful, therefore, in the brief duration of the nascent states; the laws were not adapted to the people."—*Restrepo, t. III., p. 57, note.*

Our author was, according to his own account, seasonably disabused of the mistaken idea that New-Granada could secure her independence under the federative system; and, in June 1813,

presented to the legislature of Antioquia, of which province he was then a prominent citizen, a law for *centralizing* the departments of war, and the treasury; a similar law being proposed at the same time in Carthagena. A year or two afterwards, Congress adopted the plan, but when it was too late; for ruin was impending over their country. Upon the rejection of this scheme, he remarks:—

“Notwithstanding such a project of reform was now supported by the experience of three years, by the principles of the science of government, and of the soundest policy, it was not favourably received. President Torres, with Doctors Joaquin Camacho, Miguel Pombo, and other members of Congress, were enthusiastic and servile worshippers of the institutions of North America. Hence they were opposed to changing an iota of the act of confederacy, and the least departure from its principles, appeared to them inadmissible, and adverse to the future prosperity of the republic:—as if laws, according to the expression of a profound political writer, (Montesquieu) ought not to be accommodated to the climate, habits, religion, numbers, riches, and prepossessions of the people for whom they are designed; as if the inhabitants of New-Granada, bred under the inquisition and despotism of Spain, were in the same political situation with the North Americans, who had possessed republican institutions for more than a century; as if, in fine, Athens and Rome, Holland and England, had not risen into power and glory, by fundamental laws totally different. President Torres, especially, sustained the act of federation, with an obstinacy approaching to fanaticism. Whatever measure or improvement was proposed, instantly he examined to see whether it was or was not in the spirit of that act, and every departure from it, was repelled as a perilous novelty. Such was the fate incurred by the projects of centralization of Antioquia and Carthagena. Hardly did the president of Congress condescend coldly to answer, that he would transmit them to the provinces for consideration; and they remained buried in oblivion, like a dangerous and abortive project, leaving this great melioration in the general government untried. If, while there was yet time, Congress had promoted the reform, and assembled a convention of all the free provinces, perhaps New-Granada might have defended herself against Spain, without shedding so many tears, or undergoing such deep misfortunes. The members of Congress were seduced by the analogy, injudiciously applied, of the United States of North America, who brought the war of independence to a close, having only a federal Congress and contracts of union. True, but they possessed a Washington, who thus far had not appeared, or rather was not known, in New-Granada.”

The repeated mention we have had occasion to make of Antonio Narño and Camilo Torres, may lead our readers to expect more particular notice of two individuals, who fell early victims to their devotion to the cause of independence, and are therefore less generally known abroad, while meaner men have succeeded to the rank they held as patriots and statesmen. But in their own country, their memory is justly regarded with the highest veneration. Our author delineates the character of Torres, in giving an account of the installation in 1812, of the first Congress under the act of confederacy; and we extract the passage for this, and for another reason also, because it will remind the reader of a celebrated paragraph in one of Burke's speeches, concerning the legal profession in the British colonies before our own revolution.

"Only the deputies Leon and Ordonez, were not advocates. The others had always followed this profession, to which those from Cundinamarca added some practice in the Spanish system of revenue. For the rest, the deputies loved the liberty of their country, had theoretical knowledge of politics, some talents, an ambition to promote the public good, and sufficient popularity. Undoubtedly, the president of Congress, Dr. Camilo Torres, was the individual who united in his favour the general opinion of the provinces. Severe and irreproachable morals; a decided love for the liberty and independence of his country; profound acquirements in Spanish jurisprudence, and in literature, with some in politics, and a manly vigorous eloquence, which left durable impressions on the heart, had gained him a majority of the votes of the provinces, even at the time when the viceroy Amar, busied himself in the election of deputies for the Central Junta. His defects were, little knowledge of the world and of men, a veneration approaching to idolatry for the institutions of the United States of North America, which he imagined our communities could adopt without variation; a tenacity, which others called firmness, in sustaining the same institutions, after experience had shown them to be in a great measure inapplicable; above all, a decided opposition to the political opinions of Narino, which partook of personal hatred, and which prevented his temporizing in the least with the chief of Cundinamarca, as it seems the circumstances of New-Granada demanded."

Restrepo, t. iii., p. 186.

When Cundinamarca agreed to accede to the Union, the branches of war and the treasury were centralized, according to the plan proposed by Mr. Restrepo as already stated; and in September, 1814, the new system went into operation, by which the executive authority was vested in a triumvirate, composed of Manuel Rodriguez Torices, of Carthagena, Custodio Garcia Rovira, of Socorro, and our author, José Manuel Restrepo, of Antioquia. This change in the government, of course diminished the importance of the president of Congress. But the popularity of Torres, it appears, did not sustain any diminution; for in November, 1815, when it was resolved, in consequence of Morillo's invasion, to strengthen the government of the Union by concentrating the executive authority in a single individual, the eyes of Congress were turned towards Torres, who was elected president with the grant of extraordinary faculties. This selection was generally applauded in the provinces, much being expected from his vigorous character, his virtues, and his love of liberty and the independence of his country. But the season was one of terror, doubt, and consternation. Morillo, with his great resources and disciplined troops, was carrying all before him; and the patriots had no adequate means of resistance, having wasted their time and their strength in foolish domestic contentions, and established a form of government wholly unfit for the emergencies of the times. The entire force of Spain was vested in the energetic hands of Morillo, who, with the undivided authority, displayed the decisive and uncompromising spirit of despotism. In a country like New-Granada, the feeble and slow-acting machine of the Congress, opposed no obstacle to the movements of the enemy, who needed to be met by a corresponding exertion of revolutionary energy and activity.

"Nevertheless," observes Mr. Restrepo, "the opinion that the executive authority was feeble, because exercised by Torres, began to obtain currency, and even met with some supporters in Congress, where it was expressed in public sessions. When this became known to the president, whose disinterestedness had always been very remarkable, he immediately resigned the first station in the republic, in order that by placing the reins of government in hands more skilful than his, the country might be saved,—the object which he most ardently desired."

Accordingly, José Fernandez Madrid, a deputy from Carthagena, was elected in his stead, although it soon appeared how much was lost by the exchange. Soon afterwards, Morillo gained possession of Santa Fé and of all New-Granada: and during his short-lived triumph, Torres was condemned as a traitor, and shot, October 5th, 1816, being one of the distinguished victims of the ferocious system of judicial murders, which disgraced the arms of Ferdinand, and contributed to raise up a new host of heroes on the soil watered by the blood of those martyrs to the cause of liberty.*

Nariño's career was more stormy,—shall we say, more brilliant?—and his early life gave him those habits of business and that knowledge of the world, in which his rival was deficient. He was born at Santa Fé, in 1766, of an ancient and illustrious family, and received a good education, according to the means which the country afforded. In 1789, being alcalde of the capital, he received the successive viceroys, Lemus and Espeleta, and from the latter obtained the important office of treasurer of tithes. Devoting himself to commerce, with an active and enterprising spirit, he engaged in speculations in various parts of Europe and America. At the same time, he was ardently attached to letters, collected a good library and philosophical apparatus, and owned a printing press, from which some pamphlets were struck off; and by these means acquired no inconsiderable reputation in the literary circles of Bogotá. He possessed, also, an agreeable figure, insinuating manners, which acquired the attachment of his associates, great popularity, distinguished talents, a native eloquence, and respectable attainments. These qualities and tastes of Nariño, proved the source of his distinction and of his misfortunes.

Notwithstanding the vigilance of the Inquisition and of the government, some knowledge of the events of the French revolution, and of the principles of liberty which the French republicans maintained, could not fail to penetrate even to Santa Fé. The great revolutionary maxims of the day became the topic of social conversation among those few men who reflected much on the condition of their country. They were far from dreaming, at that time, of any attempt to change the system under which

* Restrepo, t. v., pp. 89, 141; t. vi., pp. 188, 215; t. vii., p. 79; t. x., p. 161.

they suffered; but as it happened, some pasquinades against the government began occasionally to appear; and the viceroy also received information that a paper was privately circulated, called the Rights of Man. This ominous title was sufficient to alarm the jealous fears of the viceroy and his advisers. A commission was forthwith instituted, (August 26th, 1794), by authority of the royal *audiencia*, to inquire into the facts; and they speedily arrested a number of persons, as implicated in the pasquinades and alleged seditious conversations. It was ascertained, moreover, that the edition of the Rights of Man had been printed at the press of Don Antonio Nariño, who was hurried to prison, and confessed that he translated the work from a French publication, and printed eighty or one hundred copies, but without any purpose to excite disaffection, having collected and burnt every sheet so soon as he learned that it gave dissatisfaction to the government. In fact, the commissioner, Mosquera, made the most diligent search, without being able to discover a single copy to serve as a *corpus delicti*.

Nariño's affairs were totally deranged by his sudden imprisonment, in consequence of which his assets proved insufficient to meet the balance against him as treasurer of tithes, by the sum of 96,000 dollars, most of which his sureties were compelled to pay. The commissioners urged the processes against him and the other individuals accused, with extreme severity. His counsel, José Antonio Ricaurte, defended him with honourable zeal and ability; assuming the identical ground, by the bye, which Erskine resorted to in his defence of Paine's Rights of Man, namely, that the same principles were to be found in the great classical authors of the language. But the government was too seriously alarmed to hear to any defence. Nariño was summarily condemned by the *audiencia*, to ten years confinement in Africa, confiscation of all his goods, and perpetual banishment from America. Not content with the odious severity of such a sentence, the government even proceeded to the extraordinary step of punishing the advocate, Ricaurte, for the freedom of his defence, with perpetual banishment, and the confiscation of his goods. Nariño, don Francisco Antonio Zea, and fourteen others,

of the accused persons, were sent prisoners to Spain, in December 1795, after more than a year's confinement. Zea, and all the rest but Nariño, continued under sentence until 1799, ere the Spanish tribunals, with their accustomed slowness and procrastination, could be induced to bring the trial to a close; and they were then discharged as having already been sufficiently punished for their imprudence. But on arriving at Cadiz, finding that his cause looked unfavourably, Nariño made his escape to Madrid, and thence in disguise into France, where he conferred with Tallien upon a scheme for revolutionizing New-Gran-

da ; and from Paris, repaired to London to confer with Mr. Pitt, who then had the same object in contemplation. Nariño secretly returned to New-Granada in 1797, either from love of his family, or with political views ; and on his way from La Guayra to Santa Fé, was aided and sheltered by many persons, to some of whom his views were made known. His arrival in the capital was soon discovered ; but through the mediation of his friend, the archbishop of Santa Fé, he was promised an exemption from corporal punishment, on condition of his making a full disclosure. This he had the weakness to do, thus denouncing himself as a political adventurer, and subjecting his friends to disgrace ; for which he has been deservedly and very generally condemned.

Nariño remained in prison for several years, by the express command of the king, and contrary to the promise and wishes of the vicéroy ; and only regained a qualified liberty in the end, after much suffering, and on condition of constantly residing under *surveillance* at Santa Fé. When the troubles in America commenced, the government, looking with just apprehension upon Nariño, arrested him, and had him carried to Carthagena, to be transported to the island of Puerto Rico. He escaped to Santa Marta, but was again apprehended, and confined in the dungeons of Boca Chica, until released by the revolutionary junta, with his constitution impaired, and his limbs greatly injured by the fetters he had worn during his long imprisonment. Events had now occurred, which gave scope to his talents, and which rendered his wrongs and sufferings an honourable badge of distinction, in the eyes of his countrymen. He began by publishing a paper, zealously urging the immediate formation of a general government, on the central system ; thus early taking the stand which he ever afterwards maintained. Returning to the capital, he became the leader of a party opposed to the federal system, to the congress, and to Lozano, the then president of Cundinamarca. In a newspaper called *la Bagatela*, he advocated his opinions with wit, spirit, and elegance ; and at length, in September 1811, he was elected president of Cundinamarca, in place of Lozano, who was compelled by the popular clamour to resign.

Thenceforth, until the disastrous termination of the expedition against Pasto, he was the most prominent individual in New-Granada. His popularity and influence in Cundinamarca were unbounded ; so much so, that at the time of his election, several articles of the state constitution were suspended, to enable him to act with force and energy ; and he was repeatedly afterwards invested with the authority of dictator, according to the custom of the times, on all occasions of public difficulty. It seems clear, from Mr. Restrepo's account of things, that Nariño plans

and views were judicious and right in themselves, as the sequel manifested; but that he urged them upon the federal party with unbecoming earnestness and pertinacity, and was not sufficiently scrupulous in the choice of means to accomplish his objects. In consequence of his efforts to increase the territory of Cundinamarca, by aggregating to it some of the portions of Tunja and Pamplona, and of his opposition to the federal congress, in June 1812, he was drawn into hostilities with Tunja, which happily terminated in a treaty of peace, no great loss having been sustained on either side. Chagrined, however, by the opposition which his views encountered in the provinces, Nariño immediately resigned the presidency, and was succeeded by Manuel de Castro. But the people of Santa Fé becoming dissatisfied at Nariño's retirement, assembled tumultuously, and demanded his restoration to authority. Overawed by the violence of the political agitators, Castro called together the representative body, and a minority of them accordingly met, and illegally appointed Nariño president dictator, with absolute powers. About the same time, the congress of New-Granada was installed, with Torres for president; and the latter, shocked by the irregular means employed for the elevation of Nariño, suffered himself to be hurried, by the enemies of the latter, into measures of intolerable harshness, which placed Cundinamarca on the one side, and the congress on the other, in direct, open, and vehement opposition.

Torres and the congressional party began by denouncing him as a tyrant and usurper, loading him with every species of insulting language, not only in debates and in conversation, but in public despatches, addressed to the government of Cundinamarca. All this Nariño met with a manliness of spirit, highly to his honour. He practised no concealment of the objections made to him by Congress, but frankly threw his cause into the hands of his countrymen, convoking an assembly of all the individuals of character and official standing in Santa Fé, and submitting to them the question, whether at the call of Congress he should be driven from his office with ignominy, or whether Cundinamarca would support him and the principles of centralism, with the whole strength of the state. After a full discussion of the subject, the assembly voted to support Nariño at all hazards, (October 22d 1812.) The same frankness characterized all his actions. During his dictatorship, the press was perfectly free in the city, and often commented upon his proceedings with severity; and his administration was upright, equitable, and liberal, although he governed for a considerable period with dictatorial powers, in the midst of war and civil dissensions. A man possessed of these qualities, as Mr. Restrepo justly observes, was of no ordinary stamp, and the Congress ought to have made any concessions to

gain him to the common cause, instead of goading him into hostility by continued outrages. In fact, after some fruitless attempts to avert such a consummation, both parties prepared for war. Of this second civil war, it is enough to say, that after some success in the beginning, the forces of Congress were totally defeated in an attack upon Santa Fé, and the belligerent parties immediately concluded a peace, which left all the matters in controversy unsettled, and of course, was favourable to Nariño, whose removal from authority had been a prime object for which the war was undertaken. Nariño used his advantages with moderation, treating even some of his bitterest personal enemies, who became his prisoners, with humanity and generosity.

Meanwhile, advices reached Santa Fé, of a royalist expedition having marched from Quito against Popayan, and Nariño volunteered his services to assume the command himself, of the forces of the Union, and go to the succour of Popayan. Receiving this offer in the spirit in which it was meant, as an advance towards reconciliation and harmony, and as an act of patriotic devotion to the service of his country, Congress gladly acceded to it; and laying aside their differences, all parties proceeded to prepare for the expedition. This step added greatly to the popularity of Nariño, who resigned his authority as dictator of Cundinamarca, in order to remove all cause of jealousy, and after collecting troops and munitions of war, set out on his march for Popayan. To the history of this expedition, its early successes in driving the Spaniards from Popayan, its brilliant march upon Pasto, and the military talents displayed by its general, Mr. Restrepo devotes a considerable space; and he has infused into the details of its various vicissitudes, a degree of spirit, and vividness of narration, which render it one of the most interesting portions of his work. If Nariño had succeeded in capturing Pasto, he would have marched to Quito without impediment, and obtained for the republicans the undisputed possession of that large region. But after he had overcome a host of obstacles, and in the very moment when certain victory was about to reward his exertions and sufferings, a sudden panic, occasioned by false rumours, seized on colonel Rodriguez, who had charge of the artillery and a large detachment of the army. The latter precipitately ordered a disgraceful retreat, spiking his cannon, and leaving the commander-in-chief to his fate. Nariño thus fell into the hands of the Pastos, (May 14th 1814,) among whom he remained a prisoner thirteen months, when he was conducted to Quito, thence to Lima, and finally to Spain, to be incarcerated in the prison of Cadiz. Such was the unfortunate issue of an expedition, which promised the happiest conclusion, and but for the folly and cowardice of Rodriguez, would infallibly have proved of incalculable utility

to the republican cause, and done great honour to the sagacity and talents of Nariño.*

These volumes throw much light upon the early career and fortunes of Bolivar, who, after Nariño's misfortunes at Pasto, is the individual around whom the interest of the history centres,—who becomes the great object of attraction to the reader. But the space which other topics have occupied, precludes our entering into one so copious as this, and which every day is rendering more and more deeply interesting to Americans. Mr. Restrepo's work contains many authentic particulars of the commencement of the Liberator's career, including his bold but unsuccessful movement upon Venezuela in 1814, called the *guerra á muerte*, his employment in the service of Congress, after the capture of Nariño, to compel Cundinamarca to accede to the union, his unfortunate differences with Castillo and the city of Carthagena, in consequence of which he threw up his command, soon after Morillo's arrival on the coast, and retired to Jamaica, overcome by emotions of sorrow at the desolation of his country, but not despairing of her future fortunes. We refer the reader, who is curious of information upon these subjects, to the pages of our author, where he cannot fail of obtaining satisfaction.† We proceed to appropriate a few pages to the account of Morillo's atrocious conduct, during his temporary occupation of New-Granada.

For the period of six months, Morillo reigned in Santa Fé, with all the despotism of an Asiatic sultan. Before him the civil authorities were dumb, and in the capital as well as the provinces, the arbitrary will of himself and his subordinate agents gave law to the whole land. A hundred officers of the army, subaltern tyrants, more ferocious even than their implacable chief, exercised the tremendous right of life and death over an entire people, treated as common rebels apprehended in arms. Among many examples of systematic cruelty, hardly paralleled in the annals of civilized nations, his policy towards the leading patriots is not the least remarkable. They were brought to trial before a board of officers, termed a permanent council of war, summarily tried, without being permitted any means of defence, or allowed any communication with friends without the prison, and condemned to death under laws of Spain, no more applicable to their case than the laws of China. These executions of the best men in New-Granada, are justly characterized as judicial assassinations, because committed under the forced and illegal application of apparent forms of justice. Our author draws a heart-rending picture of the miseries consequent on this procedure.

* Restrepo, t. ii., pp. 59, 162, 207; iii., pp. 25, 41, 56, 179, 200; iv., pp. 78, 93, 155.

† Restrepo, t. iii., iv., v., vi., ix., and x

"The council of war commenced its assassinations with the general brigade, Antonio Villavicencio, whom they sentenced to be shot in the back, after having been degraded, as previously commissioned in the service of the king. This sentence was executed with much parade, in order to inspire terror, (June 5th, 1816.) From this mournful day, for the space of six months, scarcely a week passed without the execution, in Santa Fé or the provinces, of three, four, or more individuals, shot as traitors. Thus perished the persons of the greatest wisdom, the most virtuous and wealthy, in New-Granada. The object which Morillo had in view, was to extinguish intelligence, remove men of influence, and destroy property, so that, in future, there should be none capable of originating or directing another revolution. New-Granada has deplored, and will for a long time deplore, among other illustrious victims, the loss of Doctors Camilo Torres, Joaquin Camacho, José Gregorio and Frutos Gutierrez, Crisanto Valenzuela, Miguel Pombo, Jorge Lozano, Francisco Antonio Ulloa, and Manuel Torices; and of military men, general Custodio Rovira, Libario Mejia, and the engineer Francisco José de Caldas. The murder of this celebrated mathematician and philosopher, was a piece of wanton cruelty on the part of Morillo. The exact sciences lost much by his premature death; and the geography of New-Granada especially, retrograded beyond measure, by the loss of the precious works which he had nearly perfected."

"In order to diffuse horror and consternation in the most remote corners of New-Granada, Morillo and his tribunal of blood, invented the scheme of remitting, from Santa Fé to the different provinces, even for more than sixty leagues distant, the convicts who had been sentenced to capital execution, in order that they might perish on a scaffold in the places of their birth, or in those where they had been distinguished. It would seem, that he wished to make death more terrible to them, by causing their executions in sight of their parents, children, wives, and relations; their sufferings, also, during a long journey, being protracted by the previous knowledge of their condemnation, and the bad usage of the officers and soldiers who served as their guard. In this manner were remitted and executed various patriots, in Tunja, Socorro, Mariquita, Neiba, and other places. After they were shot, they were suspended on a gibbet, to communicate a mark of infamy to their punishment. The head and limbs of some celebrated patriots, of Torres, for instance, were exposed on hooks, or in iron cages, in the most frequented public places, to give evidence, according to these pretended messengers of peace, of Spanish justice; but as posterity will rather say, to manifest the cruelty and barbarism of that nation. * * * * In Santa Fé and in the provinces, one hundred and twenty-five persons suffered the punishment of felons by order of Morillo, their goods being confiscated; and these one hundred and twenty-five, the most celebrated and illustrious men of their country."

Restrepo, t. vii., pp. 87-83.

When such was the conduct of the commander-in-chief, it is easy to imagine what must have been that of his satellites in the provinces. We select a single example.

"At this unhappy period, a father had no security that his daughter or wife would not be corrupted by the Spaniards, by means of the terror which they inspired, and the influence which their situation imparted. Any Spanish officer, who wished to free himself from the importunate presence of a father or husband, or who desired to get possession of his property, instituted a process against him as an insurgent, and was sure that his superiors would applaud his zeal in the service of the king. But nothing of this kind is so scandalous as that which happened in the province of Casanare, where lieutenant-colonel Don Julian Bayer had command. The royalist captain, Pablo Maza, and the lieutenant, Antonio Montaña, solicited favours; the first of a niece of Miguel Daza, and the second of the wife of Luciano Buston, two patriots of distinction, inhabitants of the plains. Finding they could not accomplish their purpose, they arrested Buston and Daza, kept them suspended four days by the hands, tormenting and insulting them in a thousand different ways, until they expired in the greatest an-

guish and torture, after which their goods were confiscated. The officers themselves boasted that their conduct would be approved by Bayer, and even by the general-in-chief, showing orders of the first for the destruction of the patriots."

Restrepo, t. vii., pp. 103-105.

One more extract, containing an affecting instance of female fortitude and heroism, and we have done.

"No case made a more profound impression on the inhabitants of New-Granada, nor manifested more clearly the extent to which the cruelty of the Spanish chiefs was carried, than that of Policarpa Salavarrieta. She was a young female, enthusiastically attached to the liberty and independence of her country, favouring and giving aid to all the oppressed patriots, and to those who resolved to fly to the plains of Casanare, from whence it was hoped that freedom might come to the rest of New-Granada. She loved, and was beloved by, Alejo Sabarain, who had been an officer under the republic, and was now compelled by the Spaniards to serve as a common soldier. Availing herself of the influence she possessed over Sabarain, she persuaded him to fly from slavery, and repair to Casanare with other companions, because, through the discovery of a conspiracy carried on at Santa Fé, there ceased to be any hope of throwing off the Spanish yoke by means of internal commotion. La Salavarrieta made arrangements for the flight of eight persons, of whom five were of the army. She procured exact statements of all the Spanish force in Santa Fé and the neighbouring provinces, with lists of the patriots and other persons who could be trusted, all which she transmitted to the republican chiefs in Casanare. Sabarain and his companions were discovered and apprehended in their flight. The letters and other papers betrayed la Salavarrieta, who was also thrown into prison. The cause was tried by martial law, and this young female, from the beginning, manifested much presence of mind and unshaken courage. She compromised nobody by her declarations, and the judges could not extract from her any confession of the means by which she procured the statement sent to the patriots. Finally, she and seven companions were condemned by a council of war to the punishment of death, and to be shot in the back. She heard the sentence with tranquillity, preparing herself for death like a Christian and a heroine. She walked to the place of execution with a firm step, reproaching the Spaniards for their barbarous cruelty, exhorting her companions to die with the character and firmness of freemen, and announcing in a loud voice, that her blood would soon be avenged by the deliverers of her country. She was shot in the principal square. Her constancy astounded the Spaniards, and there was not a feeling heart, but lamented the premature death of this young female, sacrificed in the cause of freedom. Her grateful country ought to perpetuate the memory of Policarpa Salavarrieta, whose character deserves to be handed down to posterity, to the honour of the fair sex in America, and to the disgrace of the Spanish name." *Restrepo*, t. vii., pp. 144-148.

Our readers, we trust, will agree with us in hoping that Mr. Restrepo will speedily complete and publish the remaining parts of a work which is so much needed by the public as a complete history of the revolution of Colombia.

ART. IV.—*The Law of Libel.* By FRANCIS LUDLOW HOLT, Esq.
of the Middle Temple, Barrister at Law. 1 Vol. 8vo.

THE discussion of no other branch of jurisprudence has excited more the attention of the legal profession in England, and in this country, than the law of libel. The community had entered with eagerness into the debate, and felt itself deeply interested in the result. In these United States especially, a just appreciation of the question has been considered of vital importance to American liberty.

Though, however, the subject has received this attentive examination, both in and out of our courts of justice, and as we shall hereafter see, a disinclination very general has prevailed among us to sanction the maxims of the English system; yet it would seem, after all this labour and investigation, we have not generally adopted a rational view of the matter;—but that, on the contrary, both the criminal and the civil part of the libel law, are open to much animadversion. On the one hand, we are afraid that the natural right of free discussion is subjected to undue restraint; and on the other, that a proper regard for private feeling and reputation, is not so sedulously observed, as that valuable right would demand:

Wherever, from their good fortune or early assertion of their original liberty, the people have not bartered all the *rights* of mankind for the *privileges* of subjects, the government undertakes the prosecution of publications examining the public affairs of the nation, it happily for the slumbering spirit of freedom in that country, instead of stifling any scrutiny into abuses, frequently excites the direction of a more inquiring glance towards its own vices and misrule. The punishment of a libeller is the end in view,—the production of a martyr to his independence of mind and abhorrence of corruption, is the result; the roused community overlooking the frequent real insignificance of the object of its interest, in the greatness of the cause. We are not without instances to prove the truth of this assertion in the political history of England; and the case of Wilkes would teach us, that on the score of prudential considerations alone, it had been better for that crown, had it winked at the publication of the famous North Briton, and not marked the author as the victim of a prosecution which rendered him so long the lion of the British nation.

Here, as well from nobler views as from calculations of mere prudence, a liberty of the press the most unrestrained, and the most complete impunity for publications touching public men and measures, appear to us the best policy, both for rulers and pen-

ple. The legislature of Pennsylvania apprehended no danger from this impunity, when, about twenty years since, they passed an act, declaring that no criminal prosecution should be against the authors of writings examining the proceedings of the legislature, or the conduct and measures of men in an official capacity. The duration of this act was limited to three years,—it was passed pending a prosecution against an editor of a newspaper for an alleged libel on the governor. Thus suffered to expire, by its own limitation, it had, we believe, the effect of preventing the recurrence of a similar proceeding. The policy which dictated the provision was correct. “In their opinions,” says a great writer, “the people sometimes err; in their feelings they are never mistaken.” No government in the world need entertain any apprehension from popular discussion where the press is free, if its acts be guided by patriotic motives; and if they be the result of different intentions, the sooner its subjects know of it, the better. The sentiments of the bold soldier, who by the supremacy of his talents and by actual force, obtained the mastery of the Constitution of his country, must command our applause: “My government,” said Cromwell, “is not worth preserving, if it cannot stand against paper-shot.” And should we, it need hardly be asked, have less confidence in the stability of our institutions?

In Pennsylvania, a happy constitution asserts the most perfect liberty of the press, and the free communication of thoughts and opinions, as one of the most invaluable rights of man. In all prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers or men in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for the public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence,—and we consequently steer here clear of the uncertainty which in England has been thought more pernicious in its effect upon the liberty of the press, than even a censorship;—because no man there knows whether punishment will or not be the consequence of his temerity; which uncertainty would not prevail, were his production to go forth under the previous sanction of the censor.

Another advantage we possess in this respect over our English brethren, consists in this: that an indictment for a libel, as any other criminal charge, must be submitted to a grand jury, who have, consequently, the power of throwing out the bill,—no information being by our Constitution allowed to be filed, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or of oppression or misdemeanor in office; whilst in England, the officer of the Crown has the privilege of putting a man, without previous notice, upon his trial, of deferring that trial at the pleasure of the government, and keeping it suspended over the head of the offender, *in terrorem*, for years. The very circumstance of its being con-

sidered, in some degree, one of the *jura regalia* to file informations for libels, shows how little understood and regarded, and how carefully hedged in by all the formidable apparatus of power, has been the undoubted right of free investigation of public measures.

The interesting nature of any question having reference to the freedom of the press, has drawn from us these observations, aside from our immediate object. It is intended to offer a few reflections upon the existing law of indictments and civil suits for *private* libels,—it not appearing to us to possess the same perfection, by any means, with the greater part of the law: and in this age of innovation, or, in the view of many, of improvement, when an impetus has been given to advancement in every science, and among the rest to this, certainly one of the loftiest, a hint of this kind may not be considered altogether improper; particularly as the policy of the existing law has been the source of regret and disapprobation to many.

As to what the existing law is, there can be neither doubt nor cavil. The truth cannot be given in evidence on a criminal charge for a libel, the temporary provision allowing it in all cases, having expired without revival. It is, on the other hand, now equally well settled, though, as we shall see, there were formerly great doubts, that in the civil suit for the same offence, the truth of the allegations may be given in evidence, provided it be specially pleaded as a justification. If this be a defect, the remedy is with our legislators. We would endeavour to show, if possible, with great deference for the opinions of those who have otherwise settled the law, that the rule of excluding the truth should be adopted to a certain extent in civil suits for libels, and that the contrary should obtain in criminal prosecutions: to wit, that in neither case should the truth be a *justification*, but that it should in both be admitted as evidence for the purpose of ascertaining the *intention* of the publisher,—of exhibiting the *innocence* or *maliciousness* of that intention.

We have, in this design, the advantage wanting in many, of ~~embarking~~ not entirely without the benefit of some light to direct our course. Precedents are numerous for the change, in England, on the Continent, and in our sister states. It was a considerable time, before, in the first mentioned country, the law was settled in civil suits as it now stands. It was said by Lord Hardwicke when in the King's Bench, in the year 1735, "that the truth could only be given in evidence in mitigation of damages—not as a justification—the law is too careful," said he, in discountenancing such practices." It is a little remarkable, too, that in the case of *Harman vs. Delany*, in Strange 898, in the fourth year of George II., such a doctrine was not thought of. A short time prior to that case, the very point was laid

down by the Chief Justice in *Rex vs. Betterton*, in the same book, page 498. The defendant had published of an apothecary, that he had feigned himself the doctor, and by that means obtained his fee. It came before the court on a motion for an information, and the court said that as the apothecary did not deny the charge, they would not give him the extraordinary remedy of an information; but, they added, in the civil action, the truth was no justification. The very accurate compilers of Bacon's *Abridgment*, under the title *Libel*, lay down the law in accordance with the above, and take a distinction in this respect between slander and libel, allowing the truth to be a justification in the former, but not in the latter. The contrary doctrine, however, is now too firmly established to be overturned by judicial decision, and all the Judges of England, in the year 1792, upon questions put to them in Parliament on the libel bill, gave their answers to this effect.

Attempts have been made, hitherto we believe without success, to introduce an alteration. Mr. Brougham, in the year 1816, brought into Parliament, a bill proposing some very important changes in regard to the filing of *ex-officio* informations, and in the general law of libel. These alterations, with respect to the admission of the truth in evidence, were similar in many points to those now suggested. This bill was postponed until the next session, and, we presume, came to nothing at last; as the government was probably too well satisfied with the existing regulation.

The French have considered this subject with great attention. The revolution, which unsettled so many doctrines and opinions before considered as immovable, could not be expected to leave the law wholly untouched. As late as the year 1818, in the Chamber of Peers, a select Committee was appointed, of which the Duc de Broglie was the chairman, who made a report distinguished by the most profound and enlightened views of the liberty of the press. They recommended to the Chamber, the distinction which obtains here, between imputations upon public conduct and private character: allowing, in the first case, the truth of the matters charged to be given in evidence as an exculpation, but in the second, excluding it altogether, considering no attack upon private character through the medium of publications, however true, in any case justifiable. The report takes likewise a ground similar to that which Mr. Brougham had two years before assumed in England. That gentleman proposed to render spoken slander indictable as a misdemeanor, and to take away the distinction between words imputing an indictable offence, and such as are generally defamatory, declaring both actionable, and thus removing the difference in this point between written and spoken slander. The French committee of Peers, too, got rid of the distinction between libel and slander in at-

tacks upon private character. The spirit that pervades this report, gave no prognostics of the censorship under which the French press groaned in so short a time afterwards.

The civil law was very severe upon this offence; punishing even with death the false charge of a capital crime.* It recognised the distinction between slander and libel.

Vinnius, in his commentary upon the Institutes,† remarks, that the truth should be admissible to explain the intent, and not in every instance to justify it: that the investigation should be restrained to the innocence or maliciousness of the publisher's intentions. We may here mention a striking case which occurred in England, to show that when the intention is not criminal, no action should lie, or prosecution be sustained. In *Brook vs. Montague*, Cro. Jac. 91, Lord Coke, then at the bar, cites the following decision in his argument. A preacher in his sermon recited a story out of Fox's Martyrology, of one Greenwood, as being a very wicked man, and a persecutor, who died under signal visitations of God's displeasure. The preacher intended to show by that example, the judgment of Providence upon great sinners, but he was totally mistaken as to the fact; for Greenwood was not dead, or diseased, but present at the preaching of the sermon. He brought his action for the defamation; and the court instructed the jury, that the defendant having read or delivered the words as matter of history and without any evil intentions, was not liable in damages.

Let us now turn our eyes for a moment to our own country, and see what view has been taken of this interesting subject here. The constitutions of the states of Delaware, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, contain the same provisions as that of Pennsylvania, in regard to publications on the official conduct of men in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information. Those of Mississippi and Missouri, extend the privilege to all prosecutions for libels, without restriction, whether public or private. New-Jersey, by an act passed in 1799, made a similar regulation.

On the 6th of April 1805, the legislature of New-York enacted, that in every prosecution for writing and publishing *any libel*, it shall be lawful for any defendant upon the trial of the cause, to give in evidence in his defence, the truth of the matter contained in the publication charged as libellous:—Provided, that such evidence shall not be a justification, unless it shall be made satisfactorily to appear, that the matter charged as libellous, was published with good motives and for justifiable ends. The new constitution of that state, of 1821, contains the same provision; a proof, that in the opinion of the eminent men who framed that

* Cod. 6. 36.

† Book 4. Title 4

charter, the rule laid down by the legislature previously, and which had been in operation for sixteen years, was productive of no evil consequences.

“In Massachusetts,” says Chancellor Kent,* “a statute passed in March 1827, not only allows the truth to be pleaded by way of justification in all actions for libel as well as for oral slander, but every inference to be drawn from such a plea, in admission of the fact of publication or of malice, if the plea be not proved, is destroyed. The statute affords facility and encouragement to the plea.” Another section of the same statute declares, that in all *prosecutions* for libels, the truth may be given in evidence, with a proviso couched in exactly the same terms, with that in the constitution of New-York. Some decisions of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts produced, we believe, this act.

This unanimity of views on this interesting subject, all differing in most essential particulars from the law as received in that country whence we have derived the greater part of our own, and it appearing that even there, that law does not receive, by any means, the undivided admiration of its professors, may induce us with great propriety to doubt of its wisdom and justice. We are freed, to be sure, from the terror of ex-officio informations, or indeed, as far as concerns the subject we are at present examining, all informations whatsoever, and the press may be thought, *practically*, sufficiently free for investigations of public affairs; but we are still subjected to what we respectfully submit is the crying injustice of having the truth excluded upon judgments for *private libels*, in all cases, without qualification; and, on the other hand, to what appears to us to be an equally pernicious regulation, the allowance of the truth to be a complete justification on the civil side of the court. The few observations we shall offer, which are intended rather as hints to lead the inquiries of others, than as in any degree a treatise upon the subject, will tend to apply a remedy to both these deficiencies—and in the first place to the criminal part of the law of libel.

We may remark here, that it is not our purpose to run into the extreme of abolishing all distinction between libel and slander, which has been the plan both of the French and English jurists above mentioned. There is sound sense and justice in the rule that draws the line of demarcation between them. The less offence is sufficiently punished, by subjecting the slanderer to an action for damages, without swelling the list of misdemeanors, and consuming the public time with criminal prosecutions, for the verbal effusions of temper, or even of malice. There is too, in the deliberate formation and publication of a libel, the law justly says, such inherent evidence of that malice pre-

* Note to 2d vol. of Commentaries. p. 21.

pense, a feature so important in the composition of crime, that it would be the destruction of an important distinction, to abrogate that existing between written and spoken slander. The law moreover regards as essential, the probability of the more extended duration and permanent continuance of the injury in the one case than in the other, arising from the difference in the nature of the two means of propagating the offensive expressions. And why the ebullitions of temper, in mere generally defamatory phrases, which have been classed among the privileges of the vulgar, should be put upon an equal footing of criminality with the same when reduced to writing, and deliberately circulated to the world, is not, we confess, sufficiently apparent to induce the adoption of the opinion. But to return,—

We do humbly submit, that however far from the intentions of those who introduced the rule, or who now advocate its continuance, it does intrench upon the *perfect liberty of the press*. The position, that in this country the press is not perfectly free, will be thought at first sight, by many, paradoxical; a nearer view of the subject will, we trust, remove this impression.

When we say that the liberty of the press is invaded, we would be understood to speak exclusively of written slander, in the vulgar meaning of the term, *written*. It is perfectly well known that abusive signs, pictures, statues, and things of that nature, may be libels. Nay, it was in one case held, that the sending of a wooden gun to an officer of the army, was a libellous reflection upon his military character. We are not aware that the press has any thing to do with transactions of this description; though a law, which in all cases should forbid burning in effigy, for instance, would in some degree clog the freedom of communication of thought and opinion, which may be expressed, doubtless, as well by signs as by writing: in many cases more significantly.

What is the liberty of the press? In what does the true meaning of that phrase, so much discussed, and in some instances so little understood, consist? Let a more correct and comprehensive definition be pointed out, than that given by the distinguished jurist and statesman, Alexander Hamilton, in the great case of *The people vs. Croswell*, 3 Johns. Cases, 337. “The liberty of the press,” said he, “consists in the right to publish with impunity *truths* with good motives, and for justifiable ends, whether it respects government, magistracy, or *individuals*.” Does not the law as it stands violate this liberty, according to the definition we have adopted? Take an example—A man publishes, with the best intentions, and for ends perfectly justifiable, any truth of any other individual. The press is used of course as the vehicle of communication with the rest of the world. What is the consequence? he is liable to an indictment for a breach of

the laws of his country, and on that indictment is not permitted to show the purity of those motives, the justice of those ends, coupled with the truth of the matter published; he is debarred of the most conclusive answer to the charge, and subject to fine and imprisonment, upon conviction, as a libeller. Does this state of things comport with our ideas of the free communication of thoughts and opinions, and does it not run directly counter to what our constitution very properly calls one of the most invaluable of the rights of man? Show, if possible, the policy or the wisdom of excluding truth from the eye of the public, when it emanates from motives and for ends such as these. Can it be said that no case is supposable, when a fact in regard to the private conduct of an individual is capable of being promulgated for justifiable ends, or that can evince any other than evil intentions? If no such case can exist or be supposed, the most that can be said against the adoption of the rule contended for, is, that it is superfluous. But many such cases may exist; nay, more—are constantly occurring. One offers himself a candidate for a public office; another is conscious of a circumstance affecting his private behaviour, which may render him unfit for a post of public trust; the candidate is not a man in an official capacity, and the matter *in itself* may not be proper for public information: it may be so only as connected with the particular circumstances of the case; and may not therefore come within the provision of the constitution. It is published with the perfectly justifiable purpose of preventing the election of the candidate, the choice of such a man being considered an injury to the community—the author is indicted as a libeller; if these facts were made clearly to appear, would any jury be found to convict? and in his conviction, can it be said that the freedom of the press is in no degree affected? It was the decision in the case of *The People vs. Croswell*, that produced the law of 1805 in New-York, which in terms adopted the opinions of Mr. Hamilton; and the legislature of Massachusetts, as we have seen, a short time ago sanctioned the principle in his very words.

It may be said, that an unrestricted licence to publish every truth, is licentiousness, and not liberty, there being *some* truths which it would be improper to expose to the public eye; and this would be an objection hard to be surmounted, if the rule went to the extent of authorizing the truth to be the only matter to be taken into consideration. But when the matter is published with good motives, and what is perhaps of more importance, for ends perfectly justifiable, where is the reason so distinguishing libel from the herd of other offences, that in the criminal prosecution, any more than in the civil, the defendant should be deprived of the benefit of this defence? He is told, that whether true or false, a libel tends to a breach of the peace, and that it is

itself constructively an act of that character. But does not slander tend to a breach of the peace? Nay, inasmuch as slander to be actionable *per se*, must impute some crime, or have a tendency to injure a person in his trade, or profession, or business, whereas any written imputation likely to make a man appear even ridiculous, is a libel; we ask, does not slander tend *more* to a breach of the peace? Is an individual not as much provoked, and as likely to commit a violation of order, by being told to his face that he is a thief, as by reading it in a newspaper? Or has the law so nicely scanned the tempers of men as to draw with correctness the conclusion, that a man is more irascible in the one case than the other? or to push the interrogation farther, but not one whit further than the fact authorizes, is a man less liable to break the peace on being told to his face that he is a *murderer*, than from reading in print that he has some trifling failing, which may however cause a smile at his expense? We do not find fault with the law of slander; we wish merely to prove that of libel not to be equally faultless. But is every breach of the peace, under any circumstances whatever, no matter what the provocation, to be punished? Is not an assault justifiable when the prosecutor commenced the attack? Is not murder, (to take the highest crime at once,) excusable when in self-defence? And yet is not, in each of these instances, the peace broken? But in libel, the law, with peculiar severity, deprives the defendant of the benefit of such a defence, and shuts his mouth with the declaration—you have broken the peace of the Commonwealth, no matter what the provocation, no matter how true the publication, no matter how pure your intentions, and justifiable your views, and you must consequently be punished. Is this our boasted liberty of the press?

But in the second place, the law considering libel a crime, and punishing it with severity, we may ask what is the criterion by which to judge of crime? Is it not the intention of the party accused? An act, however fatal the consequence, when there exists no maliciousness of purpose, or that culpable negligence, whence the law implies malice, is not criminal. It is surely not necessary to press this principle of natural law. The *intention* then constitutes the guilt; and in the civil suit, the publisher has a fair opportunity of showing what his intention was. But, says the law, with what propriety we are at present considering, when a man is in danger not merely of being mulcted in damages, but of fine and imprisonment, the consequences of a *criminal* act; *then* his motives are not to be scanned. Reversing the cheering expression, it announces, "Though your mind be white as snow, I will make it red as crimson."

The intention then, upon this argument, does not and can not enter into consideration; the *publication* is the offence. Let us

look well at, and understand our code—the publication of truth, with good motives, and for justifiable ends, is punishable; and let us then be told of the mildness and perfection of our penal constitutions, and believe what the admirers of the criminal law of libel say of it. If we can be satisfied with what they do say, with these results in view, there is of course no necessity for alteration.

Every attack upon character, is in itself an injury; the wrong, however, is a private wrong, and the public take notice of it only because it tends to disturb their quiet. This is the assumption or theory upon which the indictment is founded: and yet, as if from the consciousness that injustice would be the production of so limited an investigation, the law allows many things to be shown, having a tendency to negative malice. We do not complain of this; on the contrary, if it were not the case, we are sure the system would be intolerable; but it is submitted, that the privilege is not sufficiently extensive. For instance, the defendant may prove, that the publication was in answer to an attack upon himself; he may prove that it was an answer to an inquiry concerning the character of a servant. If any part of the libel be given in evidence by the prosecution, the defendant may read the whole. All these considerations are brought before the court and jury to show the *animus*, and yet the most important of all is the *truth*, and that is excluded. We are aware that the exclusion is not founded, as is alleged by some, upon a conviction of its inconclusiveness to satisfy all doubts; for it is alleged that admitting the fact that the publication is every word of it true, it is not the less a breach of the peace. It may properly be answered, that when the law admits one circumstance to show the intention, why reject another? light, from whatever quarter it may proceed, particularly in the investigation of crime, is desirable; why then in so important a point, love darkness rather than light? or take a circuitous and conjectural mode of obtaining it, when the path to it is so obvious, were there a willingness to enter? It has been ingeniously said, that as the rule now obtains, on an indictment for a libel, the defendant can *prove* nothing, but by means of his counsel *insinuate* every thing. As much injury to character may result in this way, as from direct proof, and possibly without any foundation for the insinuation, and thus the innocent be the sufferer.

Now, what we ask for the defendant, is not that he may be permitted to allege, I have committed no breach of the public peace, because, what I have published is true: the consequences of the doctrine carried to that extent, would be pernicious; many occurrences are improper for publicity, and might be brought forward for the mere purpose of gratifying malignant feelings, without the most distant idea of answering any one good purpose.

All that we seek is this, that he may be put upon the footing of any other alleged offender, and have the common justice of showing that his intentions were pure, his ends justifiable, and as a means to arrive at this conclusion, that the matter published was true. If he can show all this, we would not have him punishable for a constructive breach of the peace. To prevent any surprise to the prosecutor, the defendant might be required to give notice of his intention to avail himself of the truth of the matter complained of, and this should also be required in the civil action, to which we would now beg a momentary attention.

The views we have submitted on the preceding head, will govern our conclusions on this. As in offering our suggestions upon that, we asked no more than the privilege of proving the truth of the alleged libel, not of itself by any means a justification, but only so to be considered when conjoined with perfect purity of intention and justifiableness of object; so in the civil action, the same arguments would induce the persuasion that the present system, which compels a verdict for the defendant when he can show the truth of the publication, and is required to show that alone, is carrying too far, with singular inconsistency, the doctrine of impunity for publications, when a private person, and not the public, asks for redress.

The natural and common argument in support of this part of the system is, that a plaintiff should not be permitted to come into court, and ask for damages which he is to put into his own pocket, against another, for alleging what is satisfactorily shown to be true. To assent, however, to this proposition, we must admit, that so far as regards the complaint, every one is at liberty to publish, no matter how improper for public information it may be, any thing whatsoever, provided it be true. We are to limit our view totally to the party who says he is injured by the publication, and are to disregard entirely considerations of infinitely higher importance. We are to overlook matters intimately affecting the general morality of society, as connected with the *purity* of the press, and are to disregard as entirely the maliciousness of the motives, and the culpability of the ends of the publisher. Let us examine how, in each of these points, the defect may or may not be apparent.

That the good order of society, and prevalence of right notions of propriety of conduct and of opinion, are connected with and in some measure dependent upon the state of the public presses, cannot be denied. The press, like the stage, is in a degree the mirror of public sentiment. We need but a glance at the comedies of Aristophanes, to be convinced that the citizens who could suffer the philosopher, whose doctrine has been so aptly denominated "anticipated Christianity," to be the butt of such men as the writers of the old comedies, were not far from

that state of mind, which not very long afterwards, suffered that same sage to swallow henlock in his dungeon. Fortunately, the good feelings and habits of our fellow-citizens, forbid the idea of the press at present becoming the vehicle of scandalous and indecent narrative. This condition may not, however, exist for ever; and as the theory of the law would, in our opinion, permit it, and *that* we are anxious to correct, it is better to do away at once with the possibility of such a time ever arriving.

Is it desirable, that a paper of extensive circulation should contain the record of dissipation or debauchery of those in whose behaviour the public can have no possible concern? Will it be denied that there are some occurrences which it would be improper to introduce to general notice? Is it not sufficient that the license is given to the *tongue*, without extending it to the *pen*? Is the purveyor to the perverted taste of those who take delight in tales such as these, to repose secure, because the transactions he relates had an actual existence, without regard to the wounded feelings of family or friends, or to the malice that may have dictated the recital? There is a fallacy in the supposition that the intermeddling with the private deportment of another is excusable, even though the facts may support the assertions. We are to bear in mind what a libel is defined to be. If its definition were restrained to the imputation of heinous offences, there would be reason in denying redress to him who had been actually guilty of offences, the punishment of which would be a benefit to society—though even then, it might be said, that the proper course, if one be guilty of a crime, is to punish him in the ordinary way. But when we recollect that the assertion in writing of any fact, having a tendency to raise a laugh at the expense of another, comes within the sweeping signification of the term, our indignation is excited, to think that the harmless foibles of one of us should be exposed to public ridicule to gratify the malice of our enemy, and that he should laugh secure under the evidence of their existence. That such cases may exist is undoubted; that they do not often occur, is a compliment to our taste and refinement; not to our laws, which contain no provision to meet such a case.

We shall probably be told, that the redress is not given to the public, who by the argument are injured; but to the private individual who cannot deny the assertion. But if the suggestions we have offered be persuasive, the answer will not be sufficient. The public redress is sought in the criminal prosecution, but then, according as the law stands, the *defendant* has not a fair chance, though if the alteration proposed were adopted, there would, to be sure, be less objection to this branch of the libel law. An attention to the other point of view from which we

wished to examine this matter, will, we trust, remove the objection.

There are two parties to the suit; plaintiff and defendant. The merits of their respective sides are to be weighed, and the preference given to the most deserving. If, in the consideration of the court and jury, the ill-deserts of the defendant, arising from the blackness of his intentions, overbalance the supposed impropriety of paying a plaintiff for the assertion of a truth concerning him, the determination will be in favour of the latter. And hence is deducible the correctness of the rule we are advocating. Inasmuch as cases of this kind may occur, the proper mode is to leave all this to *the jury*—the truth, the motives of the defendant in making the publication, and the nature of the matter charged, its criminality or insignificance—the deduction will be drawn from a view of the whole. The law adopts this course of reasoning, or rather of conduct, in some cases. We mean the giving an advantage to one party, to prevent the interests of society suffering by a contrary behaviour. A contract is entered into repugnant to the policy of the law—money is deposited by one party with the other, who, disregarding the honour of which even thieves are boastful, retains it—redress is sought—the maxim “*In pari delicto, melior est conditio possidentis*,” is a complete bar to the plaintiff. It is better, says the law, that an advantage be derived by the defendant, however unworthy, than that an action of that nature be countenanced. In such a case, moreover, as this we have just cited, the parties do not appear in *pari delicto*: the defendant adds treachery to his previous violation of law. Now, we fearlessly assert, that a plaintiff, who asks for redress for ridicule cast upon him by an exposition of his foibles, however undeniable their existence, has much more to recommend him than a defendant in such a case.

All regulations of jurisprudence must be general: they must be calculated to meet and accommodate themselves to general views, and not bend to the supposed hardship of particular cases. This principle, so essential to the formation of a rule of civil conduct, is preserved by the plan we propose. To instance:—a man is asserted to be a thief, and is so proved on the trial—to allege that under any circumstances he should obtain damage for this, may be thought a monstrous proposition, and we are willing to admit it would be hard to persuade a jury to give him any. But, again: a perfectly innocent and yet ludicrous failing is incident to another—it is maliciously and for culpable purposes published to the world—we hesitate not to assert most boldly, that any jury, even though convinced of its existence, if the law permitted, *would* give damages. But, by the present system, the defendant pleads a justification: that is, asserts on the record the

truth of what he has charged, and the court, upon proof of that, direct the jury to find for him. The meaning of a justification being merely that the charge is true, not that the publisher's motives are pure. We humbly submit that the alteration we propose pays a due regard to the merits and demerits of the complaining party, the regulation and preservation of the purity of the press, and the motives and intentions of the publisher; that it pays this due regard to all, and not exclusively to any one; and that, on the contrary, the existing law extends it to neither.

What will be the practical effect of the change? The object of all judicial investigation is, or ought to be, the performance of the most perfect justice possible between the parties. The end proposed in a civil action for a libel, should be to discover the degree of the defendant's culpability; to measure the quantum of his criminality, and the amount of damages for his offence. Every thing that would advance this end is of importance. The charge *being true*, will not, or rather ought not to make it *necessarily no libel*. In some cases the evidence of the truth, we grant, would conclusively negative malicious intent; but it would not *in all*; and it is for this reason the change is desirable. This being the case, where from the truth the conclusion would not irresistibly follow that no malice existed, the defendant should go further, and satisfy the jury of that deduction from the circumstances. To express our idea in as few words as possible, it should be established that the jury, in all suits for a libel, should have the power of assessing the damages from a view of the *whole case*: of judging whether the truth was an exculpation or not, or whether circumstances of malice appearing in the conduct of the defendant, would not justify them in mulcting him in damages, though he substantiate his accusations. The charge should of course be taken as false, until the contrary were shown by the defendant. If he should fail in this, the known falsehood, both in the criminal charge and civil action, would be decisive of the malicious intent: and that should be the main object of the investigation. This would be placing the law of libel upon a uniform footing throughout. The defendant in both cases, whether he appear to answer criminally or civilly, will have the benefit of the same defence; not more advantages, as he now has, in the latter than in the former.

It has been remarked as a singular omission in the Treasons Act of Edward III., that to *murder* the king is no treason by the statute; though to compass his death is. The omission has not been singularly unfortunate for the safety of their British majesties; and it may be said, that the defectiveness of the latter branch of our subject, as subjecting private character to injury, is equally harmless in its consequences. We doubt the

assertion. There appears, at present, sufficient ground to apprehend that the knowledge of the impunity consequent on the publication of any matter, provided its truth be made apparent, may, at some future time, make serious inroads upon the public morals. To avert this, the change we propose appears to us the best. We may be mistaken; but we have given our views under a thorough conviction of their usefulness.

It is so frequently the fashion in Reviews to take no notice of the work whose title stands at the head of the article, that we have ventured to adopt the custom in the present instance. It was the more unnecessary to enter into an examination of Mr. Holt's work, as its merits are abundantly known and appreciated by the Profession. It has long ranked among the standard elementary books of English law.

ART. V.—HISTORY.

- 1.—*History of the States of Antiquity, from the German of A. H. L. HEEREN, &c. Northampton, Mass. 1828. 1. vol. 8vo.*
- 2.—*History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies, from the Discovery of America, to the Independence of the American Continent. From the German of HEEREN, &c. Northampton, Mass. 1829. 2 vols. 8vo.*

IN judging of an historical work, it is necessary to keep in view the general requisites which constitute the historical character of a narrative, as well as the special purpose for which it is composed. The work of Heeren, which Mr. Bancroft has introduced into our literature, is intended to exhibit an outline of the most important events in ancient and modern history; and to be used particularly as a guide in studying, and as a text-book in delivering lectures on history; for which purpose it is commonly employed in the universities of Germany. It is the object of the following remarks, to show what we consider the general requisites in an historical work, and the particular qualities which fit it for a guide and text-book; and at the same time to determine, how far the work under review is adequate to these demands. The translation, so far as we have been able to compare it with the original, is generally fluent and correct. Some harsh and obscure expressions may be easily corrected in a second edition, which we hope will soon be called for.

The attempt to fix upon the general requisites or essential qualities of a composition which lays claim to the name of his-

tory, is attended with peculiar difficulties. They arise, not so much from a want of eminent works in this department, as from too great a variety, which, like too many rays of light, are apt to blind the vision as effectually as utter darkness. Every student of history must be struck with the great variety of taste, method, and design, which characterizes the most prominent historical works; and the still greater multiplicity of opinions and criticisms on the peculiar merits of those productions. Take, for example, the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides, of Livy and Tacitus, the chronicles of Tschudi, the history of Hume, and that of John Müller. The more the reader is able and willing to appreciate the peculiar excellence of each of these works, the more he is liable to mistakes in regard to their general historical character and authority; his judgment being biassed by qualities which may assign to them a rank among works of fiction or moral philosophy, at the expense of their historical merit. Under these perplexing circumstances, a fair estimate of the credit due to an historical work as such, is, perhaps, less to be expected from one who views it as a learned judge, than from a man of common sense, who decides upon it as a jurymen, not according to pre-established rules, but as a matter of fact. To such an unbiassed judge of history, language itself seems to point out its true character, by the twofold meaning it assigns to the word. When we speak of the history of the Romans, we mean the deeds and remarkable events relating to this nation. But when we speak of the history of Livy, we do not mean the events in the life of this man, but the account or narrative of the Romans which he has left us. Accordingly, if we be justified in ascribing this double use of the word history (as we find it in several languages) to the philosophy, rather than to the poverty of the language, we would say, that a description can only so far, and no farther, be considered as history, as it is founded on history, that is, on real facts and events. To those who may think that under this play of words, we have brought forward nothing but a truism, we answer, we should be sincerely glad to plead guilty to this imputation. We heartily wish that nothing but history might be related and considered as history. But when we examine the most eminent works designated by this name, we soon discover, besides the only legitimate ground and object of history, many deviations, occasional and systematic, some arising from unfair, and others from conscientious motives. The more the views from which these deviations from truth proceed, are settled and general, so much the more they affect the whole character of the narrative: while personal and temporary interests are more apt to affect the particulars. The characters of the narratives themselves, and that of their authors, and the circumstances under which they wrote, commonly disclose to us the

causes of these deviations; and it is easy to point out a scale of more or less personal or enlarged views, which induced the historians thus to deny their own character.

The biographer who undertakes the description of one individual, if he is himself this individual, is liable to be led away by the insinuations of self-love, which is likely to appear as much in the apparent modesty with which he details his merits, as in the self-complacent humility with which he confesses his faults. On the other hand, if he writes the history of another person, he is frequently tempted to flattery or abuse, by the influence of the elevation or debasement of this individual upon his own standing and prospects. The propensity to exaggerate the merits or the faults of individuals, extends in monarchies and aristocracies commonly to certain families, and standing political and religious institutions, in which all have become so domesticated, that they regard them with a kind of family attachment and implicit faith. In republics, the spirit of exaggeration is commonly directed for or against certain parties. Europe abounds in pompous narratives of the reigning families, and of political and religious establishments, which seem to rise in the admiration of men as their claims to their esteem become more and more uncertain, a matter of reminiscence rather than of reason, and at last outgrowing even the memory of man. Among these panegyrics in the form of histories, the most dangerous to the cause of truth are by no means those which manifestly show that they are written with a golden pen; but those in which falsehood and slavishness appear—strange to tell—as moral and religious principles. The loyal historian thinks it his sacred duty, not only to extol the merits, and to pass over the faults of his prince and his august family, but moreover, by an astonishing resignation of his reason, to find perfection in every act of him to whom he is obliged to ascribe in addressing him or speaking of him, all the attributes which devout persons attach to the Supreme Being. This conscientious servility, the greatest triumph of falsehood over truth, is so much the more injurious in history, as it blinds the understanding of the student, by engaging his esteem and affection for the honest intention of the writer. There is hardly one among the historians of Europe, whose works do not exhibit symptoms of this moral malady. We discover traces of it even in the works of Heeren; though in him this infirmity does not amount to wilful alteration of facts. Yet it appears in the disdain with which he speaks of the undistinguished many as opposed to the privileged few; in his representation of the English, and of the French revolutions; of the Holy Alliance, and the restoration of political legitimacy in Europe. In general, however, the principle of truth is so predominant in this historian, that it leaves his clear and scrutinizing mind unconfined, as we see it especially in his

account of the American revolution, and the institutions and the progress of our country. This general regard to historical truth secures confidence to his statements, which are more precise and succinct than we find in other works on universal history.

But the want of independence in historical works, originating in countries in which the nation as well as its historians are swayed by despotic power, is not confined to those countries. False coin is not less false for its bearing the escutcheon of a republic rather than the head of a king. In our own republic, in which the capital of history is not vested in ponderous volumes, but in the circulating medium of daily events, our newspapers, the temptations to misrepresent facts and characters are more temporary and various than in Europe. That our newspaper history is different from the real history of this country, is, we believe, generally acknowledged; though the adherents of each of the contending parties may endeavour to throw the charge altogether upon their opponents; or at least, if there are any, honest, or generous, or politic enough to confess that there is a mote in their own eyes, they would still see a beam in those of their dissenting brethren. Those, therefore, (must we say few?) who read the newspapers, not for the purpose of seeing their friends lauded and their enemies abused, those who read the accounts of both parties, require a peculiar skill, a new kind of algebra, to find out from the proportion of positive and negative quantities brought together, the unknown quantity sought for; that is, the simple truth. But even in the calculation of those who always expect to find the truth between the two extremes, there is much fallacy. The whole truth frequently lies exclusively in one direction; and even the spirit of moderation and caution may become a passion, and be carried to a dangerous extreme. The man who is predetermined to choose the middle way, is apt to lose all decision in judgment as well as action; to discredit all accounts, only because they are supported by a violent party; to be afraid of an excess of truth and virtue; to disregard the strict line of demarcation between right and wrong; to seek truth between truth and falsehood, and goodness between virtue and vice. In history, this excess of moderation takes away all distinct outlines from characters and events.

There are characters and events which appear in so different a light as related by the different parties, that it becomes the duty of the historian to give the account of each. Thus, in the history of the two rival queens in England, and in that of the Puritans, the accounts of both parties are to be stated; and in representing some of the most important characters and transactions in the French revolution, which are still involved in mystery, an impartial judgment requires a knowledge of the different party accounts, of the royalists, of the two republican parties,

and of the adherents of a constitutional monarchy. It is quite a different task, one too, which bears its reward in hand, to consult, in representing such scenes, chiefly the taste of the numerous class of readers (as yet, we fear, the plurality) who take up an historical work as a novel, warranted to be true, in which they expect, as a matter of right, to be gratified with objects of admiration and of horror, with suffering saints and triumphing monsters. We must ascribe some part of the applause which the *Sketch of the French Revolution*, by Walter Scott, in his *Life of Napoleon*, has met with, to a very general want of a genuine relish for historical truth, to a public hungering and thirsting after food for admiration and abhorrence. Yet the eminent historical talent which characterizes the novels of this author, is a sufficient proof, that he could not in any instance have calculated upon a perversion of the public taste, which he himself, by his works of fiction, has raised to such a nice discrimination of truth, that the judgment which condemns his essay on the French Revolution as a history, may more properly be considered as his own work, than that essay itself. It is indeed one of the highest moral exertions of the intellect, to view and represent justly the actions and principles of others when opposed to our own. It is an effort which the young should be taught to make from their earliest years, and the want of which should never be excused in any writer, though it be supported by great power and ability. For the falsehood is dangerous in proportion as the arguments by which it is maintained are good. The history of our own country exhibits characters and events, particularly toward the close of the last, and in the beginning of this century, which cannot be placed in a fair historical light without giving the accounts of both parties. These are chiefly to be obtained from the newspapers, periodical works, and pamphlets published at the time. In regard to these ephemeral records of our history, we would add one observation. Their frequent appearance in every part of the country fits them to notice every fleeting event, of which the consequences perhaps appear only at a time when otherwise it would have been long forgotten. On the other hand, this circumstance renders them peculiarly obnoxious to party influence, which lessens their claim to general and lasting credit. Accordingly, we should presume, the future historian of this country will feel embarrassed at once from the superabundance and the scarcity of materials for his work. One very important source of our history has begun to be opened in the publication of the memoirs of influential men; in which French literature is particularly rich.

We have spoken of the injurious influence of party spirit in politics upon history. Its influence upon *religion* is evident from all the records of ecclesiastical history. If we examine the de-

scriptions which authors belonging to different religious sects have left of those who more or less dissented from their own opinions, it would almost seem as if they had endeavoured to imitate nature in forming distinct races of men, with white, yellow, red, and black skins. The party historian, of course, represents those of his own sect as the privileged race, while he describes other sects as coloured people, with more light or shade in their characters as they differ more or less from the chosen race. Therefore, in examining the moral portraits exhibited in party records, we cannot judge from the colouring alone, whether we behold an angel of light or of darkness; for this depends, we know, on the painter's being born in Africa or in Europe. To the true historian, many of these party records are valuable only as unintentional auto-biographies of the writers: while with deep regret and indignation he sees religion, the life-spring of truth and therefore of history, employed as a sufficient ground for legitimating the productions of falsehood.

Perhaps the most abundant source of history is the love of country, the desire of those who look beyond their own narrow sphere, to make known to other nations and to preserve to coming generations, the lives and deeds of their countrymen. This truly patriotic aspiration, which has incited the most distinguished historians of all ages, cannot mislead the writer, so far as patriotism is a philanthropic principle. Patriotism is a virtue, it is philanthropy, when it is an enlargement of our interest in ourselves and our principles to a whole nation. But as soon as it becomes a spirit of hostility and pride toward other nations, it is no longer a moral or philanthropic principle, since it is not an enlargement, but a restriction, of the noblest powers and best affections, which should take in the whole family of man. The writer whose aim it is to exalt his own nation to the disparagement of others, by hiding the faults of the former and enhancing those of the latter; who misleads the minds of his countrymen, and particularly of the young, through principles of national pride and intolerance; such a writer, who does not deserve the name of an historian, commits as grievous a breach of international law, as any that is recognised as such by the law itself. His offence is equalled or surpassed only by that of him who is base enough to disfigure what is really great and good in the history of his own country, to please and serve its enemies abroad and at home. The design to preserve to coming generations the deeds of their ancestors, is a patriotic aim, which sometimes leads the narrator to magnify them, so that they may serve as models for imitation. The historian who relates the deeds of his own cotemporaries to preserve their memory, is less exposed to this temptation than he who undertakes to make known to the present generation the remarkable events in the history of their

ancestors. This desire of magnifying the deeds of forefathers, so common among ancient and modern historians, and frequently excused as an excess of exalted filial piety, is a serious error in regard to history, as well as morality and education. As soon as the historian of a nation ceases to think that posterity will be benefited by the knowledge of the faults as well as the merits of their ancestors, or rather as soon as he has any other object in view than to represent them as they actually were, whether deserving of censure or imitation, he forfeits his right to describe them.

The last remarks, in regard to a national historian, lead us to a more general observation, concerning the apparent predisposition in some historians, to exalt antiquity above modern times, and in others, to retaliate this partiality by reversing it, instead of doing justice to both. We here see in the department of history the same difference, which in that of education, appears in the partiality of some, for what is called classical learning; and of others, for what they technically designate useful knowledge. The partial admirers of antiquity are apt to overlook or slight what is classical in the productions of modern times, while their opponents restrict their conceptions of what is practical and useful, so much as to exclude the study of antiquity: as if the enlargement of the mind which grows out of this study, was not as real as any economical advantage. The works of Heeren are in general free from such partiality; he appreciates what is great and good, or faulty, in the peculiar institutions of all times. It is another trait in the historical character of Heeren's works, that he does not allow his imagination to swerve beyond the domain of history, either to the unknown past, or to the dark future; and that he does not pretend to indicate the laws, according to which, all that has happened must have come to pass. His works are in general characterized by the endeavour to exhibit the actual state of things in every period, in its connexion with the past and the future, so far as it can be ascertained. In his reasoning on the *past*, faith and scepticism seem to prevail in due proportion; his criticism on the work of Niebuhr on Roman history seems to us to contain more truth, than the high encomiums this work has met with from German and English writers. Heeren says, concerning this work, "there is almost more of criticism than history, with a constant effort to overturn what had been received. Acuteness is not always perception of truth; and it is not so easy to believe in a constitution, which is not only against the prevailing view of antiquity itself, (inferences from single passages do not at once overturn what all the rest assert,) but is also, according to the author's own confession, contrary to all analogy in history. But truth gains even where criticism is at fault; and

the value of several profound investigations is not on that account to be mistaken."

Not satisfied with the truly valuable, though somewhat exaggerated scepticism of Beaufort, Niebuhr has attempted, on the ground of etymology, (a very unsafe guide in historical research,) and of some detached passages of ancient authors, to put an hypothetical account of the origin of the Roman state, and particularly of its two great political parties, in the place of the commonly received narratives of Livy and Dionysius. But though these narratives are evidently raised up with fables and stained by partiality; their account of the primitive institutions of Rome cannot be entirely disregarded. When they, for example, relate that in the *comitia curiata*, every Roman citizen had a vote of equal value, and that the first tribunes were chosen in these primitive assemblies of the whole people, we have no right to substitute for these accounts a theory, according to which they must appear as falsehoods. Niebuhr's as well as Beaufort's great merit seems to us to consist in their having put to a severe test the ancient documents we possess. Beaufort has been particularly successful in pointing out the gradual unfolding of the various political institutions of Rome. Niebuhr excels in representing the true characters and progress of the great political struggle between the patricians and the plebeians. His historical scepticism is sound and impartial; but it seems to overstep its own limits, or rather to be directed against itself, when he substitutes fictions of his own for what he believes fictitious in the accounts of the ancients.

Whenever Heeren ventures upon a view of the *future*, it is always done without pretension: without that air of prophecy with which historians are apt to relate their second sights. Only in a few instances does he intersperse his calculations of historical probability with his own wishes, which we think he might better have forborne; from no other reason than because we generally disapprove of these interjections in the language of history. His views of the future are commonly founded on a thorough knowledge of the past, and therefore worthy of all consideration; since it is certainly probable that men will act from the same or similar motives or views, which have hitherto directed them in their various pursuits. But we ought not to carry our reliance on these calculations, so far as to overlook the free incalculable powers of the mind. One great discovery, like that of gunpowder or of printing, one great impulse and effort of the mind, like that which gave rise to the crusades and to the independence of America, may tear asunder the feeble web of well-contrived anticipations and provisions. We would recommend this subject to the consideration of those, who in their theoretical or practical schemes, are inclined to place too much confidence in the as-

assertion that "the history of the past, is in fact the history of the future." This saying is true indeed, in regard to minerals, plants, and animals; but not to men as such, that is, as free beings endowed with faculties for infinite improvement.

In many historians, we find a prevailing tendency to trace the *designs of Providence* in the course of events. This investigation has, in many cases, led to a more profound understanding of the hidden links of events, apparently disconnected. But it has also, particularly in ecclesiastical history, given rise to many presumptuous suppositions. Men are apt to lend to an overruling Providence, their own schemes of a satisfactory government of the universe. They do not consider that they see but few of the causes of the events of this life, from which they would infer the plan of Providence; and that one principal source of events, the free determination of men, cannot be made the subject of any calculation. They are apt to forget that the good or ill success of human endeavours cannot be considered as a proof of right and wrong, or as a manifestation of the last and highest moral judgment. For that success itself cannot be considered as the end, but only as one of the means of that just and provident government, which has for its object the whole of man's existence, of which this life, with all its successes and disappointments, is but the beginning. • Most of these speculative historians suppose the object of Divine Providence, in the direction of human events, to be the *gradual improvement of mankind*. This plan they endeavour to trace in the fate of individuals and nations, their rise, their conquests, their institutions, and their downfall. How far, we ask, is this view consistent with experience and history? It is true, human nature is so constituted as to show forth the design of its author that each generation may be educated by those which precede it, and may improve upon their attainments. But it is evident also to those who are not prejudiced by any preconceived theory, that the use of these natural endowments of man is left to his own determination; and that he has as little reason to impute the ill employment of these means, to the power who gave them, as to expect from it any agency for bringing about events, for which he has already received sufficient faculties. The constitution of nature and the course of events are sufficient to convince us, that it was the plan of Providence to make mankind the free, and responsible authors of their happiness or unhappiness. And this plan seems to require, that it should indeed be in the power of an individual, or a nation, to abuse their faculties so as to deprive others of their chance of improvement and happiness for a time. But the same regulation assures us, that a future state will fulfil the promise of the present, to those who are deprived of earthly prosperity. Still more, even in this life, new means of improvement will be offered to those who have

lost or never possessed them. The time will come for the slave to break his chain; and the savage will see the light breaking through the wilderness of his mind. Our faith in an overruling Providence leads us to believe that every nation and every individual, however degraded, will at some time obtain the means of the highest happiness of which human nature is capable. But we do not expect that any other than their own faithful exertion will make them free and happy; nor that without it, those who are possessed of these blessings now, will be able to retain them. We think it as possible for "our enlightened age," as we choose to call it, to relapse into slavery and barbarism, as for the most exalted and refined nations of antiquity; whilst savages and slaves may become the standards of light and civilization. We do not believe, and history seems to confirm our unbelief, that truth will ever overcome error, unless the exertions of its votaries be at least equal to those of its adversaries. Both nature and history confirm the belief in man's being destined for continual improvement; but they contradict the theory of a gradual improvement, independent of his own exertions. The influence of this doctrine is injurious in regard to morals, as well as history; for it induces men to overlook or underrate those attainments in which former generations have surpassed posterity, and is apt to create in the latter a dangerous self-satisfaction and regardlessness of their own responsibility.

Some philosophers, especially in our times those of the school of Hegel (now Professor in Berlin), pretend to a still higher intelligence than the anticipation of future events from the knowledge of the past. They think themselves possessed of the universal theory, according to which all things that have been, are, and will be, are preconceived and produced. They maintain that all that exists and comes to pass, *must* be, and *ought* to be; subverting, in this manner, the proper ground of history as well as morality. Compliance with existing circumstances and established powers, is the highest, or rather the whole duty of man. Every nation is destined, according to this doctrine, to pass through various evolutions, in order to attain to the most perfect political state, the *hereditary monarchy*. No wonder that this system, however mysterious and truly barbarous the language in which it is expressed, soon obtained the hearty support of the government under whose auspices it was taught. Thus the prophetic saying of one of the greatest and richest minds, the German poet and historian, Schiller, has come to pass, that philosophy would soon become what religion had been, the great engine of despotism.

We notice these peculiar views of history only so far as they have or may have an influence on the representation of *facts*, (which cannot be of much consequence to him who thinks him-

self able to construe them from his own theory of the universe.) Heeren has preserved his character as an historian, clear from such theories. He thus speaks of himself, in the preface to his *Modern History*: "It never lay in his plan to raise himself to that higher point of view from which our speculative historians assume to measure the progress of humanity. The author deemed it his first duty to remain on the firm ground of history, and considered the possibility of doing so in the immense extent of his subject, as its most essential advantage."

While history is used by some philosophers, or as Heeren calls them, speculative historians, to trace their own theories in the course of events, we see it employed by others for practical purposes; as, for illustrating moral principles, or ascertaining certain rights founded on treaties, conquest, or custom: and by others we see it used for works of fiction. But though there is an historical element in philosophy, morals, politics, and poetry, the department of history is not to be confounded with any other branch of knowledge or refinement. It is the duty of the historian, first to examine with critical exactness the weight and authenticity of all the sources of information concerning the life and fate of the individual or the nation whom he undertakes to portray. If he does not write from his own observation, he must endeavour to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the character and prevailing ideas of the time from which the subject of his history is taken, and from which the accounts of it are derived. Geography and philosophy are the most necessary means for this purpose. In this way he must try to obtain all the particulars, and then through them a clear idea of the whole of his subject.

In representing the history of a nation, he must not be led away by some splendid exhibitions of power, particularly military achievements, nor be lost in admiration of some prominent characters—two faults which we find in almost every work on ancient history. With respect to the *internal* history of the nation, he will devote himself particularly to the study and representation of the most important pursuits of individuals, and of social institutions; such as the means of subsistence, peculiar habits, domestic life, legislation and administration, arts and sciences, and religion. In representing the external history of the people, that is, its various relations to other nations, he will relate not only its wars, conquests, treaties of peace and alliances, but more particularly its intercourse in peace, its commerce by land and sea, the influence of mutual exchange of commodities, means of information, and refinement.

On most of these points, the historical works of Heeren are distinguished before others. There is no portion of his history which does not prove its being derived from the genuine and

original sources, to which he never neglects to refer the reader. He enumerates the chief works and documents frequently, with short and profound criticisms on the comparative importance of each of these sources. In his ancient history, he gives a preliminary geographical sketch of each country he describes. In stating dates and facts, he is eminently careful and precise. He gives a correct outline of the most interesting institutions, especially the political constitution, of each country. But perhaps the greatest merit of his history, consists in the description of the commercial and international relations of the ancient and the modern world. In his ancient history, we find the results of those deep and extensive researches laid down in his work "On the Politics, Intercourse, and Commerce of the principal Nations of the Ancient World," a part of which is already known to English and American readers, through Mr. Baneroff's translation, ("Politics of Ancient Greece.") In modern history, the origin and progress of the *colonies*, the most momentous result and medium of international intercourse, is perhaps the most successful part of the work. The history of the United States of America, in particular, of their rise, institutions, maxims of foreign intercourse, and general influence upon the other nations of the earth, betokens a mind which through fair and thorough research has risen to such an elevation as enables him to look beyond the political horizon of his own country, and to discriminate the heights and the depths, the lights and the shades, in the immense landscape of universal history that is spread before him.

We have spoken of the general requisites in an historical work, with particular reference to that of Heeren; and will now add a few words on the special purpose for which it is destined. It is a valuable guide for every student of history, whether he pursue this study with or without another instructor. It informs him of the most important facts, naturally and systematically arranged, continually referring him to the sources where he can find proofs and details.

In ancient history, the preliminary geographical sketches, which we have already noticed, will be found particularly valuable. As a text-book for instructors, it has the common experience in the colleges of Germany in its favour. But it of course supposes history to be taught, not merely as a matter of memory, by dull recitations from the book. It is left to the teacher to direct the attention of the pupil to the most important points; to explain, enlarge and enliven the narrative by suitable details and observations. It moreover supposes that history should not be considered as a branch of instruction which is to come in only by the way, as an appendix to other studies; but as a study of itself, and one of first-rate importance.

We fear that the study of history has hitherto not been fully appreciated in our schools and colleges, and in our country generally. We do not suppose that history can give us the standard of our future conduct; we do not agree with those who would persuade us that we ought to imitate our ancestors, except in those things which our own reason and conscience command us to do. We have already entered our protest against this overrating of the past, this idolatry of history, which in Asia and Europe keeps down in millions of human beings every spontaneous effort of the freeborn mind. Those who have grown up under the constant control of political and ecclesiastical institutions, derive their ideas of what ought to be, from what has been done. But those who have grown up as beings who have a destiny of their own, ought to acquaint themselves with all that has been done, in order to meet the demands of duty. For, in order to perceive and do the best thing that may be done under the present circumstances, it is necessary to know them; and this is impossible without acquainting ourselves with the mode in which they came into existence; that is, with history. While, therefore, to the bondman, conscience is a matter of history, the study of history is a matter of conscience to the freeman.

The neglect of the study of history in our country, is undoubtedly the cause of the undeniable fact that there exists amongst us more pride than real knowledge of the actual state of our country and its relations to other nations. The importance of studying the history of our own nation needs not be enforced. The study of the history of other nations is necessary, not only to understand their relations to our own, but, by acquainting us with their peculiar institutions and manners, it serves to set us free from national prejudices, while it teaches us the peculiar excellence of our own social institutions, compared with those of other nations and ages of the world. We learn to judge of ourselves from the elevated point of view of universal history.

By acquainting ourselves with the actions and manners of men and nations, and by comparing them with our own experience, we arrive at the most important result from the study of history, the knowledge of human nature, its original tendencies, its various powers and weaknesses. When we trace the facts recorded in history to their sources, we discover, under this immense variety of phenomena, a secret, and, we may well say, a sacred history, the silent workings and simple unfolding of the mind. The study of this inward history does not require a rich apparatus of philological knowledge. All the actions of men, in the most distant regions and times, are words belonging to the same universal language, the knowledge of which is not acquired from without, but self-taught. All the deeds and transactions of men are ex-

pressions of the human mind, and cannot be understood as such except by self-observation, by discovering in ourselves the powers and tendencies of which history shows us the results. It is by self-observation that the history of the human race, which otherwise would remain a dead letter, becomes a living language, that establishes an intercourse between the most remote nations and generations of men.

To the student of human nature, it must be of the highest import to watch the progress of the human race, and its improvement, from its first dawn in Asia, the mother of nations and religions, of social institutions, and the centre of the commerce of the ancient world. We see the spirit of improvement advancing with the course of the sun, from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of the Mediterranean, awaking a new life in Egypt, Phœnicia, Palestine; then calling forth a new world of light in Greece, the original seminary of the arts and sciences, of philosophy and civilization; thence proceeding to Italy, the great school of war and legislation; and successively enlightening all Europe. But when the night of despotism which had overshadowed Asia, began to descend on Europe, the sun of freedom, which had set on the eastern borders of the Atlantic, rose upon this western hemisphere.

Have we reason to believe that the spirit of improvement which has travelled round the earth, has found at last a permanent home? The past seems to promise it; but the fulfilment depends on the future. The history of religion and politics, the foundation of all other social institutions, shows us in Asia, herdsmen, patriarchs, conquerors, and despots, who still preserve their original character as herdsmen of human beings, who are controlled by political and religious institutions, as by instinct. In Greece and Italy, the power of one or a few human beings over the rest, was abolished; individual liberty and self-government were claimed by the people. But while individual liberty had attained its highest state in Athens and Rome, the free citizens exercised a despotic sway over their allies, their provinces, and their slaves. In religion, a few individuals alone threw off the bondage of the established creed and worship of the nation; and the greatest and best of these, atoned with his life for this conscientious assertion of religious liberty. While the freemen maintained tyranny over their fellow men as a matter of right, their freedom itself was only a matter of fact and of force; and was finally overthrown by force. It was reserved for the people of this country, by the declaration of its independence, and in its constitution, to recognise liberty in politics and religion, as the birthright of every human being; to proclaim, that in politics the people themselves alone and always entitled to frame their constitution and laws; and that in religion even the people have no right to legis-

late, the profession and exercise of religion being not a matter of the state, but of individual liberty.

Our destiny, our duty, and our success, are thus adumbrated by our history.

We conclude this article with recommending to our own country, and particularly to our colleges, the *Ancient and Modern History of Heeren*, translated by Mr. Bancroft, who has thus acquired a new claim to the grateful acknowledgment of the public, for his judicious and truly patriotic endeavours to enrich our own literature with what is most valuable in that of Germany. We have only to add a wish, that the success of this work may encourage the translator, or some other competent mind, to complete it, by the addition of a history of the middle ages in Heeren's style and spirit.

ART. VI.—GREEK REVOLUTION.

- 1.—*An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution*. By SAMUEL J. HOWE, M. D. *Late Surgeon in Chief to the Greek Fleet*. New-York. White. 1828.
- 2.—*The Condition of Greece in 1827 and 1828, being an Exposition of the Poverty, Distress, and Misery to which the Inhabitants have been reduced, by the Destruction of their Towns and Villages, and the Ravages of their Country by a merciless Turkish Foe*. By Colonel JONATHAN P. MILLER. New-York. 1828.

THERE has of late been an increasing disposition to think and talk lightly of the Greeks. The disgust which has been felt at the shameful piracies committed in the Archipelago, has been extended to the entire nation; a dislike of the whole has been engendered by the vices of a part. We scarcely need to say, that this mode of reasoning is very unfair. It is particularly so, in respect to this unfortunate people. The condition of Greece has for some years presented to the eye one vast sheet of misery. The fugitives from ruined villages or desolated fields, seek shelter in the mountains, or fly to the coasts. No fair employment awaits them there. It is the alternative of piracy or famine. The world is not their friend, nor the world's law; sickened with the one, they violate the other. When apprehended, the hand must punish, but the heart may pity. Leaving these littoral outcasts to their fate, we should visit the interior, we should contemplate the Greek within his own limits, we should endeavour to ascer-

tain whether he there retains the traces of that bold and lofty character which once blazed in literature, and sounded in war—whether the slavery of four centuries has smothered all the sparks of former energy and patriotic fire, and debased their minds to the level of those of their masters. If the result shall disappoint us—if the Greek appears as some have depicted him, selfish, subtle, treacherous, and vindictive, we may deplore the alteration of his character, but we must not despair of the possibility of restoring it, by delivering him from oppression, to all its former dignity.

Still less should we accede to the erroneous and extravagant counter impulse of those who are beginning to discover the virtues and the merits of the Turks. These people are not content to hold the scales even. By a puny mode of reasoning, they pass all that is abstracted from one, to the credit of the other, and if the slave is unworthy, they try to exalt the merits of the tyrant, who has in fact deprived the slave of his worth. To us it distinctly appears a duty on the part of the greater European powers, to emancipate this unfortunate body of men, whatever may be their present debasement, and to recover the country from those who assert no other title to it than conquest;—a conquest ultimately proceeding from the unjust and unprovoked invasion of the Roman empire, during the reign of Eudocia.

In the preface to Dr. Howe's hasty but valuable work, now before us, sentiments similar to our own are so well expressed, that we shall commence our article by transcribing them.

"The author hesitates not to rank himself among the friends, and even among the admirers, of the Modern Greeks; for he has been rather surprised at finding *so much* national spirit, and *so much* virtue among them, than that there was so little; and he thinks he has seen enough of them, to justify him looking confidently for the day, when they will show themselves worthy of their glorious descent; to the day, when it shall no longer be said with truth, that '*Philopœmen was the last of the Greeks.*'"

"The arguments of those who reason upon the present degraded situation of the Greeks, and assert that they are less deserving our notice than the Turks, are not worth the pains of a refutation. The feelings of that man, who regards with perfectly philosophical indifference, such a people, such a cause, and such a country, as that of Greece, are not to be condemned; but, they are not to be envied. And surely a like allowance should be made for the opposite feeling; for that enthusiasm which is pardonable in this cause, if in any; for it springs from the best feelings of human nature. To admire Greece, and Greeks, for what they have been, may not be rational, but it is natural; to hear the descendant of Demosthenes speaking the same beautiful language, which flowed like a rill, or thundered like a torrent, from his lips;—to hear the Modern Greek women saying, like the Spartan matron, to her son, as he goes out to battle—'With it, or upon it;'—to see the descendant of Miltiades, fighting for liberty on the battle ground of Marathon; are scenes which the scholar cannot contemplate without some emotion; and the feeling of indifference which philosophy tells him to substitute for it, is an artificial, and not a natural one."

~~Of this, more hereafter.—~~

We have perused this book with great pleasure, and can justly

recommend it, as a creditable addition to American literature. Bearing the modest title of a sketch, it commences with a short view of the state of Greece, towards the close of the last century.

The country was gradually becoming more enlightened; the impatience of Turkish tyranny increased, and insurrection was calculated on, as unavoidably to take place, at a period rather more distant than that in which it broke out. Its premature eruption is thus related and accounted for:—

“While the prudent but sincere friends of Greece were labouring to establish her future independence by the slow but certain means of enlightening the people; other impatient and fierce, but perhaps not less generous spirits, were burning to hurry her into an immediate struggle with her tyrant, counting more upon their own ardour, and the justice of the cause, than upon the means provided. Such were the men first known as members of the secret society called the *Hetaria*. Some have attempted to trace back the origin of this famous association to Rhéga, as its founder; certain it is, that Mavrocordato, ex-Hospodar of Moldavia, during his exile in Russia, had the direction of a society, whose professed end was the amelioration of the situation of the Greeks. Whether this was the *Hetaria* or not, after his death, its conduct was changed, and every nerve was strained to bring matters to a crisis, and prepare the country for a revolution. The founders and first directors of the *Hetaria*, knew human nature well, and wrapped their institution in that solemn mystery, so imposing upon all men, but calculated to make a deep impression upon the young and enthusiastic spirits, whom it was their object to select as their members. They constituted themselves into an imaginary power, under the name of *Agxh*; their persons were unknown; but they made all the inferior grades look up to the *Agxh* with reverence and submission. This invisible power guided all the movements of the society; received all the moneys, and appointed emissaries to go to every part of Europe where Greeks were to be found. These emissaries [*αποστολαιοι*] sought out, and initiated into the mysteries of the society, as many Greeks as they could find, with the necessary qualifications, viz. those who were ready to swear to consider every earthly tie and interest as of no force, compared with their sworn duty to the *Hetaria*.

“It was in itself most interesting and gratifying, to see Greece rousing herself after a lethargy of ages, and her sons pledging their fortunes, honours, and lives, to free her from bondage. But when a member was to be admitted into the *Hetaria*, every art was practised to make it more solemn and impressive: the candidate was brought at midnight, to a room lighted by only one taper, which was placed upon a table covered with a black cloth, on which was laid a skull and thigh bones, and the image of the cross. After solemnly declaring, that his only object in demanding to be made a *Hetarist*, was to serve in the great work of emancipating his country, he was catechized: many ceremonies were performed: and then the priest, or admitting brother, received him, saying ‘Before the face of the invisible and omnipresent true God, who in his essence is just, the avenger of transgression, the chastiser of evil; by the law of the *Hetaria*, and by the authority with which its powerful priests have intrusted me, I receive you, as I was myself received, into the bosom of the *Hetaria*.’ The novice, still on his knees before the holy sign of the cross, then repeated a most solemn oath, which ended thus: ‘I swear that henceforward I will not enter into any other society, or bond of obligation, but whatever bond, or whatever else I may possess in the world, I will hold as nothing compared to the *Hetaria*. I swear that I will nourish in my heart, irreconcilable hatred against the tyrants of my country, their followers, and their favourers: I will exert every method for their injury, and when circumstances will permit, for their destruction. Last of all, I swear by thee, my sacred and suffering country, I swear by thy long endured tortures, I swear by the bitter tears which for so many centuries have been shed by thy unhappy children; by my own tears, which I am pouring out at this very

moment; I swear by the future liberties of my countrymen, that I consecrate myself wholly to thee: that henceforth these shall be the cause and object of my thoughts; thy name, the guide of my actions; and thy happiness, the recompense of my labours.' ”

“One hundred dollars was paid by each member on admission, which was transmitted to the public chest, kept by the *Agχ*, or invisible government. Every facility was given for admission, and, like the Carbonari, any one member could constitute another, by calling a third as witness. This did not so much endanger the secrets of the society as might be supposed; for except those who received some most lucrative employ from the Turks, no Greek, however base he might be, could help bearing a most deadly hatred toward them; or longing for the hour when he might take deadly vengeance for the horrible injuries done to his race; and wash out in Turkish blood, the insults and injuries he had received from the hour of his birth. The society spread most rapidly. thousands became members, in the southern parts of Russia, and in the various kingdoms of Europe. They were found in every mountain-hamlet of Roumelia, in every valley of the Peloponessus, and in every island of the Archipelago; nor there alone, but the large Turkish towns abounded with them; and they brooded upon their schemes, under the very walls of the Seraglio at Constantinople. Their plan, bold, extensive, and magnificent, was worthy of the descendants of ancient Greeks. On an appointed day, every castle in the Morea was to be attacked; fire put to every arsenal and ship-yard throughout the Turkish empire, and their flames, with those of the Sultan's Palace, were to be the beacon, to tell all Greece that her hour of vengeance had come.

“But the Heteria did not rely solely upon the zeal and voluntary exertions of individual members; certain ones were selected, and sent forth by the governors of the society, not only to make proselytes, but to keep awake the hopes of the people, and by hints and promises, engage them to hold themselves in readiness for a sudden and general effort, upon the first favourable occasion. Many of these, exceeding perhaps their orders, gave themselves out as emissaries of Russia: who they said was preparing to free Greece, and possess herself of Turkey.”

The nature of this association has not, we believe, been heretofore given so fully to the public, and it merits the attention of those who are not aware of the full effect of secret combinations, which sometimes promote a good cause, and not unfrequently increase the mischief of bad ones.

To the latter, secrecy is a shelter from good government, but in the present case, it was necessary to protect the purest motives from the jealousy and cruelty of a government of the worst kind. It was wonderful, that the secret confided to such numbers, should have been preserved so long, in a country where all unusual assemblages of people excited suspicion; but the explosion seems to have been quite unexpected.

The war made by the Sultan upon Ali the Pasha of Albania, was the signal, and they resolved to strike the blow. In the selection of Alexander Ipselanti (so the author spells the name,) as director, the Heterists are charged with much want of judgment; he is said to have been brave, without enterprise, learned, without a knowledge of men, and vain, without self confidence. His unsuccessful commencement is well known. But by the 1st of May 1821, the insurrection had become general. “Ipselanti in Moldavia, the Suliotes in Albania, all the Morea, and many of the islands, were in arms.” The vindictive massacres

that immediately ensued in Constantinople and Asia Minor, are feelingly related. We shudder at reading the account of the thousands of innocent and defenceless people, who were almost immediately immolated, not for having taken a part in the insurrection, nor because there was a possibility of their co-operating in it, but because they bore the name, and spoke the language of Greeks. The new friends of the Turks must allow at all events that they have a considerable appetite for Christian blood, and that they seldom omit a convenient opportunity of indulging it.

It is not our intention to follow the narrative in a regular manner. Those who do not already possess a clear and distinct idea of the whole progress of this splendid insurrection, will be gratified with perusing the lucid and correct account contained in Dr. Howe's pages. We shall content ourselves with selecting some passages, describing facts of which we have hitherto had only imperfect information, and which delineate in a masterly manner, chiefly from personal knowledge, the characters of the principal actors. Thus of Demetrius, the brother of Alexander Ipselanti, we are told,

"A finer opportunity to run the race of ambition, could not be presented to a man of genius, than had Demetrius Ipselanti; one of ordinary talent even, without his personal defects, might have done much; but these were great. He is about forty years of age; but being small of stature, his gaunt, and almost skeleton-like figure, and bald head, give him the appearance of premature old age; while his nearness of sight, a disagreeable twang of the voice, and a stiff, and awkward, and embarrassed manner, excite disagreeable feeling in any one introduced to him, amounting almost to pity. But Demetrius Ipselanti has not the character which his exterior seems to indicate: he possesses that best kind of courage, a cool indifference to danger; is free from the besetting sin of his countrymen, avarice; is a sincere patriot; and when once the reserve of first acquaintance is worn off, he proves the kind and generous friend. But unfortunately for him, he was surrounded by a set of weak-minded, vain young men, whose sole recommendation was their talent of flattering; and who probably suggested to him the idea of setting up ridiculous pretensions of superiority; which people will never submit to, in one deficient of the talent and power to enforce them."

Of Colocotroni, the portrait is unfavourable, but we fear that in respect to his moral character, it is too true.

"The father of this distinguished individual, was a *Kleft*, or mountain robber, who became so renowned for the cunning and courage with which he committed his depredations upon the Turks, that a large band collected themselves under his command, and he became the terror of the Morea. He died as he had lived,—in war with the Turks;—and his name, preserved in the memory of the *Kleftes*, and handed down in their wild songs, gave a reputation to his son; who from his youth followed his father's profession.

"The Turks having succeeded pretty well in clearing the Morea of these freebooters, Colocotroni was obliged to seek other occupation; and we find him serving in a regiment of Albanian Greeks, organized by the British, in the Ionian Islands; in which he held some subordinate office; until the regiment being disbanded, he found himself out of employ. The breaking out of the insurrection opened to him a new career; he hastened over to the Morea, and his name and reputation, at that moment, when he had few competitors, gained him the greatest influence among the wild soldiery. He is about fifty years of age, ~~and~~ has a huge clumsy figure; to which is united by a brawny bull neck, an immense

shaggy head ; with a face strongly, but coarsely marked ; indicating cunning, presumption, and dogged resolution ; which are in fact the attributes of his character. Enjoying a high reputation for courage, he seemed to think any demonstration of it unnecessary ; and there is hardly an instance known of his exposing his person, during the war. As profoundly ignorant of politics, as of letters, he seemed disregarding of his reputation, and his actions have been uniformly directed by his ruling passion, avarice ; and, as subservient to this, a desire of military supremacy in the Morea."

The name of Mavrocordato is interwoven with some of the most distinguished exploits of the war, and with much of the civil administration of government.

Dr. Howe's account of him, however, represents him as not without blots in his escutcheon.

"Alexander Mavrocordato is about thirty-eight years of age, rather below the middling height, but perfectly well made ; his fine olive complexion looks darker than it really is, from the jetty blackness of his hair, which hangs in ringlets about his face, and from his large mustachios and sparkling black eyes. His manners are perfectly easy and gentlemanlike ; and though the first impression would be from his extreme politeness, and continual smiles, that he was a good-natured silly fop, yet one soon sees from the keen inquisitive glances which involuntarily escape him, that he is concealing under an almost childish lightness of manner, a close and accurate study of his visitor. He speaks fluently seven languages ; and having been an accurate observer of men and manners, *can* make his conversations extremely instructive ; his political talents are of the very first order, and his mental resources great. He has a just confidence in his own powers ; but unfortunately he has not that personal firmness and hardihood necessary in the leader of a revolution. He cannot be called cowardly, for he will resolutely put himself in situations which he knows to be dangerous ; yet, when the danger actually arrives, he, in spite of himself, loses his coolness and presence of mind. There is but one opinion in Greece about the talents of Mavrocordato, all allow them to be very great ; but this is not the case in respect to his virtues. His friends ascribe every action to the most disinterested patriotism ; but his enemies hesitate not to pronounce them all to have for their end, his party or private interest ; and say, that he would sooner subject his country to the Turks than have his political opponents get the credit of saving her. But here, as is often the case, truth lies between the two extremes ; let his enemies avow that he loves his country, and has laboured hard to benefit her ; and his friends confess that he is ambitious, and has always had a considerable regard to his own political interest ; and a nearer approach to his true character will be had. As to his intriguing and crooked policy, it may be said that his excellence in it, alone kept up his influence ; he could not oppose the schemes of his enemies but by using the same arms he was attacked with : the only way to escape a mine, is by counter-mining.

"Without family influence, without a military reputation, and without money, he gained, and long kept the supremacy ; and the true cause of his having a party against him, was that he endeavoured to reform abuses, and to introduce order and discipline into the army. He has had large sums of public money at his disposal, almost without being under the necessity of rendering the least account ; yet he is and always has been poor."

We may introduce one or two more of these portraits as we proceed. But the personal imperfections of some of the chief agents should not disgust us with their country or their cause. We cannot expect a Washington to spring from every soil. The brevity of the Greek declaration of independence may be contrasted with the eloquent but diffusive annunciation of the like event, by us. If the Greeks, in their agitation and alarm, had

had leisure to enter like us into a full exposition of their motives, they might, like us, have perpetuated for the benefit of future ages, the principles which both justify and dignify such an act. But a Spartan brevity was adopted, which perhaps was more suitable to their condition than it would have been to ours.

ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΙΑΠΕΤΟΤ ΤΡΙΑΔΩΣ.

Το Ἑλληνικόν ἔθνος τοῖς ποτὶ τὴν φρεσίν ὀφθαλμιναίαν δυναστείαν, μὴ διὰ μίαν
 ἡμέραν τοῦ θανάτου ἀπαρδιαγματισμένη ζυγοῖ τῆς τυραννίδος, καὶ ἀποσει-
 σαι αὐτὸν θέλει· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμετέροις Περσικῶν τε,
 καὶ Ἑβραϊκῶν περιχρυσῶν Σκλάβων, ὅπως καὶ αἰθ' ὡπών "Τῆς Πολιτικῆς
 αὐτῆς πύργου καὶ ἀναξαρτησίας" αἱ ἐπιδόσεις, τὴν αὐτὴν λαοκρατίαν, ἐπὶ αὐτῶν
 καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀντιθέσεως.

* *In the name of the Holy and Indivisible TRINITY.*

"The Greek Nation, unable to bear the galling and oppressive yoke of tyranny, under Turkish despotism, proclaims this day, through its lawful Representatives, met in a National Assembly, before God and men, its political existence and Independence.

"ΕΠΙΔΑΨΙΣ,

"1st January, 1822, and first year of Independence."

In the outset, and at the moment when the infant struggles of the Republic required of every generous heart, that, if assistance was not rendered, opposition should not be made, Russia disavowed the insurrection of Moldavia,—Austria threw Alexander Ipselanti into prison,—and Britain, in one instance, conducted herself in the following manner :—

"A division of the Greek fleet had again put to sea, and directing its course towards Patras, fell in with a division of the Turkish fleet, consisting chiefly of Barbary vessels. An encounter followed; the result of which, was the complete disorder of the Turks, by the superior manœuvring of the Greeks; and then fleet fell back, and took refuge in a port of Zante, one of the Ionian Islands. A few Greek vessels then steered north, with the intention of attacking a Turkish corvette, and four brigs, which had taken refuge at Mourto; but what was their astonishment, at being accosted, at the entrance of the channel of Corfu, by an English brig of war, and forbidden to pass the channel. It was vainly asked, 'why do you let the Turks pass there; why shelter them from us?' 'Pass not the channel of Corfu,' was the only answer. The Greek Admiral, astonished at such strange conduct, sent a vessel (the Terpsichorde) to Corfu with a letter of complaint. On entering the port she was seized; her flag forcibly lowered; the captain ordered to unhitch his ship; the envoy was put under an arrest, and kept for some weeks. What was the pretext for this strange proceeding? That some Greek sailors had formerly landed at Santa Maura, and stolen some sheep!

"It is difficult to suppose, that the British government, with a policy so liberal as it has lately pursued, could have given instructions to the local authorities in the Ionian Islands, to pursue such a line of conduct towards the Greeks. But the following account of the affair of the Terpsichorde, will serve as a specimen of their policy at that time.

"The Greek government, in a very unpresuming letter, requested the deliverance of this vessel; the answer of Sir T. Maitland was rude and illiberal, as well as inconsistent; it read thus: 'His Excellency has just received letters, from persons who give to themselves the name of the Government of Greece, by a messenger now in this port. His Excellency is absolutely ignorant of the existence of a provisional government of Greece, and therefore cannot recognise such agent. The necessity only to maintain, as his Excellency has always done, the most strict neutrality, makes him consent to answer some passages of those

letters. He will not enter into a correspondence with any nominal power, which he does not know; and his determination is this: no vessel, calling herself Greek, and under a flag not known, and not authorized, can be received in British ports. His Excellency is not obliged to enter into a discussion with an unknown power, on the propriety of his own measures, but he will say, that he considers the *whole channel of Corfu* from Mourtoux to Cassapo, as the *port* of Corfu!

“The government of the Ionian Islands, cannot but deplore the *foolish presumption* of one of the two belligerents, which has occasioned the present deplorable state of things.”

The general government, soon after the last event, issued an eloquent address to the Christian powers, from which we shall make a short extract.

“Greece, abandoned by the rest of the earth, with the volume of her past splendour, and her woes, and her rights, in her hand—Greece will still pursue her arduous career. Her cities sacked, her villages burnt, her population decimated, her fields ravaged, bear witness to her proud determination. Crushed by numbers, she will yet wash out her defeats in her blood. What will be the feelings of Europe towards her? Assembled Greece has solemnly proclaimed her independence, and has given herself a government, surrounded by national emblems, having for its first object the welfare of Greece, and not the interest of a party. This legitimate organ of the nation has thought it due equally to itself and to the people, to lay the preceding statement before the Christian powers. Honour and hope will guide Grecian constancy through the gloom of futurity. The Greeks aim at peace combined with independence, and at the political fruits of civilization. They protest beforehand against any violation of their rights, so lately purchased by the most heroic sacrifices. In a word, humanity, religion, interest, all plead in their favour.”

The melancholy fate of Scio is too well known to require enlargement on it here. It is feelingly related by our author. We should be happy if one of the incidents had not taken place.

“Several thousand took refuge in the houses of the different European Consuls, whose flag they knew would protect them from the Turks.

“And how did these worthy representatives of the illustrious monarchs, who unite in ‘Alliance,’ yclept ‘Holy,’ for the peace and happiness of the world, how did these Consuls treat the miserable fugitives, who had cast themselves upon their mercy and the faith of their flags? Are the stories of their courageous defence of these wretches, their generosity and philanthropy in sending them off free, to be credited? No! just the contrary; they coldly speculated upon their miseries; they gave them their liberty it is true, but it was only at the price of the last valuable they might have preserved from the destruction of their houses. The men were obliged to pay, or obligate themselves to pay, large sums to the Consuls for their protection; and the women were obliged to strip off their jewels, or their rich garments, to satisfy these rapacious representatives of Christian tyrants.”

The mind, already inflamed by the view of blood and slaughter, sickens at such avarice and depravity. It seems as if the sorrows of Greece were contemplated by too many, on both sides of the Atlantic, as a fund on which rapacity might lawfully and laudably prey. The miseries inflicted on the inhabitants of Scio, were partially retaliated on the Turkish fleet, and the chief agent, the Capitan Pasha, fell a merited victim to the fireships of the Greeks conducted by Kanaris.

“The successful accomplishment of this daring act completely established his fame; congratulations poured in upon him, and every Greek was proud of the name of Kanaris, except Kanaris himself. He is by birth an Ipsariote, and had

hitherto been known only by those immediately about him, who loved him for his mildness, and goodness of heart, and respected him for his sterling integrity. No one would ever divine the character of Kanaris from his personal appearance; he is about thirty-four years of age, of low stature, slender but well made; and his mild interesting countenance bespeaks rather feminine goodness of heart, than what he really possesses—a mind that knows no fear. He appears insensible to danger; and his resolutions, which might be easily altered by persuasion, are made stubborn by open opposition, and fresh obstacles are to him only inducements for fresh exertions. He loves his country with the sincere unostentatious love of a patriot, and he calmly and steadily continues to make every exertion for her good, in the conviction that he is doing only his duty. He boasts not the performance of that, of which the neglect would be a crime, and seems to look for no other reward than the proud consciousness of having materially contributed to his country's emancipation."

The mention of Ipsara as the birth-place of this illustrious man, tempts us to transcribe the entire account of the destruction of that happy island. It is not so generally known, and has never been so circumstantially related, as the ruin of Scio.

"The first object selected for destruction, was Psara, or Ipsara, a rocky islet, which appears like a speck on the surface of the *Ægean*; but which was the focus of an extensive commerce, carried on by its active and enterprising inhabitants, to every part of the world. Ipsara contained about 25,000 inhabitants, and it presented the best opportunity for the stranger to study the character of the modern Greeks, and admire the great degree of similarity which it has preserved to that of their glorious ancestry.

"The Psarians are genuine Greeks, without any mixture of Turkish or Albanian blood. They have nothing in appearance or character which is not truly national. Ingenious, loquacious, lively to excess, active, enterprising, vapouring and disputatious. And I may add, I have never seen a population more abundant in beauty and intelligence of countenance, than that of Psara.' It was the third place in point of commercial importance in Greece; and its inhabitants were not inferior to those of Hydra and Spetzia in enterprise. In common with those Islands, it had enjoyed peculiar privileges under the Turkish dominion; no Turks lived upon it; and it was subject only to the annual payment of a tribute, and the supplying a quota of sailors for the Turkish fleet. The Ipsariotes pushed their commerce to every part of the Mediterranean, and their light *polacca* vessels were every where remarked for the grace of their models, their speed, and excellence in manœuvring. Many of the inhabitants had become rich; all were flourishing; and the well built houses, and continual bustle in its streets, gave signs of successful commerce. Ipsara had been one of the first islands to raise the standard of revolt, and it had always furnished a number of ships for the Greek fleet. Situated remotely from the centre of the revolution, and in the very track of the Turkish fleet, it had been considered as peculiarly in danger; and preparations had been made to defend it. But for three successive campaigns, the Capitan Pashaw had swept by it, without making any attempt upon it, and the inhabitants had relapsed into security; their miserable batteries were in no order; and they were listlessly smoking their pipes, or playing at cards in the Coffee-houses, when word was given from their telegraph, that the Turkish fleet was in sight, and steering for their island.

"Instantly all was bustle and confusion; some ran to the batteries to prop up the carriages, and load the rusty cannon; others buckled on their belts, and stuck into them their yataghans and pistols; others, fearful of the issue, began to prepare their vessels and boats for flight; while the women clasped their children closer to their bosoms, and retired to the inner apartments, as if to escape the danger by losing sight of it.

"The next morning the Turkish frigates and line-of-battle ships approached the town, and began a furious cannonade, which was briskly returned from the batteries; and the whole day was passed in cannonading, without much damage being suffered on either side. At night the Greeks began to feel at ease, sure

that the Turks could never accomplish any thing in this way, but during the night, Houstef Pashaw had effected by means of his flotilla a disembarkment of all his Albanian soldiers on the back side of the island. These drove in the Greeks who were there, and mounted the hills which overhang the town, and at daylight the Ipsariotes, to their astonishment and dismay, saw the heights above them covered by the Turkish standard, around which gathered every moment thicker and thicker, the wild band of Turks who were preparing to rush down upon them.

"But it was only an instant, a single glance told every soul in that devoted place, that the only hope of safety was on board the vessels; and immediately there was a wild rush of men, women, and children, towards the harbour. Every one in the lower town, who could move, ran with the crowd, except perhaps some resolute men, who would risk a moment to save some valuables, or mothers who ran shrieking about the streets for their lost children.

"When the crowd attained the beach, they immediately thronged the vessels that were nearest, rushing on board of them indiscriminately; some would crowd into a little boat, push off, and soon swamp it; others were forced into the sea by the press, and the shouts of the men, the shrieks of the women, and yell and splashing of the drowning wretches, created a scene of horrid confusion, which baffled every effort of the few cool and collected men, who endeavoured to establish order in the embarkation. Nothing was thought of but getting on board, and soon as on board, of cutting the cords and pushing off; for, already the Allah! shout of the Turks, told that they had started, and they were seen rushing down the hills, firing their muskets and waving their scimitars.

"The vessels pushed off, crowded full, some of the people hanging on the sides, others plunging in to follow them; while many helpless, old and young, were left behind, to await the Turks, who like a troop of hungry wolves, were already in the upper part of the town, fighting the desperate few who resisted, and cutting down, indiscriminately, all who yielded and begged for mercy. Some of the streets were obstinately—desperately defended, till not a man was left, and it cost the Turks great numbers of their best soldiers, ere they got possession of the place. Then began the search for those who had hidden themselves, they were dragged out, and all butchered, and their noses and ears cut off to be packed in salt, and sent to Constantinople. A considerable number of boys and young women, remarkable for their beauty, were preserved for worse purposes. All opposition was soon over, except on the part of about two hundred Greeks, who, after desperately disputing every inch of ground, shut themselves up in a tower or small castle, above the town. Here they held out for some time, against every assault that could be made, until unable longer to resist overwhelming numbers, they put fire to the magazine, and were blown with their assailers into the air.

"The Turks then proceeded to pillage the houses, two days were enough for this; and in that time they ransacked every thing, carrying off the moveable valuables, and destroying the rest.

"The Capitan Pashaw then sailed with all his larger vessels for Salonica; leaving his flotilla, and a few vessels of war, with about two thousand men. He meant to return in a week, and take them, and go on to Samos to renew the scene.

"But the hoar and the avenger were at hand, the Ipsariote vessels, which had escaped with the principal part of the population, the pursuit of the Turkish boats, had arrived at Hydra and told their sad tale. Instantly every thing changed at Hydra, there was no more delay, no obstacles started; there was an end of the clamour for pay, and in a few days a squadron of about forty fire brigs was ready. Maulls took the command, and bore away for Ipsara.

"As the Greek vessels came round Point St. George, the Turkish flotilla began to fire upon them. Without noticing this, Maulls made signal to land thirty men from each vessel, to attack the Turks on the island, who were about twelve hundred in number. Fifty hundred sailors were landed, who drove the Turks to the shore, killing about three hundred. The rest embarked and put to sea, and were pursued by Maulls. A brig of war was soon blown up; a guillette and a small boat taken, many gun boats sunk; and the rest driven before a strong wind,

were pursued to the coast of Scio, where they ran on shore and were beat to pieces. The crews escaped, but the Turks lost more than one thousand men in this affair.

"Miaulis then returned to Ipsara, and took on board the men whom he had debarked, as well as several hundred of the inhabitants who had contrived to escape to the hills.

"After the cannon were taken from the batteries, with whatever else valuable the Turks had spared, the fleet sailed away, leaving the lately bustling and interesting islet, a blackened waste, with only a single monk for its inhabitant—and it remains so to this day."

It is well observed by our author, that the excesses occasionally committed by the Greeks upon the Turks, were chiefly sudden ebullitions of rage on the part of irregular soldiers, or mere mobs—but with the Turks, it was all system: great and wanton massacres were ordered by those in power, and were perpetrated by those under command; the atrocities of the latter, were sources of delight to themselves, on a threefold ground,—1st, because they held it their duty to obey their superiors,—2d, because they hated the Christian name, and 3d, because it is the national character of the Turk to delight in blood. Many of them relaxed in the acts of slaughter, they were stimulated by their superiors. While lying off Scio, the admiral discovering a temporary suspension of the *immolations* on shore, caused the heads of the hostages on board to be struck off, and suspended from his yards. The signal was instantly responded to, by the massacre of seven hundred on the shore. When Napoli was surrendered by the Turks after a long siege, during which the Greeks had suffered greatly from the Turkish forces that hung around them, it was stipulated that the lives of the garrison should be spared. They had consumed the last of their provisions, and could not have held out twenty-four hours longer. It is justice to state, that about the same time, Sali was surrendered under similar circumstances, to the Turks, and that the terms of capitulation, under the guarantee of Sir Frederick Adam, Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, were duly observed. British squadrons, in each case, received the prisoners, and conveyed the former to Asia Minor, and the latter to the Ionian Islands. Both parties respected the British force. The Greeks regretted their affectation of impartiality. An acute people at once perceives that declarations of neutrality afford encouragement to the strongest side. But under every disadvantage, the Greek spirit never failed. The third national assembly issued another animated and eloquent address, declaring their determination to persevere, whatever calamities they might suffer.

Some of the incidents of the war were of a nature so romantic, that they will justify us in making a few more extracts. An attempt upon the large island of Candia was made by Demetrius Calliergi, a Russian Greek of large fortune, who had for some time been zealously serving his country. He had the title of

general, though a mere boy, but he was brave and enterprising. Calliergi directed his first attack upon Grabousi, a strong fortress on the north-west extremity of the island, which in former times had cost the Turks a siege of eighteen years before they could take it from the Venetians.

"Yet Calliergi determined to attempt its capture, knowing well the careless way in which it was guarded. a description of this, will give an idea of the manner in which all Turkish fortresses are kept, when danger is supposed to be far off. Grabousi is a barren rock, about a mile and a half long, and half a mile broad; its sides rise precipitately out of the sea, to the height of from thirty to sixty feet, except on the side next to the main island of Candia, where is a landing place; the distance across to Candia is not quite a mile, and here is a fort. The western end of this rock is separated from the rest by a sudden rising of two hundred feet, very steep, and forming a kind of natural fortress; the three sides next the sea being entirely inaccessible: a biscuit can be pitched from the top into the waves which dash at the bottom of cliffs, more than two hundred feet high. The Venetians had made a strong fortification of it, by building ramparts along the east side, where it is approached by a zigzag path up the rocks. It was furnished with a fine artillery, and had barracks for several thousand men, but the Turkish garrison had pulled them down for fuel, rather than go out and cut it; and if a bit of iron was wanting for any purpose, they would wrench it off of a gun carriage. To make a respectable defence, it ought to have had a garrison of eight hundred men: but the Pashaw of Candia, whose object is to squeeze out of the inhabitants as much money as he can, and to spend as little as possible, had thought it good economy, while he sent his report to the Sultan of five hundred men to garrison Grabousi, to keep only fifty there; and the captain on his part, thought it good economy, while he sent his report to the Pashaw of fifty men, to keep only ten, and pocket the pay and rations of the rest.

"Thus Grabousi was left with ten Turks to defend it, and only seven of these were fit for duty. Calliergi appears off the place with three small vessels, and the captain of Grabousi runs off to Candia, to tell the Pashaw he fears the *Ginours* may be coming, and to get money to raise men, and supply the place with provisions. Meantime Calliergi sent a boat on shore in the night, with eleven daring Cretans, all speaking the Turkish language. These men landing on the main, and finding out from a poor fisherman, the signal that was used to call a boat from the fortress, they made it; and in a few minutes a skiff, rowed by two soldiers of the fortress, approached them. Being hailed from the boat, the Greeks answered that they were Turks, sent by the Pashaw to reinforce the garrison. They were taken on board gladly, and while rowing across, they learned that there were only four men and two boys in the castle above. They then seized the two Turks, threatened them with death if they made a noise, and demanded the signal for opening the gates. The terrified Turks answered that they did not believe they would be shut; for beside that they themselves were expected back in a few moments, the soldiers within would not take the trouble to close the gates, for they were hard to be moved, the hinges being broken. The Greeks then climbed up the hill, rushed through the open gate, seized two guards who were snoring on their posts, cut down a third, who resisted stoutly, and would not cry *Amann*, and took possession of the place.

"Thus eleven men, without firing a shot, or losing one of their number, carried one of the strongest places in the East. The next morning all the Greeks landed, and began to patch up the fortress; to prop the gun carriages, which were dropping to pieces; to cleanse the cistern, and make the gates moveable on their hinges. Soon they saw a vessel steering toward them from Candia, the principal fortress; and supposing from her Austrian flag, that she was coming with supplies from the Pashaw, to the garrison, they hoisted the Turkish standard on the walls, and the Austrian came on unsuspectingly toward the landing; when an eighteen pound shot whizzing over his vessel, and the flag of the cross hoisted over the red banner of Turkey, told him he had fallen into the hands of Christians and enemies."

The expedition failed on the main land, and the consequence was that great numbers of the Greeks took refuge on this barren rock, where they remained in safety, but in penury and privation. We are sorry that we hear very little afterwards of Calliergi. The name of Ulysses is known to the general reader. As Dr. Howe was not personally acquainted with him, he contents himself with transcribing his character from Mr. Waddington's excellent little book, entitled "A Visit to Greece in 1823-24." Under his proper name of Odysseus, he is described as brave, active, intelligent, but suspected of little genuine attachment to the common cause. Possessing himself of a cavern on the classic ground of Mount Parnassus, he removed to it his family, and all his valuables. He had entered into a seditious combination against the patriotic government, and was ordered to be arrested, but he retired to the north, where Dr. Howe says he was "*more than suspected* of correspondence with the Turks."

"Gourah was sent against him, and at the moment when he was preparing to attack his old master, who had yet considerable resources left, Ulysses suddenly appeared before him with only a few attendants, and said he had come to deliver himself up to the justice of his country, and looked for a full acquittal as soon as all the circumstances should be known. He was sent prisoner to Athens, and confined in a Venetian tower. In a few days he attempted to escape by letting himself down from a very high window by a rope; but it broke, and he was killed by the fall. Suspicions were had about the manner of his death, but there was no reasonable ground for them; the same suspicions would have been thrown out by the enemies of government, if he had died of a fever."

The capture of the cavern was not effected without difficulty. An Englishman who had married the sister of Ulysses, was among those whom he left in possession of it. The circumstances related in a note by Dr. Howe, show the character of some of those people, who under high pretensions had repaired to Greece.

"Fenton was a Scot, a young man endowed with great personal advantages, but a cold-blooded deliberate ruffian; he was admitted to the cavern by Trelawney, and became his pretended friend; he soon offered to go to Napoli and act as a spy upon the government; but he was, at the same time, in correspondence with government, through the agency of Mr. Jarvis, and had offered to procure the capture or death of Ulysses, and the delivery of the cavern into the hands of government, on the payment of a certain sum. Being informed by Jarvis that his plans would be listened to, Fenton started for Napoli. On arriving at Napoli he had several interviews with Mavrocordato; what plans were agreed upon is not known; this is known, that in some of his letters to Jarvis, Fenton had offered to kill Ulysses and Trelawney, if necessary. After making his arrangements with government through Mavrocordato, secretary of state, Fenton, in order the better to conceal from the inmates of the cavern, that he had been plotting treason against them, induced the government to issue a public order for him to quit Napoli in two hours, as being a *suspicious* person. He then went to the cave and told Trelawney every thing, and that he had persuaded government he was sincere in his offer to murder his friend and benefactor; of course, Trelawney would discredit any accounts he might hear of it, as he could not conceive such baseness possible. Still Fenton went on hatching his plot, and the strangest part of the story is, that he chose for the instrument of his crime, a young Englishman of family and education, and that the arch villain should be able to persuade him to it. His victim (for I must call Whitcomb the victim) was about

nineteen years of age, had been a midshipman in the British service, and had come to Greece burning with enthusiasm for her cause, and still more with a desire to distinguish himself by some daring act, he was full of vanity and ambition; daring and headstrong, indeed, but generous and proud; and I believe, would then have shuddered at the bare thought of what he was afterwards induced to commit. He left the party of soldiers with which we were, and in the more spirit of wandering, went to the cavern of Ulysses; he was met by Fenton, and carried up to the cavern. In one single day Whitcomb became the admirer of Fenton; thought him the noblest, the most romantic, the bravest of men; in one day more he thought him injured and abused by Trelawney, learned to hate Trelawney, believed that Trelawney despised him, and meditated injuring him, and on the third day he swore eternal friendship to Fenton, and that he would stand by him at all hazards, in any attempt to regain what he believed his right. Still, Fenton dared not propose his horrid plan; he had wound his coil about his victim, but feared that the spring of virtue might not yet be poisoned. Two days more were passed in riot and drinking, and Whitcomb was excited by wild plans of power, and of becoming prince of the surrounding province, if Fenton could become master of the cavern, and there was only Trelawney in the way. On the sixth day they were to meet Trelawney after dinner on the ledge, in front of the cavern, to practise pistol firing; this was the moment Fenton chose for the execution of his plan, he got Whitcomb intoxicated, and made him believe that he feared Trelawney had a plot to murder them both. Whitcomb swore to stand by his friend to the last, and promised to be ready on any signal. It was Trelawney's first fire, and after hitting the mark, he went a little forward, and in his usual cold, unsocial way, stood with his back to them; Fenton raised his carbine, (which was not loaded,) and pointing it at Trelawney, snapped—he looked with pretended dismay at Whitcomb, as begging him to second him, cocked and snapped again. 'He turned upon me such a look—I knew not what I did—I raised my gun, pulled the trigger, and fell from my own emotions,' these were the words of the mad boy, who had become all but an assassin. Two balls with which his gun was loaded, had lodged in the back of Trelawney, and he was apparently dying.

"The soldiers rushed in, and Whitcomb heard the voice of Fenton, who was supporting Trelawney, crying, 'There is the young traitor. Shoot him, cut him down, do not let him speak,' but Whitcomb ran, gained an inner apartment, and taking off his sash, fastened it, and threw himself over the precipice. By some strange means he got safely to the bottom, after running some time he was met by some soldiers of Ulysses, and carried back to the cavern half distracted. On entering, he asked, 'Where is Fenton?' 'At your feet,' and he looked down upon his bleeding corpse. There was a Swiss in the cavern who had seen the transaction, he had seen the emotion of Whitcomb before the affray, and could not believe he committed the act, and when he heard Fenton crying out to kill him, without letting him speak, he became convinced, he ordered a soldier to fire upon him; the ball just passed Fenton's head—he turned round quickly, and seeing the Swiss, whom he knew to be a dead shot, aiming another musket at him—without showing the least emotion, he turned fully in front of him, put his hand on his breast, and cried, 'Fire again, I am ready;' received the ball through his heart, fell, rolled upon his face, and expired without a groan. Whitcomb was put in irons, and kept in till Trelawney, against all human expectation, recovered a little. He ordered him to be brought before him, his irons taken off, and he set at liberty; nor did he seem to have the least idea that Whitcomb had fired upon him, and he continued to treat him kindly. Whitcomb said, 'I could not stand this generosity; I confessed to him the whole; I even gave it him in writing, and he dismissed me.' Trelawney recovered, and Whitcomb is ruined and desperate; he has blighted the hopes of his highly respectable mother, and wounded the pride of his brave brothers, who are officers of the British army."

But there were many varieties of character among those who hazarded their lives and property in behalf of the insurgents

Among them our author mentions Reynard de St. John de Ange-ly, (the name is Regnaud,) commandant of the cavalry which "owed its establishment and support to this noble-spirited Frenchman, who not only paid a large part of its expenses from his own purse, but laboured incessantly in drilling the men." Colonel Favier bore a more distinguished part in the war: he is described as an excellent soldier, a strict disciplinarian, brave and hardy, but in the opinion of Dr. Howe he was "no general;" his mind was not strong and capacious enough to conceive original, or embrace comprehensive ideas; he was so fully satisfied of the infallibility of his own judgment, that he would take advice from no one. An expedition against Negropont was undertaken by Favier from Athens, at the head of a small body of men, the failure of which elicits a note so spirited, that the account of one may be allowed for the sake of the other.

"Favier determined to attack them, notwithstanding the advantage they had of the ground, and their being sheltered by the houses. He brought up his force therefore in a scientific manner, and the infantry marched to the attack in excellent order; they were supported by the fire of six light field-pieces, which were well managed, and made considerable havoc among the Turks, who received the attack of the infantry, with a hot fire of musketry. The Greeks advanced however with much firmness and spirit, and were just on the point of getting possession of some houses in the outskirts, which would have sheltered them, when the fire of their artillery, which for some minutes had been slackening, ceased entirely—the axletrees of the carriages had broken, and the infantry was left exposed to the whole Turkish fire, which was redoubled;—it was too much for raw troops; they retreated, and the day was lost."

The note is as follows,—and it will excite the blushes of those to whom it relates, *if they should happen to read it.*

"It was a great fault that these guns had not been sufficiently proved before going into action, but surely there was some excuse for Favier; they were part of a pare of artillery which had been provided by the *Philhellenes* of London, and for which a large sum had been paid by the Greeks; but they all proved upon trial, that they had been made merely *to sell!* This is only one out of a hundred instances, where shameful impositions have been practised upon the Greeks abroad; not where gifts were sent them,—for then they could not complain of the quality; but where they have paid, and paid enormous prices too. Let the American or the European, who makes such an outcry against the poor Greek, who, driven to desperation by the cries of his starving children, turns pirate to feed them; let him consider, I say, the base frauds which have been practised upon the Greeks in Marseilles, London, and New-York, and he will put his hand on his mouth, and be silent. He will blush to think that *his* countrymen, to whom Greece in the hour of her agony, was stretching out her hands: to whose honour and honesty she was trusting, and opening wide her purse-strings, that they might take their own just pay;—these men, these Christians, were coldly speculating on her misery; they were eagerly grasping at her last dollar, and stopping their ears to the screams of thousands, to whom their frauds might bring captivity or death. For my part, I look with more respect, upon the ignorant but daring pirate, who roams the Archipelago 'in full and free defiance' of law and justice, than upon the sanctimonious Christian merchant, who pirates within the bounds of the law; and whose very Bible is bought with the *legal*, but unjust spoil of the widow and orphan."

The laudable animation of Dr. Howe on the subject, is not ex-

hausted in this note. He subsequently observes with severity on the mercenary and treacherous conduct of some of the leaders of the self-constituted Greek committee in London. A loan of twelve millions of dollars had been effected, for the payment of which Greece was bound. He tells us that their government had ~~hardly~~ been supplied with *two millions*, when it received the stunning news, that the funds were exhausted. The accounts are inserted in the text, examined by the author, and the cupidity and manœuvres attributed to Mr. Bowring and Joseph Hume, two of the loudest advocates of this suffering people, can only excite disgust. These observations are renewed on the arrival of the frigate built at New-York.—We refer to our first number for the sentiments we entertained on this unfortunate case. They are re-echoed by Dr. Howe. It would be some relief from this dark coloured picture, to turn back to the brilliant though temporary career of Lord Byron, of which many particulars are told, but this again receives a gloom from his sudden death. He was preparing to go with his corps of Suliotes, raised at his own expense, on an expedition against Lepanto, when he was seized with the fever that in a few days terminated his life. Dr. Howe does not consider the expedition of this nobleman as a mere poetical and thoughtless excursion; he represents him as having taken great pains beforehand, to obtain clear and certain information on the actual state of the country, and as having planned a very judicious mode of proceeding, as well in respect to himself, as to those whom he intended to assist.

Lord Cochrane is represented to have gone to Greece, more to repair his own fortunes, than from that generous enthusiasm for her cause, which should have led him to trust to her gratitude for his after recompense. According to his usual course, the author gives a description of the person and character of Cochrane.

“He is tall, so very tall, that an habitual and considerable stoop does not prevent his overtopping all about him; his large, bony, though gaunt frame, exhibits signs of prodigious strength; his face is long and narrow; his sandy complexion looks more so, from a large pair of reddish whiskers; and his eyes which are quick and sparkling, indicate rather mildness than ferocity of temper. His manner is polite, and very gentle; his susceptibilities the most acute, and there can be no one more kind-hearted, none more ready to pity or weep at the sight of distress in others. His passions are quick and violent, yet under the control of his reason; and there is in his plans a strange mixture of daring and prudence. His talents are of an original, and extraordinary cast; and every question or remark that drops from him, indicates an intelligent and inquisitive mind. To all those high qualities, he adds the most ardent love of enterprise, and a calm indifference to danger.”

How ineffectual his efforts have proved, is too well known.

The narrative closes soon after the fall of Athens. Its capitulation, in which General Church was thought by some to have taken too active a part, gave dissatisfaction. Missolonghi had

refused to capitulate, and almost all its garrison and inhabitants were massacred, amidst the tears and praises of their fellow-citizens. Rinieri, the president of the representative body, officially communicated the intelligence of this distressing event, in terms which conveyed an allusion not to be misunderstood. "Yes, the birth place of the arts and sciences, the venerable Athens, has fallen into the hands of the barbarians. Missolonghi too fell, but *she* nobly fell. True Greeks will rather die than buy their lives at the price of their honour." But during the earlier stages of the war, other capitulations of fortified places had taken place, and we must account for the censures which particularly accompanied this, from the distressing state of their affairs at the time, and the unwillingness that there should appear any symptom of the decline of national spirit.

Ibrahim Pasha had now almost the whole country at his command. The scattered inhabitants, unable to cope with his power, were still unwilling to submit to it; and while the original energy and patriotism remained, hope still remained. A timid submission in some places would depress the courage of others, and therefore, the national assembly, taking a comprehensive view of all their surrounding difficulties, still strove to keep up the principles on which resistance began, and to preserve their fellow-citizens from giving way to despair. It was no small addition to the distresses of the country, that great dissensions among themselves still continued, and that those who were in arms proceeded so far as to shed each other's blood. It was not, as once with us, a case of contest between those who aimed at liberty and independence, and those who were attached to the pre-existent government; between whigs and tories—but they were the blind and jealous conflicts of those, who while they concurred in detesting and resisting their former rulers, aimed at separate mastery among themselves. It has always been the misfortune of Greece, even in her best days, to have so many sectional divisions, engendering as many divisions of interests and feelings. She has never been an entire nation. It not unfrequently happens that a common danger unites for a time, and that when the danger has passed, former feuds revive with their original acrimony; but here, in the worst of its agony, when life and safety could be expected from union alone, the Greek was sometimes seen endeavouring to tear the Greek to pieces, while the bloody scimitar hung over the heads of both. Such an inconceivable, inexplicable being is man! The influence of Capo d'Istria may mitigate or remove these evils.

Col. Miller's is a work of very inferior merit. It is, in fact, a mere transcript from his journal, printed for the satisfaction of those who employed him on the benevolent mission;—it contains many trifling incidents, not worthy of the notice even of

his employers, and is written in a very bad stile. His pictures of the misery of the country at the places he visited, distress the mind, and perhaps not the less for their being presented in very plain and inelegant language. He saw much to create an opinion unfavourable to the modern Greeks, but he manfully declares that he still considers the people and their cause worthy the risk of his life in order to assist them; for he "believes that there are many good men and redeeming spirits among them, who have contended, and will continue to contend, until the country is severed from the Ottoman Empire." The conduct of some of the chiefs in respect to the distribution of those charitable supplies, was inhuman in regard to the poor for whom they were intended, insolent to our countrymen, Col. Miller, Dr. Howe, and Dr. Russ, and ungrateful to our country. It is scarcely possible to conceive, that the starving, naked wretches who surrounded the store-houses, should have been driven away by orders of military chieftains, insisting on having the articles delivered to themselves. Dr. Howe, in a report made to Col. Miller of his agency in respect to a portion of the supplies destined for the poor at Napoli, exhibits the basest conduct on the part of Colocotroni. But, notwithstanding these shameful proceedings, "Dr. Russ," of whom he gives a high character, "determined to remain in Greece for some time, taking care of the sick, and doing as much good as the scanty means at his disposal would permit, in hopes, however, that information of the distresses of this country, and the sufferings of a brave and heroic people, conveyed to America, would induce our countrymen to renewed exertions, as their donations had already saved thousands of women and children from nakedness and famine."

Col. Miller's diary presents to view the existence of greater distress than can probably be elsewhere found on the surface of the globe, and at the same time greater difficulties in the distribution of relief, than perhaps ever existed in similar cases. Not only did the base and avaricious chiefs take means to prevent the distribution of relief among the unhappy sufferers, and secure them to their own use,—and not only was the personal safety of the American agents frequently endangered, but discouragement and repulse were experienced from quarters where it could not have been at all expected. "The English resident at the island of Calamos, refused to permit the landing 130 barrels which I sent there, wherefore Dr. Gosse brought them back to Poros, although the Greeks from the continent, who have taken refuge in that island, are daily dying with hunger."

Commodore Patterson, who commanded the *Constitution*, receives the warmest thanks of Col. Miller, for the kindness, protection and assistance afforded on several occasions; but this is

strongly contrasted with the conduct of the commander of the *Erie* on an antecedent occasion.

"I had just arrived at Smyrna, in an English frigate, destitute of money, clothes, and passports, having recently lost the two last at the fall of Missolonghi, in the defence of which I had taken a part. Captain Deacon not only gave me to understand that I had lost my right as an American citizen by serving as a volunteer in Greece, but absolutely refused to permit me to comply with a general invitation from all the ward-room officers to accompany them to Candia, or even to give me protection on board his vessel, unless I would say that I considered my life absolutely in danger, a declaration which I could by no means make." Yet, on his return from Candia, the same gentleman brought two Turkish officers to Smyrna, in order to forward them on their way to Constantinople, with despatches."

It is true, that at the time of receiving this repulse, Col. Miller was not engaged in the charitable agency which he afterwards gratuitously assumed, but, by this conduct, the Turks were encouraged to the evil treatment of our countrymen; and the future exertions of Philhellenic charity on our part, were proportionably damped and impeded. Col. Miller's request to the commander of an Austrian armed vessel for permission, in the execution of his mission, to take a passage on board to the port where the ship was destined, was evaded. His meritorious perseverance, during all his difficulties, confers great honour on his character.

According to later accounts, however, appearances are more favourable. Mr. King has been very kindly received by the President Count Capo d'Istria, and by Mavrocordato, who, we are pleased to find, still retains influence and some degree of power among them. Ibrahim Pacha has evacuated Greece; the movements and arrangements of the French force were such that not a single Turk would remain there after the middle of November. Letters of a recent date from Dr. Howe announce the probability of a restoration of domestic order and industry. We may presume that the Allies, who have accomplished so much, will never permit the hallowed soil to be again profaned by barbarian conquerors. Some mystery hangs over the French expedition; and some doubt may be indulged as to the ultimate generosity of the views and proceedings of the deliverers; but we may reasonably expect a qualified national independence at least—a sufficient scope for civilization with all its principal benefits.

ART. VII.—DOCTRINE OF TEMPERAMENTS.

- 1.—*Gymnastique Médicale*. Par CH. LONDE. Paris.
- 2.—~~*Rapports du Physique et du Moral de l'homme*~~. Par CEBANIS.
- 3.—*The Book of Nature*. By JOHN MASON GOOD. 1828. Series III. Lecture XI.
- 4.—*A Treatise on Physiology applied to Pathology*. By F. J. V. BROUSSAIS, M. D. *Translated from the French*. By JOHN BELL, M. D., and R. LA ROCHE, M. D. Part II Chapter XIV. Philadelphia: H. C. Carey & I. Lea. 1826.

THE practical tendency of the age furnishes no cause of complaint, where it does not measure utility by too narrow a standard. The enthusiast cherishes no desire more fondly, than that of promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and while he may often waste his efforts by mistaking his means, and, still more frequently, by forming a wrong estimate of those on whom he is to act, he is ready to follow the guidance of plain experience, if he can in this way be more securely led to the attainment of his object.

The metaphysicians, since the beginning of speculative science, have reasoned on the nature of morals; and yet have never been able to decide what virtue is: whether it is an independent principle, or merely a useful companion; whether it is bright with an eternal lustre of its own, or does but catch a few gleams that are reflected from its works. They cannot tell whether goodness resides in the motive or in the deed; they are baffled in their search after the springs of evil; they cannot even decide on the moral liberty of man. The great problem of human existence, so far as speculative acuteness is concerned, has never been solved; and virtue and freedom and immortality are still, to the unaided power of human reason, enveloped in mysteries, which no philosophy has dispelled. By all the systems which have been invented, no secret avenue to the human mind has been discovered; no course of moral discipline, that can mould the spirit at will, has yet been revealed; no sacred talisman has been brought from the inner recesses of contemplation, to protect innocence and encourage virtue; no mighty charm has been pronounced, which can still the fury of the passions and quell the storms in the human heart. Men, fond of philosophy, may themselves have been influenced by the character of their investigations. But their boasted schools of wisdom have, nevertheless, taught them little more than a melancholy or a modest

scepticism. Their systems, as changeable as the generations of men, have directly exercised no wide influence on mankind.

The same cannot be said of the attempts which have been made to reach the mind through the medium of the body. Generous sentiments and virtues have undoubtedly been promoted by a fit succession of healthful exercises, adopted in the period when the organization is still susceptible of modification. The practice of antiquity proves the vast influence which physical education may exercise on a whole community. Achilles, in the hands of the centaur, trained to arms and the course, and soothing the mind by the lulling influence of melody on the sense, was but a type of national character. The field of Olympia was to the Greeks the most sacred enclosure of the gods; and the games, which were there instituted to exercise and to honour the vigour and the coolness that ennobled the warrior, were, to those who engaged in them, the offices of religion. But why need we go to the ancients for examples, when the forests of our western territories show us, in what school nature trains her children to vigilance, speed, and bravery?

Among the ancients, many of their most philosophical minds were employed in tracing the connexion between the physical and moral nature of man. Hippocrates, an enlightened patriot, an ardent lover of liberty, a man who united the spirit of philosophy to the profession of medicine, and possessed genius for contemplative excellence beside his skill in the most benevolent of practical arts, owes much of his glory to his ingenious observations on this most interesting subject. The ancient physicians regarded it as having an intimate relation with their science; and that the moral character requires consideration in the treatment of disease, is a matter of daily experience. Our age has been busy in its efforts to resist the approaches of decline by raising strong defences round health itself; to reform the methods and perfect the means of education; to rescue infancy from the dangers of inconsiderate fondness, and age from the premature imbecility which ensues on defects in regimen. It has not failed to observe, that the principles to be learnt of the physiologist, may be applied with advantage to the regulation of diet and exercise. The principles of physical education are beginning to form an important branch of knowledge, of which the object is, to give the body its proper and natural perfection, that it may assist the mind to act with energy, and may form a basis for the support and exercise of manly virtues. The results of inquiries into the constitution of man are of value to any one who wishes to understand his own nature, to guard against the mistakes and errors to which he may be naturally prone, and do what art and prudence can do towards preserving a long succession of healthful years. The guardian of the young, who con-

siders the care of health as a sacred duty, and perceives that the worst vices of boyhood, corrupting life in its sources, are connected with errors in the regimen of the young, makes physical education an object of deep interest; not merely that he may find the means of imparting vigour to the frame, liveliness and activity to the organs of sense, skill and ease to the management of the limbs, but still more, that he may gain assistance in preserving the purity of morals, in disciplining and regulating the imagination, and in establishing the just proportion between the influence of the intellectual powers and the body.

It is probable, that the sum of human life might, by a moderate attention to the rules of medical gymnastics, be lengthened one-tenth in its duration. If we consider the number of anxious years, wearing cheerlessly away under the discomforts of languishing disease, which could easily have been prevented, the sufferings that result from a morbid state of the affections, for which exercise is a remedy, we shall be convinced, that human happiness would be increased in far more than an equal proportion. Health is happiness, and we might under proper limitations also say, that health is virtue. As men have often been urged to crimes by bodily diseases, and misery has been widely spread by the fury of those atrocious passions, which obtain their deadly power only from the derangement of the system; as the curse of constipation has driven many an inquisitive mind into the gloom of infidelity, and the inertness of the digestive organs has repeatedly staid the arm of mercy and urged the suffering tyrant to wanton ferocity and careless cruelty; or (to make our illustrations from examples of more frequent occurrence, though of less extensive evil,) as many have sacrificed their own lives to the influence of a despondency, which moderate motion would have dissipated, or have habitually indulged in faults of temper, peevish irritability, or cruel dispositions, by yielding to a native defect of temperament, which might have been corrected, it is manifest that public morals, equally with public happiness, would be benefited by a general observance of the rules of physical education.

The connexion between the mind and the body can never be explained. As yet, the first principles on which it depends, have not been discovered. Nature, in her mysterious operations, eludes the sagacity of the most careful observers. Her venerable form is concealed by a veil, which no mortal has been permitted to raise. The first cause is "that which hath been, which is, and which shall be, and which no man has comprehended." We can but notice the connexion between one set of appearances and another. We can only hope to observe and to be benefited by the practical application of our observations. By them we are led to regard the body, not as the temporary habitation of the soul,

but also as the instrument by which the soul acquires its knowledge; not merely as the temporary abode of a spiritual nature, but as the power by which that nature gains its conceptions and executes its purposes. No idea of the external world finds its way to the mind but through the senses; and while an influence is thus exercised over the manner in which the world is represented, the action of the internal organs excites the passions, modifies the operations of thought, and imparts peculiarities to the moral nature.

The union and reciprocal influence of the mind and body are established before the period for observation has arrived. If the reasonings of physiologists are just, the infant at its birth is already possessed of a consciousness of its being. It has its passions, its desires, its propensities; and not only its physical organization is decided, but also the complexion of its moral character. There remains room for education to accomplish her high designs in developing its powers, in confirming its advantages, in counteracting its faults, in supplying its deficiencies, in tempering the elements which are offered by nature. But there are certain limits, within which this influence of art is restrained, certain bounds which never can be passed. The features of the mind, as of the face, are fixed beyond the power of change. Free opportunity is left for the culture of morals; but it is also decided, by what vices the child, on ripening to manhood, will be most liable to be assailed, and in what virtues he is constitutionally fitted to excel.

To illustrate and establish the native peculiarities of individuals, we will enumerate and classify those which the experience of man has shown to exist. The difference of sex renders a difference of moral character inevitable. But not to dwell on this universal division of mankind, there may clearly be observed in every individual, at least *five sources of difference*, residing in his original organization.

The human family, which now occupies the earth, is composed of different races. Some illustrious physiologists have, it is true, contended that strictly speaking there is but one; and it is an article of our religious faith, that men, descended from common parents, have been formed into these different races, if not by particular acts of Providence, by the various and continued influence of climate and regimen. In the heart of Northern Asia, our accurate Ledyard believed he recognised but another form of the American savage. But while speculative observation leads to the belief in a common origin, and our religion decides the question beyond a doubt, the difference at present actually exists; and the child at its birth inherits the physical and moral characteristics of the race to which it belongs. The Englishman and the Hindoo are unlike in external

lineaments and in natural endowments; and their children, though born within the same city, are from birth unlike in mind and in feature.

But the same race has been variously modified in different ages of the world. The Greek of the Byzantine Empire was not as the Greek of the Athenian democracy. The Roman of to-day, is not the Roman of the Commonwealth. A German baron of the present time, is all unlike the feudal robber of the middle ages. Each generation bears marks by which it may be distinguished from any former one. And as these differences, though they are the result of the state of society in its influence on the individuals who compose it, are nevertheless in some measure transmitted; the new-born child is affected by the age in which its existence commences. This difference between successive generations is further established by analogies, drawn from the whole animal creation.

The peculiarity last mentioned is common to all, who, belonging to the same race, are born in the same period. But races are distinguished into nations, and nations have their characteristics, which are transmitted from one generation to another. The infant, therefore, receives with its original frame the peculiarities of its nation. To what degree this modification of character extends, it is difficult to determine. It probably reaches further than we may at first thought be ready to believe, and not only inclines the mind to certain habits and particular sentiments, to such virtues as valour and prudence, but also to such vices as rapacity and cruelty, to cunning, to effeminacy, to superstition, to servile obedience. It gives an aptitude for acquiescing in certain forms of society and government, and a facility for the acquisition and use of a particular language. The Frenchman is born with a natural predisposition to cheerfulness; the American Indian with an innate passion for the chase; the Arab of the desert with a propensity to plunder. Who will hesitate to ascribe the bravery of the Cossacks to a peculiarity common to their nation, and transmitted by descent? Who will doubt, that there are tribes of men *naturally* unwarlike? Is it not to be believed, that the physical organization of many a Tartar tribe inclines them to a wandering life? Could any possible education make of the next generation of the serfs in Russia good citizens of a free, popular government? We may often observe animals show peculiar skill in matters, to which not they, but their parents, have been trained. The books of the naturalists furnish well-attested examples of qualities thus inherited. In like manner we may believe, that the ancient adorers of leeks and onions, or the present worshippers of the Grand Lama, were, from their birth, predisposed to superstition; that the Turk is naturally given to stern composure, and faith in the power of destiny; that

the Siamese commoner does as it were of himself cringe and fall on his knees before the absurd nobility of his country; and that the descendant of the Pilgrims, whether on the banks of the Detroit, the Illinois, or the Wabash, has the true instinct for liberty. And as to the use of speech, the infant on the banks of the Euphrates has, it may not be doubted, an inherited aptness to learn the diffuse forms of its Oriental language; and on the banks of the Seine to prefer the dialect of Paris to the stronger accents of the Germans. Though a man may have acquired a foreign language in his infancy, his thoughts were not destined by nature to flow in it; and perfect success in the use of words, is obtained only by expressing the thoughts in the *mother tongue*.

The differences in national character are obvious, when we hold up in contrast the manners and history of the nations. It is still easier to observe the difference between families. The father's lineaments and constitution, the mother's temper, re-appear in their offspring. The child bears originally the features of its parents, and how often is the analogous resemblance of mind and tastes apparent.

And lastly, the life of each individual has, from its commencement, its own peculiarities. From the first dawn of consciousness it is distinguished from that of every other intelligent being; and it contains within itself, the principles which are to decide on character, condition, and happiness.

It appears then, from its race, its age, its nation, its family, and its own peculiar organization, the infant receives with its existence peculiar characteristics. If it be asked, in what these original differences consist, we might safely invite the reader to consider each of the classes, under which we have arranged them, and apply the principles which we have given to individual cases. This would be attended with no difficulty as far as regards the three first points of difference. Where men are to be judged of by observing them in masses, whether of races or of nations, and centuries of national existence are to be grouped together for the convenience of observing, it may not be difficult to seize on general characteristics. But it is in the daily walks of life, that the knowledge of man is both difficult and valuable. It is in comparing family with family, and man with man, that an almost endless variety seems to baffle every effort at classification.

But the whole subject has been happily reduced to order. It has been found possible to analyze the ingredients, which compose the physical, and influence the moral nature; and thus to arrive at comparatively a small number of original elements, which, by their various combinations, produce the infinite diversity existing between individuals. It was the ancients, who first established the simple classification of men according to their

physical organization, and with the happy sagacity, for which they are justly considered eminent, invented the *doctrine of temperaments*; a doctrine, in itself neither unimportant nor uninteresting; of high moment to the physician in the treatment of disease, and not without its advantages to any one in the care of his health; a doctrine which may well hold a conspicuous place in physiological science, as a fit object for liberal curiosity, and as belonging in general to the history and knowledge of man.

It is our purpose to proceed and expound this intricate subject. It is in the power of every one who reads, to try the correctness of our views, by comparisons drawn from his own experience. Yet the observer will bear in mind, that the theory has to exhibit each temperament in its purity, unmixed and unmitigated; life generally furnishes only examples, in which one or the other is strongly predominant. It is our duty, in order to draw the lines of separation between opposite characters, to present the peculiar qualities in a strong and distinct light. Nature blends them in harmonious combinations.

The temperament, which, in its external appearance, claims the highest degree of physical beauty, is the *sanguineous*. Its forms are moulded by nature to perfect symmetry, and invested with a complexion of the clearest lustre. The hands of the artist have embodied its outlines in the majestically graceful Apollo of the Vatican. Its delicate shape is "the dream of love." A mild and clear eye promptly reveals the emotions of the heart; the veins swell with copious and healthful streams; and the cheek is quick to mantle with the crimson current. The breath of life is inhaled freely; the chest is high and expanded like that of "a young Mohawk warrior;" the pulse is active but gentle; the hair light; the skin soft and moist; the face unclouded; and, in short, the whole organization is characterized by the vigour and facility of its functions.

The moral character of those who belong to this temperament is equally pleasing. They are amiable companions, every where welcome, and requiring the kindness shown them by gentleness of temper and elegance of manners. They are distinguished for playfulness of fancy and ready wit. Their minds are rapid in their conceptions, pass readily from one subject to another, and they can change at once from gaiety to tears, or from gravity to mirth. Of a happy memory, a careless and unsuspecting mien, a contented humour, a frank disposition, they form no schemes of deep hypocrisy or remote ambition. They are naturally affectionate, yet fickle in their friendships; prompt to act, yet uncertain of purpose. They excel in labours which demand a most earnest but short application. They conquer at a blow, or abandon the game. They gain their point by a *coup de main*, never by a tedious siege. They are easily excited, but easily calm-

ed; they take fire at a word, but are as ready to forgive. They dislike profound meditation, but excel in prompt ingenuity; they succeed in light exercises of fancy, in happily contrasting incongruous objects, and inventing singular but just comparisons. They are given to display, and passionately fond of being admired. Inconstant by nature, they are full of sympathy, and are eminently capable of transferring themselves in imagination into other scenes and conditions. Hence they sometimes are successful in the lighter branches of letters; but they are too little persevering to excel. A continuance of intellectual labour is odious to them; and in no case have they been known to unite the deep sentiments of philosophy to eloquent language. They are the gayest members of society, and yet the first to feel for others. With a thousand faults, their kindness of heart makes them always favourites. In their manners, they unite a happy audacity with winning good nature; their conversation is gay, varied, and sparkling; never profound, but never dull; sometimes trivial, but often brilliant. Love is their ruling passion; but it is a frolic love, to which there are as many synosures as stars. It is Rinaldo in the chains, which he will soon break to submit to new ones. Sometimes they join in the contest for glory. In the council they never have the ascendant: but of all executive officers they are the best. They often are thrown by some happy chance to be at the head of affairs; but they never retain power very long. They are sometimes even delighted with camps; but the field of arms is for them only an affair for a holiday; they go to battle as merrily as to a dance, and are soon weary of the one and the other. Life is to them a merry tale; if they are ever sad, it is but from compassion or the love of change; and they breathe out their sighs chiefly in sonnets. Thus they seem made for sunshine and prosperity. Nature has given them the love of enjoyment, and blessed them with the gift of cheerfulness. In short, this temperament is to the rest, what youth is to the other periods of life, what spring is to the succeeding seasons; the time of freshness and flowers, of elastic hope and unsated desire.

Are examples of this temperament demanded? Go to the abodes of the contented, the houses of the prosperous. Ask for the gayest among the gay in the scenes of pleasure; search for those who have stilled the voice of ambition by the gentle influences of contented love? In the mythology of the ancients, among whom generally character was more distinctly marked, and stood forth in bolder relief, numerous illustrations may be found. Why mention Paris, who, as the poet says, went to battle like the war horse prancing to the river's side, and who valued the safety of his country less than the gratification of his love? Or Leander, whose passion the waters of the Hellespont could not quench? Or the too fascinating Endymion, who drew

Diana herself from her high career? In history, we have the dangerous Alcibiades, who surpassed all other Athenians in talent, the Spartans in self-denial, the Thracians in abandoned luxury; Mark Antony, who, for a time, was the first man in Rome, but gave up the world for Cleopatra; Nero, the capricious tyrant, whose tomb was yet scattered with flowers; the English Leicester, for whom two queens are said to have contended; the gallant Hotspur of the British drama; the French duke de Richelieu, the good king Henry, the bold and amiable Francis; or to take quite a recent example, the brave and gallant, but passionate and wavering Murat, now, in time of truce, displaying his splendid dresses and his skill in horsemanship by parading before the admiring Cossacks, and anon in the season of strife, charging the enemy's cavalry with fearless impetuosity. But we have the most striking illustration of the sanguineous temperament, when uncontrouled by moral principle, in the life and character of Demetrius, the famed besieger of cities. The son of Antigonus was tall, and of such beautiful symmetry, that no artist could take his likeness. Grace and majesty were united in his countenance; and he inspired at once both affection and awe. In his hours of leisure, he was an agreeable profligate; in his moments of action, no man equalled him in diligence and despatch. Like Bacchus, he was terrible in war, but in peace a voluptuary. At one time he hazards honour and liberty for the indulgence of his love; and at another, his presence of mind and his daring make him victorious in the bloodiest naval battle of which any record exists. He was a respectful son; and, though sometimes capriciously cruel, yet naturally humane. By turns a king and a pensioner, a hero and a profligate, a tyrant and a liberator, he conquered Ptolemy, he besieged Tybes, he gave freedom to Athens, he was acknowledged to be the most active warrior of his age, and yet died in captivity, of indolence and gluttony.

Plutarch's life of Demetrius Poliorcetes might indeed be called the adventures of a sanguineous man, but of one morally abandoned. But where men of this temperament are distinguished for blamelessness and purity, they comprise within themselves all that there is of lovely and amiable in human nature. They are the fondest husbands and the earliest fathers. They live in an atmosphere of happiness. The fables of Arcadia seem surpassed by realities. It is especially in early life that their virtues have the most pleasing fragrance; "severe in youthful beauty," they are like the Israelites, who would not eat of the Eastern king's meat, and yet had countenances fairer than all. These are they, of whom the poets praise the destiny which takes them early from the world. These are the favourites of heaven,

who, if they live to grow old, at least "fill up one monument with goodness itself."

With regard to the preservation of health, we sum up every precept for the sanguineous man in this one; avoid excess. He should take much active, but not violent exercise; and must be careful to diminish the tendency to plethora. He may dance, may fence, may indulge in field-sports, or use any of the exercises of a well instituted gymnasium; but all moderately. Nature has made him prone to indulgence, but has made indulgence doubly dangerous for his constitution and his morals. We repeat it: let him avoid excess, and his life will pass away in uninterrupted cheerfulness, in deeds of courtesy and benevolence, in the habitual exercise of the gentle and the generous virtues.

The *athletic* temperament possesses in some respects the external appearance of the sanguineous; but it rises to a colossal stature, and is possessed of extraordinary strength. It implies an excess of muscular force over the sensitive. In the great physical powers, it loses all playfulness of mind. The athletic man has great vigour of frame, but is of an inactive spirit. He never attains to elevated purposes, or a fixed character; he has no acuteness, no insight into human motives, no gift of eloquence or poetry. He can be made an instrument in the hands of others, but never of himself conceive vast enterprises. He is good-natured, and by coaxing and flattery may be made to do or suffer almost any thing; but if his passions are excited, he is capable of becoming ferocious, and even brutal. The sanguineous man may often become athletic, by a course of exercise, fitted to give the greatest development to the physical powers.

The mythology of the ancients furnishes examples of this class, in the whole race of the Titans, who thought in their folly that they could scale heaven, because their strong arms could rend mountains from their bases. But the best example among the demigods is Hercules. The brawny hero, who was perpetually cozened by Eurystheus, was compelled to execute the most frightful labours, turned rivers from their courses, withdrew the dead from the world of shades, and struck terror into the powers of Orcus, and yet was the slave of his appetites, and the dupe of his mistress, shows us an example of this excess of force and its concomitant mental imbecility.

If we turn to real life for illustrations, it must be remembered, that this temperament rarely fills the high offices of power and trust. The historic muse names no one of this class among the benefactors of mankind. Had we the annals of the amphitheatres of old, we could know what giant son of the human race had worn the highest honours for prodigies of strength. In the unsettled period of the Roman empire, there are not wanting instances of men, who gained the diadem by being the strongest

of those that joined in the scramble, or won the hearts of the barbarian legions, by excelling in the barbarian virtue of mere physical force. There was too, quite recently, a Saxon elector, or rather a Polish king, who could break a horse shoe though he could not govern a kingdom, and was more successful in his debaucheries, than in acquiring the respect of men. Yet to whom shall we refer? the father or the son? August Frederic, the second of the name, or the third? The father sold his fine regiment of dragoons to his most dangerous neighbour, for twelve porcelain vases; the son pretended to be an amateur of the fine arts, when he really understood nothing but the chase. He left the government of Saxony to his minister, and yet believed he did every thing himself; he found the Poles troublesome to manage, and therefore left them to utter anarchy; the capital of his hereditary dominions was menaced by the Prussians; he fled, taking with him his pictures and his porcelain, but leaving to the conqueror the archives of the state. Every body knows the story of his father: his mortal enemy, the king of Sweden, in one of the strangest freaks, went unexpectedly and unattended to breakfast with him in Dresden; some hours after Charles had rejoined his army, Augustus held a council to consider what he ought to have done.

We must delay a little longer with this athletic temperament, though it is not a very amiable subject. In republics it has no chance: it is only by divine right, or the favour of a female ruler, that it can hope to control the fortunes of states. The study of history leads us to cry out against the injustice of history. It is a mere chance, whether genuine worth finds a place there. Philip, the landgrave of Hesse, was a great friend of protestantism. He also begged Luther to give him leave to have ~~two~~ ^{two} wives; not a second one: that would hardly seem strange in these degenerate days; but ~~two~~ ^{two} wives at once. This was rather a strange request for a Christian prince to make to a reformer of religion. But Luther thought the request a reasonable one. Philip was always for prompt measures; he struck a bold blow, or none. Finding war too troublesome, he left the business to others, and gave himself up to slothful indulgence. Does his end seem inconsistent with his earlier years? the riddle is solved by a word; he was of the athletic temperament. Indeed the whole family of Hessian princes has had a decided tendency to that class. Frederic, the second of the line, was fond of splendour; and not famous for nice feeling. He sold his soldiers at a high rate. England paid him more than twenty-one millions of rix-dollars for twelve thousand of them, for eight years. Why is it worse for an African prince to sell the captives whom he takes in war, to cultivate sugar and cotton in America, than for a Hessian prince to sell his own subjects, of whom he has the di-

vine right to be the parent and the sovereign, to fight the battles of England, and be shot at for less than six pence a day? The son of the Landgrave just mentioned, the late elector, was one of the richest, and one of the meanest misers in Europe. He was the most tyrannical petty despot of his time. He invented a new right of primogeniture, which we believe has never been adopted by any other sovereign prince. He promulgated a law respecting those who were permitted to be educated, and allowed the clergy generally, and some public functionaries of a certain rank, to educate only their oldest son. Indeed, we can in this country hardly have an idea of the real nature of divine legitimacy. We connect with a prince, at least some ideas of external splendour, and liberality of disposition. But what shall we think of a niggardly autocrat, who fumbles in the pockets of the poor man, in quest of his last penny, and rakes the barren sands of an exhausted soil for a few more grains of gold?

But the most remarkable of all historical personages of the the athletic temperament, was undoubtedly Potemkin, for several years the unlimited favourite of Catharine. For a while men thought him possessed of a colossal genius; but he had nothing colossal but his body. He had no character, and soon made it evident. What mighty events spring from petty causes? An inferior officer saw the empress display herself in uniform before the guards; her sword was without tassels; he tore his own from the hilt, and offered them to the empress; she was charmed with his person, and in time made him her favourite; and he made himself her master. The chancellor of the empire outwitted him; and the armed neutrality was the result of a court intrigue. His mind was of the coarsest order; they even say, that he went so far as to beat the empress herself. "How many prostitutes are there in Petersburg?" said she to him one day. "Forty thousand" replied he, "without the court." He was excessively grasping, and excessively prodigal. He was worth thirty-five millions of our dollars, and yet could not be induced to pay a tradesman's bill. Catharine lavished on him immense sums; he further would forge checks in her name on the public treasury, and accept bribes from foreign powers. The first division of Poland was to him but "child's play." He subdued the Crimea, and when the Tartars hesitated to take the oath of allegiance to Catharine, he ordered them to be massacred; and in truth thirty thousand of them were slaughtered in a mass, men, women and children. The grand ribband of the order of St. George is given in Russia, only to a commander-in-chief, after a victory. To gain this, he quarrelled with the Porte in 1787, and in the next year, took Otechakow by storm, in spite of sickness and scarcity. He surpassed all men of his time in prodigality, in meanness, in sensual indulgence, and capricious vanity. He died at last, in con-

sequence of his excesses, under a tree by the road-side ; and when Paul came to the crown, the body of Potemkin was thrown into a ditch.

Such is the athletic temperament. Its excess of health and strength is by no means desirable. When the constitution once begins to fail, it is broken up suddenly and rapidly. And there is really less of life, the true vital principle, in this temperament, than in almost any other. Those who belong to it never acquire eminent intellectual distinction ; and are ignorant of the refined sensations of a moral nature. No progress, no sacrifices, no exertions, not even nightly vigils, can open for them the sanctuary of the muse. Heaven has conferred on them a majestic frame, but doomed them to perpetual mediocrity. The athletic man can receive few rules for the regulation of his health. Indeed, Hippocrates pronounces his usual condition to be a state of malady. We can only exhort him to be temperate, and to use his strength with the best discretion he can. His life will probably not extend to old age, and will be exposed to many infirmities.

In history, this temperament has gained distinction in the troublesome times, when brutal force and fierce indifference gained the ascendant. In poetry, it is illustrated by the Ajax of Homer, and in English verse we have an accurate description of it in Chaucer.

- “ The Miller was a stout carl for the nenes,
 Ful bigge he was of braun, and eke of bones ;
 That proved wel ; for over all ther he came,
 As wrestling he wold bere away the ram
 He was short shuldered, brode, a thikke gnarre,
 Ther n’as no dore, that he n’olde heve of barre,
 O breke it at a reining with his hede.”

Some lines beside, which we omit to cite, illustrate the character admirably, and show the old English bard to have been well versed in the secrets of human organization.

We turn to the consideration of a class of men, to whom the destinies of the world are, and have been generally committed ; who rule in the cabinet and on the exchange ; who control public business, and guide the deliberations of senates, and who, whether in exalted or private stations, unite in the highest degree sound judgment with persevering energy. They possess, like the sanguineous, quickness of perception and rapidity of thought ; but they at the same time have the power of confining their attention to a single object. They have good practical judgment ; they see things as they are, and are never deceived by contemplating objects in a false light ; they have a clear eye to pierce the secrets of the human heart, to read the character and understand the motives of others. They are patient and inflexible in their purposes ; and however remote may be the object of their desires, they labour with unwearied toil even for a remote

and apparently uncertain end. They are prone to anger, and yet can moderate or conceal their indignation. Their strongest passion is ambition; all the other emotions yield to it; even love vainly struggles against it; and if they sometimes give way to beauty, they in their pleasures resemble the Scythians of old, who at their feasts used to strike the cords of their bows, to remind themselves of danger. The men of whom we are speaking are urged by constant restlessness to constant action. An habitual sentiment of disquietude allows them no peace but in the tumult of business; the hours of crowded life are the only ones they value; the narrow road of emulation the only one in which they travel.

These moral characteristics are observed to be connected with a form more remarkable for firmness than for grace. The complexion is generally not light; and not unfrequently of a sallow hue; the hair is dark; the skin dry; the flesh not abundant, but firm; the muscular force great in proportion to the volume of the muscles; the eyes are vivid and sparkling. The appetite is great; voracious rather than delicate; the digestion is rapid. Of the internal organs, the liver is said to be proportionably the largest and the most active; and its copious secretions give a name to the class.

Such is the nature of those who belong to the bilious temperament. They are to be found, wherever hardness of resolution, prompt decision, and permanence of enterprise are required. They unite in themselves in an eminent degree, the manly virtues, which lead to results in action. At their birth all the gods came to offer gifts; and the graces alone remained away. They stand high in the calendar of courts, and know how to win the hearts of the citizens of republics; but Cupid, indignant at their independence of him, degrades them in his calendar. They do not reign in the world of fashion, and the novel-writer can make of a Lord Oldborough but an imposing picture, not the hero of a tale.

Will you know by living examples, what is the nature of the bilious temperament? Go to the exchange, and ask who best understands the daring business of insurance? Look into the banks, and discover by whom those are managed which give the surest and largest dividends? Go to our new settlements in the west, and look to those who are early and late riding through the majestic forests of virgin nature, where the progress is impeded, it is true, by no underwood, but where every hardship must be endured, streams forded, nights be spent under the open sky, hunger be defied or partially satisfied, and a thousand dangers be braved by the keen speculator, who will take nothing on trust? Or look at the arena of public strife, and see who it is, that most skilfully, and yet most secretly, touches the springs of national

action, and controls the honours and emoluments in the very court of honour, and the chosen resort of fame and glory?

Or if you will not trust yourself with scrutinizing the hearts of the living, go to the Muse of History, and with her trumpet tongue, she will tell you of those who are the elect of her heart, those who fill the universe with their fame, and have swayed their times by their prowess and their mental power; from the mighty conquerors of earliest antiquity, whose names come to us floating among the wrecks of unknown empires, to the last wonderful man, who, in our own times, dealt with states as with play-things, and, by the force of his despotic will, shook the civilized world to its centre.

What need of many names? Ancient history furnishes perhaps no more exact illustration of this^b temperament, than in the character of Themistocles. In his boyhood he shunned boyish sports; but would compose declamations and harangues. He says of himself, that he had learnt neither to tune the harp nor handle the lyre, but that he knew how to make a small and inglorious city both powerful and illustrious. He could not sleep for the trophies of Miltiades. When his superior in the command raised a staff to reject disagreeable advice by a blow, he coolly said, "Strike but hear me." Having been a poor and disinherited child, he made his way to the highest honours in Athens, and for a season controlled the civilized world.* He was the first of men, says Thucydides, for practical judgment. Of Romans we might name as of the bilious temperament, the elder Brutus, the glorious hypocrite, who hid the power of his genius till he could excite it for liberty. The greatest foreigner in the days of the Republic on the Roman soil was Hannibal, and he, not less than Julius Cæsar, was of the bilious class.

But were we to select an example among those, who at any time have been masters of the Seven Hills, we should undoubtedly name the wonderful Montalto, Pope Sextus V. In early life he exerted wonderful industry and talent, made himself the favourite preacher in the cities of Italy, and afterwards won the hearts of the Spaniards, till he was at last made Cardinal. Then of a sudden his character seemed changed; and for almost twenty years he played the part of a consummate deceiver, with unequalled skill. He lived at a retired house, kept few servants, was liberal in his expenses for charities, but parsimonious towards himself; contradicted no one; submitted even to insults with perfect good humour; and, in short, acquired the reputa-

* The words of Platina are *Haveva dissimulato, e sopportato l'ingiurie, intanto, ch'essendo alcuna volta in Concistoro nominato da alcuni Cardinali per Asino della Marca, fingea di non udir, anzi mostrava di ricever il tutto per scherzo, &c. &c.* The crafty Franciscan suppressed his indignation from personal ambition; the patience of Themistocles is made sublime by his patriotism.

tion of being the most meek, the most humble, and the most easily guided among the cardinals. Of the forty-two cardinals who entered the conclave, Montalto seemed nearest to another world. A crutch supported the declining strength of his old age; and a distressing cough indicated that life was fast consuming away. Six parties divided the assembly; and fourteen cardinals deemed themselves worthy of the tiara. On balloting, Albano, the most powerfully supported, had but thirteen votes. Let us take this good natured, dying old man, thought they; he will be easily managed; and four parties of the six united for Montalto. The ballot was ended: Gods, I am Pope of Rome, exclaimed the hale old man; and casting from him the cloaks in which he was muffled, he threw his crutch across the room, and bending back, spit to the very ceiling of the high chamber of the Vatican in which he was, to show the vigour of his lungs. Never did a wiser man hold the keys of St. Peter. He punished vice, even in the high places, with inexorable severity; he established the library of the Vatican; he placed the magnificent obelisk in front of St. Peters; he caused the glorious cupola to be built; he conducted water to the Quirinal hill; he built a vast hospital for the poor; he made the splendid street, called from his name Felice; he reformed the finances of the states of the Church; and, while he exercised great influence on the affairs of Christendom, he himself kept at peace. Since his times, the Catholic Church has not had at its head a man of greater genius or power.

In the care of his health the bilious man has need of exercise only to regulate the action of his body. There exists in his system no obstructions to be removed, no excess of humours to be dissipated by violent action. He may use almost any kind of motion in a moderated degree. In summer he must avoid fatiguing labours during the heat of the day. Autumn is the best season for him; especially when the air is at once cool and moist. Then in the midst of nature's decline he forms projects for his own advancement; though his path to success may lead through the ruin of others.

There are other men, not absolutely dull, yet not of lively sensibility: their thoughts are exact, but neither very gay, nor very profound; their ideas come tardily, but with precision: they are quiet; not disposed to anger; and in general, pursue a middle course. They are fond of repose, and, if left to themselves, would sleep away a large part of their lives.

These men are of a light and often delicate complexion; the countenance is without expression; the eye tranquil; the hair of no decided colour; the muscles of great volume, but feeble; the pulse mild, and disappearing under a firm pressure. The fibres are soft; the humours of the body abound. Such are the cha-

racteristics, moral and physical, of the phlegmatic, or, as it is often called, the lymphatic temperament.

The phlegmatic man is tranquil in all his affections; he is never troubled with desperate love. As he possesses neither enterprise nor sudden resolution, he avoids undertakings wherein those qualities would be necessary. He cultivates, or rather seems naturally to possess, the virtues of prudence and discretion. His conduct is free from excesses; and his vices and virtues are stamped with mediocrity. He easily acquires esteem, and never excites admiration. He is not tormented by ambition, or a thirst for praise; neither is he exposed to the temptations which most frequently and most dangerously beset the weaknesses of others. But let him not be proud of this imagined superiority. He purchases his distinction by foregoing the highest pleasures of the imagination and the most delicate enjoyments of existence. Though unfit for acting in sudden emergencies, he succeeds perfectly well in labours which chiefly require patience, where gradual advancement is the result of moderate but continued efforts. Hence he is sure to be jostled from the road to influence in times of high excitement; and never possesses power but in seasons of profound tranquillity. It is with great surprise, that we find a late popular writer quote the illustrious Fox, as in part an exemplification of the phlegmatic temperament. Fox was given to pleasure as well as to business; he had taste, philanthropy, warm feelings, many of the most honourable qualities of the sanguineous man, but not one of the lymphatic. The British ministers of greatest note, were generally of the bilious temperament, from Lord Burleigh to Mr. Canning. But if we must give great names as examples of this temperament, we should take the philosopher and historian Hume. More illustrations might be found among the Dutch, who are nationally of this temperament. It would not seem to suit the character of a poet; but we hazard the opinion, that Thomson was a phlegmatic man, "more fat than bard beseems;" though some may find it difficult to reconcile this opinion with their ideas of the poet of the seasons. For example:—

"But first the fuel'd chimney blazes wide;
The tankards foam; and the strong table groans
Beneath the smoking sirloin, stretched immense
From side to side, in which, with desperate knife,
They deep incision make."

And when he compares the steam of hot punch to the breath of May as it comes over violets, and praises the ale, which is

"not afraid,

E'en with the vineyard's best produce to vie,"

the verses, on the whole, are of as barbarous measure, and as

phlegmatic poetry, as ever were written. More we could quote in further proof.

No exercise is too violent for the man of this temperament. His blood must be stirred and warmed, his imagination aroused from its lethargy by powerful excitement. In summer, to guard against his natural languor, let him rise in time to help Hyperion to his horse; stimulate his system by a cold bath; and then, careless of the heat, he may plunge into the forest and pursue the chase, till real fatigue gives him a claim to repose. In winter let him run till his heaviness makes him pant, and his lungs are quickened; or let him wrestle with an equal antagonist, till the sweat pours from his face in torrents. Nor need he shun the social circle and the festive dance. The society of the gay will not undermine his gravity, and the noise of mirth and the sight of beauty will never be too stimulating for his sober imagination.

Observe the pensive man, who stands musing apart from the rest, and whom we should think bilious but for the narrowness of his chest. His complexion is pallid or of a deep colour; and the features of his countenance are expressive of melancholy. He is lean, yet of great muscular vigour; his eyes are clear and brilliant, yet of a sombre expression. His hair is dark, and does not readily curl. He is rather tall, and not ill-formed, yet slender; his breast is narrow, and confines the action of his lungs; he stoops as he sits or walks. His internal organization is characterized by great energy and life; but the action of the system meets with obstructions. His nerves are extremely sensitive; yet generous warmth is wanting to soften and expand their extremities. His blood circulates with languor, and if he is long exposed to the cold in a state of inactivity, it is soon chilled. His stomach is apt to become indolent; he is exposed to the anguish of difficult digestion and all the horrors resulting from costiveness. Such are the physical peculiarities of the melancholic temperament.

The melancholic man unites an habitual distrust of himself, and weak indecision in common affairs, with obstinate persistence in matters on which he is decided, and undaunted perseverance in pursuing one object. When he has no strong motive to fix him, his wavering exposes him to the reproach of pusillanimity; and he might find it difficult to repel the charge, were it not that it is impossible to make him swerve from his purpose. Beauty has an inconceivable and mysterious power over him. He deserts the society of the wise and learned, the disputes of politicians and the discussions of men of business, for the unquiet enjoyment which he finds in its vicinity. Yet while he yields to the temporary influence and dominion of any one who is lovely, he is slow to form an attachment; and if his affections are once engaged, his love bears the seal of eternity. In his in-

tercourse with men, he avoids all society which does not suit his habits of mind; but he is sincere in his friendships, and, we must also add, slow to forgive an injury. The recollection of a wrong remains almost indelibly imprinted on his memory. In society he is seldom at ease; his manners are embarrassed and often awkward. Yet he does not fail to excite interest and a sentiment akin to compassion. When he converses, his imagination exerts itself powerfully, and he often uses original and singularly expressive forms of language. Indeed the imagination is at all times the strongest faculty of his mind. It creates a world for him, all unlike the real one. He does not see things as they are, but beholds in them only the reflections of his own representations. His imagination is energetic, delighting in profound sentiment, and excelling in the delineation of strong passions and intense suffering. Powerful motives are required to bring him to action. If suddenly called upon, when he is not moved, he falters; can decide on nothing, and appears to exhibit a complete inefficiency and unsuitableness for business. But if strong excitement accompanies the unexpected call, he comes with energy and decision to the guidance of affairs, pours forth his ideas in a torrent of extraordinary and irresistible eloquence, and surpasses all expectation. It is a weakness of the melancholic man, that he is always contemplating himself; the operations of his own mind, the real, or more probably, the imaginary woes of his own life. The sanguineous man is happy in his fickleness; the bilious enjoys himself in the stir of action; the phlegmatic is content, if he is but left alone to repose undisturbed; the melancholic is quite satisfied only when discoursing, or musing on himself and his sufferings. So far he is liable to the charge of vanity; but no further. He does not form too high an estimate of himself; self-conceit is the foible of the sanguineous; they and they only are spoilt by adulation. Love is the ruling passion of the sanguineous; ambition of the bilious; the melancholy man is haunted by a longing for glory. This gives an impulse to his patriotism; this employs his imagination and leads him to beautiful designs; this prompts him to enter on the career of letters; this not unfrequently drives him with irresistible power to nightly vigils and immoderate toil. This called Rousseau from obscurity to be the admiration of Europe, and placed Tasso among the immortal. The melancholic man is timid, and puts no confidence in himself. His own judgment is never satisfied with what he performs, though of all men he can least brook the censures of others; and exhibits the apparent contradiction of relying most obstinately on a judgment which he himself distrusts. This distrust of himself, says Cabanis,* injures the perfection and utility

* Cabanis' *Rapports du Physique et du Moral de l'Homme*, i. p. 45.

of his labours. But is not this remark without foundation? Does not this doubting make him anxious to finish his productions in the most careful manner? To what else do we owe the perfect grace and harmony of Virgil; the close and impassioned reasonings of Rousseau?

If the melancholic man errs in his practical judgment of men, he at least studies the principles according to which they act, and carefully analyzes their motives and passions. He understands the internal operations of their minds, even while he is unsuccessful in his direct attempts at influencing them. He is himself capable of a high and continued enthusiasm. He is gifted with affections, which may be refined and elevated; he can feel admiration for all that is beautiful and virtuous among men; can pay homage to the fine arts; or be admitted to enjoy the serious pleasures afforded by philosophy and poetry. He has no talent for light humour and pleasantry; but he excels in bitter retorts and severity of satire. He is subject to ecstasies of pleasure no less than of pain; and the former become him less than the latter. He possesses the virtue of patience in the most eminent degree. Nothing can fatigue or subdue him. Disappointments do not weary him; nor can he be baffled by delay.

Shall we give examples of this temperament? The history of literature and the arts is full of them; on the history of the world also, the melancholic class has frequently exercised a wide and lasting influence. The most eloquent of modern philosophers, the gifted child of Geneva, the outcast of fortune, offers an example. How brilliant is his imagination! What timidity marks his character in smaller affairs! What dauntless courage animated him, when he published truths in defiance of the Roman church and the vengeance of despots! What a power also was exercised over him by beauty! How willingly he offers his *Eloise* in manuscript, on gilt-edged paper, neatly sewed with ribbands, to his accomplished patroness! What ignorance of the world do we find in him, and yet what discriminating delineations of the passions and hearts of men! So long as a love of truth, of liberty, of virtue, shall avail with charity to procure the pardon of vices, resulting from a want of education; so long as splendour of imagination, keen reasoning, a bold avowal of sentiments, eloquent reproofs of fashionable follies and crimes, in a word, the fine thoughts and style of genius, shall be admired, the name and the writings of Rousseau will be respected, and the analysis of his mind explain the temperament which we have just been describing.

In English poetry, Cowley seems to have been of this temperament. Milton, naturally bilious, acquired something of it from age and misfortunes. Why need we cite many names? Not to dwell on the bard of Mantua, do but call to mind the poet of

chivalry and the cross, the sweetest minstrel of his country, or rather of all time, the inimitable Tasso.

There are instances of men devoted to letters. History describes Demosthenes as of a slender form, short breath, therefore we infer, of a narrow chest. His physiognomy has a sombre expression, as we know not only from the busts of him, but from the insolent jests of Æschines. He is represented as of unyielding perseverance; a man, whom neither the factions of the people, nor the clamours of the aristocratic party, nor the gold of Macedonia, could move from the career of disinterested patriotism; a man, who, arriving at early manhood, found a sufficient object for the employment of his life, and remained true to it in danger, in power, in success, in defeat,—at home, on embassies, in exile, and in death. He was an ardent lover of liberty, smitten also with true passion for glory. Moreover, beside his perseverance, he was naturally timid. When he was presented at the court of Philip, he is said to have been embarrassed, and to have shown no proofs of his greatness. When called from the forum to the camp, he was not at once capable of directing the battle. And he was accustomed never to address the Athenians except after careful preparation: yet, on great occasions, he was sometimes raised beyond himself, and if excited and compelled to speak, he did it as it were by inspiration, and with irresistible force. All these things are traits in the moral character of the melancholic temperament.

We think we are abundantly authorized by historical evidence in these remarks on Demosthenes: though, as far as our knowledge extends, he is cited in none of the books of physiology. We venture to name one still greater name, as of this class, and we do it confidently, relying on the portraits of his person and his moral character. It is a man, to whom this country has but recently paid high honours, and who yet merits the highest at our hands. We mean Christopher Columbus, who first unfurled his fortunate sails in these distant regions,

“Ch’ appena seguirà con gli occhi il volo,
La Fama, ch’ ha mille occhi, e mille penne.
Canta ella Alcide, e Bacco, e di te solo,
Basti a i posteri tuoi ch’alquanto accenne:
Che quel poco darà lunga memoria
Di poema dignissima, e d’istoria.”

Thus we see, that persons of the melancholic temperament, possess great means of influencing others, and exercising power over the destinies of mankind. In our account of it, we have purposely avoided mentioning the monstrous crimes, which are described by Cabanis, Richerand, and the rest, as its natural effects. They are not so. Providence has made no temperament morally evil or good. It has exposed each to its own temptations, and facilitated to each the acquisition of virtues. The

rashness of the sanguineous is counteracted by humanity and the softer virtues; the ambitions of the bilious by clear reason and a quick perception of what is just; the weakness of the melancholic by patience and unwearied application. But it must be confessed, that when they become corrupt, their vices may produce very different degrees of horror. The bilious man is never wantonly cruel or wicked. Caesar, in his ambition, finished the ruin of his country's liberties, but his success was not sullied by bloody vengeance. Nero, who was sanguineous, was at first humane, then fickle, then corrupt, and when his innocence was gone, he made men miserable for his amusement. Vengeance is the crime of the melancholic. Witness the proscriptions of Sylla. When the mind of the melancholic man yields itself up to the influence of malignant or degrading passions, he is cold and merciless; his imagination is full of corrupt images; his lusts are unnatural; his breast conceives dark and malignant designs; he becomes indifferent to consequences; he neither respects the happiness of others, nor is awed by the prospect of his own ruin; he is deaf to the voice of humanity, reckless of nature, of God, and of eternity. Tiberius, Domitian, Philip II. of Spain; these are examples,—would there were no more,—that the melancholic temperament may be ruinous to public happiness and virtue. The mind turns gladly from men of such atrocious souls, to the milder virtues and the better genius of Burke or the elder Pitt.

Let the melancholic man, if he values health of body, or peace of mind, never yield to indolence, and shun solitude when his mind begins to view things darkly. His diet should be rich, moderate in quantity, but nutritious. Fasting, or a low fare, gives the passions a tragical power. Light wines may be freely used. In winter, if he will but be often abroad, the cold weather will call off his ideas from his troubles. Sufficient exercise by day, and cheerful company in the evening, will keep him in a good condition. Summer is the dangerous season for him. The solitary admiration of nature confirms all his evils.

“Go, soft enthusiast! quit the cypress groves,
Nor to the rivulet's lonely moanings tune
Your sad complaint. Go, seek the cheerful haunts
Of men, and mingle with the bustling crowd;
Lay schemes for wealth, or power, or fame, the wish
Of nobler minds, and push them night and day.
Or join the caravan in quest of scenes
New to your eyes and shifting every hour.
Beyond the Alps, beyond the Appenines,
Or more adventurous, rush into the field
Where war grows hot; and raging through the sky,
The lofty trumpet swells the maddening soul
And in the hardy camp and toilsome march,
Forget all softer and less manly cares.”

We have finished the enumeration of temperaments, as described by the fathers of medicine. The Greeks recognised but four, considering the athletic only as a modification of the sanguineous. The modern writers form a distinct class of the athletic, and they add another, of which examples doubtless existed among the ancients, and which in modern times embraces no inconsiderable portion of mankind.

The temperament to which we allude is the *nervous*. We cannot readily give a type of its moral character, for a part of its peculiarity is, that it admits of the most various modifications. It is characterized by the predominance of the sensitive part of the system. It is not that the nerves are deranged, or delicate, or weak, as the common phrases are; on the contrary, the action of the nerves is disproportionably powerful; they do their office too effectually.

The nervous temperament is characterized by extreme sensibility. An impression is easily made; the mind is active, volatile, flies hastily from one subject to another, and that not from fickleness, but from a rapidity of associations. It is quick in making combinations of ideas, forms its resolutions suddenly, and the durability of these resolutions depends on another circumstance. If the fibres are effeminate, the character is also fickle; if they are hard, and in man, this usually happens, the character is firm and possessed of decision. In the latter case the *nervous* man is lean and as it were emaciated; his muscles are hard; the eye bright and rapid. His mind is capable of the most various action. He passes from one subject and one feeling to another with facility. He can instantaneously break from deep devotion to give himself up to amusement from sympathy with the sorrows of others to mix in gaiety. He is suited for the most various exercises of the mind. Sometimes he is distinguished for eloquence; but wit and sarcasm, frequent illustrations, abrupt transitions, are more natural to him than careful reasoning or impassioned eloquence. Indeed he is scarcely ever pathetic; but he excels in epigrammatic conceits, in the quick perception of the ludicrous; and in the pointed expression of his ideas. He delights in proverbs, and manufactures new ones. He is commonly eccentric in his ways; and while he is sometimes suspected by the world of levity, he retorts upon it by a cold philosophy, and a "contempt for the malignant vulgar." The people of Neuchâtel dismissed their pastor, because he disbelieved in the eternity of future punishments. The pastor appealed to Frederic, who declined interference. "If," said he, and it was his only and his formal answer, "the people of Neuchâtel insist on being damned for ever, I have no objections." Frederic is the most striking example of the nervous temperament. Voltaire also belongs to it. So too in the North, we have no hes-

situation in classing under it the Russian Suwarrow. In antiquity we think that Socrates belonged to it; to the many he seemed an odd buffoon; but his friends and pupils knew that his mind held glorious converse with the sublimest truths. We further venture the suggestion, that the eccentric apostate, the gifted Julian, belonged to the nervous class. Were we to name two more, they should be the emperor Hadrian of Rome, and his counterpart, the emperor Joseph of Austria.

Where this temperament exists in an intense degree, it becomes a malady. Its remedy is exercise. The balance must be restored between the sensitive and the muscular forces; and this can be effected only by diminishing the action of the mind, and increasing that of the animal nature. Nothing else can give it rest. Friendship, letters, business, action, all will not avail, or rather will but increase the evil. The labours of agriculture, or any labour abroad, which will gently occupy the thoughts, and at the same time strengthen the body, are of most service. Children of this class suffer from too early attempts to cultivate their minds. Such attempts are immediately followed by great apparent results, but do in fact confirm the natural weakness and misfortune of the individual.

It will be hardly necessary to add, that these temperaments are seldom found unmixed, although one is usually predominant. In general, it may be observed, that the sanguineous prevails in northern countries, the bilious at the south, the phlegmatic in cold and moist marshy countries. In our immediate vicinity, examples of the sanguineous occur more frequently than of any other. A mixture of the sanguineous and the bilious is very common, and forms the temperament best suited for the faithful and tranquil discharge of private duties. The melancholic is also not rare; the nervous is uncommon, except in the other sex; there are not decided cases enough of the phlegmatic to bring them into the account.

And which is the best temperament? Each is content with itself. The bilious man thinks no hours worth remembering, except those which have been past in the midst of ambitious toil. But do you think, that the sanguineous will desert his pleasant fireside, abandon his cheerfulness, renounce his fickleness, restrain the wanderings of his affections, for all the boasted superiority of the bilious temperament? Or that the melancholic man, in love with himself and his mournful humour, desires a change in his constitution? Or that the phlegmatic indolence, which cares not whether the world was made for Cæsar or no, would wish to part with its indifference, and figure in the career of public honours? Providence has been merciful and benevolent to each. The best temperament, the *beau idéal*, is compounded of all the rest, and we will call it the tempered temperament. In this the

happiest proportion of the elements is observed, and they are so mixed, that nature may be proud of her production. This model of perfection may have never existed: many of the wise and good, who have been the benefactors of mankind, have approached near to it; our own Washington nearest of all.

We have now explained the six classes, into which all physical peculiarities and the corresponding moral ones may be resolved. It no longer remains difficult to show, how men differ from one another in the manner in which we have stated. That a peculiar temperament distinguishes a nation, no one who will consult history, or look through the world, at the Turks, the Dutch, the Spaniards, can deny. That in families the same defects and advantages of original organization are transmitted, is quite as obvious. The differences between individuals are as apparent as between the races.

It is when the difference between man in one age and another is observed, that physiologists* find reason to believe it possible to effect great changes and improvements in his condition. When these ingenious observers are admitted to the councils of education, the most brilliant prospects are opened for the amelioration of the human race, and the happiness, health, and virtue of future generations. The companions of man's existence, his dogs and his horses, have already seen the epoch of regeneration; it does but remain for him now to try upon himself, what he has so successfully attempted upon others, to review, says the illustrious Cabanis, who for the most part, uses words considerably, to review and correct the work of nature. "A daring enterprise" he may well add. In that happy age, which the physiologists are to prepare, the inequalities of temperaments are to be removed, and a mixture of the elements in the happiest proportions, is to form a healthful body, the dwelling and the instrument of a healthful mind. There will then be no more of atrabilious frenzy; no more of athletic dulness; the phlegmatic are to exchange their inertness for the livelier exercise of their bodies and the cheering efforts of imagination; and the sanguineous to be metamorphosed from frivolity to fixedness, from inattention and indecision to steadfastness of character and firmness of principle. There is still to be an infinite variety of character, resulting chiefly from the influence of the world; of climate, age, regimen, and pursuits; but there is to be no more excess. Goodness is to be engrafted on every member of the human race. There is to be no more sorrowing for ideal suffering; the compressed lungs of the melancholy are to find relief and freedom; their

* Cabanis, vol. i. p. 405. These views are not new. Plato's Republic contains a similar project for the improvement of the human race. His plan is liable to no decided objection, but that it is impracticable.

sombre features to kindle with habitual cheerfulness. And then this blessed age of our late posterity, is to wonder at the present; and to read with astonishment, that the science of physiology and the kindred studies have had no more influence on the systems of education in an age which boasts, and in many respects may justly boast, of its enlightened condition.

With the best wishes for this improved race of man, which future centuries may behold, we turn to the world around us, where the thousand inadvertencies, follies, or excesses of men, continue to make them heirs to a thousand evils, and where those concerned in education, instead of receiving of physiology the improved species, must bear with the faulty productions of nature, and make the most of such imperfect materials. Enough, we believe, has been said to show, that the care and culture of the body deserve to be methodically pursued in connexion with moral education. The great design of all efforts is, to bring the body and the mind into that condition, which shall most successfully promote the health, just action, and harmonious co-operation of both, for the real happiness of the individual. We never shall be able to explain their mysterious union; we may do much to make that union a happy and a useful one.

ART. VIII.—*View of the United States, Historical, Geographical, and Statistical; exhibiting, in a convenient form, the Natural and Artificial Features of the several States, and embracing those leading branches of History and Statistics best adapted to develop the present Condition of the North American Union. Illustrated with Maps, &c.* By WILLIAM DABBY. 18mo. Philadelphia: H. S. Tanner: 1828.

THIS is the age of exact science, and development in the arts. The last few years have defined more than the eighteen centuries of our era. All those capital improvements of which Europe and America boast, date within forty years. "Old things are laid aside, and every thing has become new." Old books grow mouldy upon the shelves of the curious; they have yielded to that potent spirit, which estimates books for their practical teachings only. Our presses no longer labour for the few; they usher forth to the multitude. Learning is no longer the recluse, dwelling in cloisters, and sneering at the occupations of society. Our age has hailed the happy affiliation of the arts and sciences. Every science now is made to subserve some art; and valued exactly in proportion to its usefulness. This happy union characterize

our era; and has developed those great agents in power and mechanics, whose action, with the certainty of intelligence, seems to perform all the duties of the social economy.

Chemistry applied to the arts, the philosophy of mechanics, and physical science, constitute that fulcrum which the ancient philosopher so much wanted; they support the great lever of action that is moving the moral and physical world. Steam power, labour-saving machinery, with all their concomitant inventions, enable us to subsidize nature herself, and to go forth that real lord and master, so proudly promised in Holy Writ.

The physical sciences have entered our schools, and opened to us the great roll of nature, at whose readings the speculations of the old school have fled: all the clouds of mysticism have dispersed and left our horizon bright and extended. These sciences give an exactness to the mind that fits it for practical pursuits. We enter upon our duties with clear vision—we follow the plain laws of nature—reason upon every thing—analyse every thing. We take nothing on authority—nothing on faith. We apply nature's standard to all the arts, and her principles to all our operations.

Thus we are enabled to improve and extend every department of our domestic economy. We have given to agriculture a redoubled capacity to support our race; we have almost created new fruits and new animals, by enlightened practice. We have so much facilitated manufactures, by labour-saving machinery, that they reach after new worlds for a mart. We have accelerated intercourse by steamers, canals, and rail-roads, until time and space are almost nothing. We have elaborated our earths, salts, and minerals, into all the shapes that comfort, health, and luxury can desire. We have decomposed every substance, extracted every essence, and figured every object.

In this condition of science, when its true connexion with nature is every where recognised, its subserviency to the arts generally felt, and its amelioration of the human condition so highly appreciated, it was to be expected that physical geography and the political state of man would receive the attention due to their importance. Those philosophers and naturalists who claim the whole globe for a patrimony, and all mankind for readers, now regard with deep interest, the prominent and varied features of our earth. They are no longer content with lines of latitude, plano-delineations, and common-place descriptions; they look to the great features of each continent, and of each country. They now cast countries into mountain ranges, plateaux, slopes, and basins, and calculate the influence which these features have upon climate and productions, as well as the health and habits of the human race; they note the Alpine character of the plants and animals; the capacity of the plateaux, and the de-

leterious qualities of the basins. These naturalists stop not at the surface, they penetrate the substrata; examine those *carrières* of rock that upbear the mountains, spread out the plains, and give character to the streams and basins, and estimate the capacity of each formation to support the vegetable and afford mineral productions. They have established the mineral associations with each formation, and point the miner to his treasure. The Guthries, the Pinkertons, the Morses, with their commonplace descriptions and quaint divisions, are no longer satisfactory. We look to the bolder sketches of a Humboldt; to the more discriminating and better defined views of later investigations.

Europe has done much to develop her physical geography. In her last daughts, she preserves all the fixed features of her continent, and pays to them the proper homage. She considers the bearings of her mountains, and is studying their effect upon her climate and capacities. She does not smooth down her eminences to unmeaning plains. She has, with instruments having an accuracy unknown to former ages, established the astronomical position of all her important places. She has triangled her elevated points in England, France, Germany, and the regions of the Baltic, and ascertained their real heights and distances. By air lines, she has calculated the length of a degree of latitude in every parallel, from the Pyrenees to Lapland, and at this time, all surveys in Europe present each country in its true garb of mountains, slopes, and basins. France is now engaged in carrying lines parallel with the horizon, around all her basins and mountains. These lines rise in regular steps of ten toises from the lowest to the highest levels, and exhibit by their convergence or divergence at regular distances, the gentleness or abruptness of the slopes. Such surveys show the military capacity of the country for offensive or defensive operations; the practicability of extending roads, canals, and lines of intercommunication; and with what facility the resources of one basin may, on any emergency, be thrown into another, either to aid its defence or supply its wants, when an enemy or scarcity threatens. These surveys present the fine perspective of a country, thrown into vertical sections or profile views.

Many departments of science directed by government-patronage or individual enterprise, meet in the common field of physical geography in Europe, and jointly labour to define and give value to it. The common geographer presents his charts and descriptions: the astronomer, his parallels, fixed points, and meridians: the naturalist, his phenomena, plants, animals, and curiosities: the geognostic indicates the formations of rock and their mineral associations: the chemist, the character of soils and substrata: the mathematician, his triangulations and points: the engineer, his lines of defence, elevations, defiles, and plains: the

civil engineer, his vertical sections and communications: the scientific observer, his ranges of the thermometer, the course of the winds, and the nature of the climate: the agriculturist, the capacity of the plains and basins to subsist a population. All these departments of science bring in their well-defined documentary facts, and make up that vast budget which constitutes physical geography.

But when we quit Europe, with its limited plains and narrow valleys, and approach this new world, our field enlarges and our vision expands. Plains open to our view as boundless as the ocean; mountains that look down upon the clouds; and slopes that cover four thousand miles in extent, with rivers co-extensive, which seem to defy the known curvatures of the globe. We see Alpine plains extensive enough to be the seat of republics, rising in the tropical regions. Nature here limns upon her large scale; all her figures are colossal, all her features bold and strongly marked.

We leave South America and the Mexican table, and approach these United States: although the Cordilleras have sunk into more moderate dimensions, they are still extended, and the plains, valleys, and slopes, as large and as well defined. Europe asks of us, what is the character of our great plains and long line of mountains? What are the climate, soil, and productions of this goodly patrimony? What its capacity to support our race? Wherein is it better, or in what respect does it differ from the well known corresponding latitudes in the old world? And what has been done in these states to illustrate the real nature of our physical geography? We answer, that Darby's *View of the United States* has done much, and will go far to satisfy these anxious inquiries and just requisitions of Europe. Mr. Darby has presented to us in a condensed shape, a complete view of the physical geography of this country, no where else to be found. He has opened the budget of geographical, statistical, and documentary facts, which have been accumulating for years, and digested them into order. Our country, with its strongly marked features, stands in relief by the perspective of Mr. Darby; his sketch is not that of a Chinese, without light and shade; he presents us in our mountains and plains, our valleys and slopes.

Before we enter more particularly into the plan and merits of this work, it will be an interesting inquiry, to ascertain and enumerate the kind of information which aided Mr. Darby in his Work, and formed the basis of his work.

In this country as well as in Europe, many departments of science, acting under the authority of the local and federal governments, and much individual enterprise, have been employed, to elucidate our physical geography. The local governments, like primary schools, have given the rudiments. The

states are sovereign within their limits, for all purposes of police and improvement. They present us accurate charts and maps of their respective territories, and are engaged in the construction of roads and canals, which oblige them to survey with science, and sketch with nicety profile views of their territory. In addition to this, the governor of each state makes up annually, and reports to the legislature, a very interesting mass of facts, declaratory of the finances, population, improvements, literature, health and agriculture of the state over which he presides. These reports are filed in the office of state, are accessible to all, and furnish facts very necessary to a full and perfect description of our geography. The federal government, however, has done infinitely more in this way. By the cessions of the different states, and by the purchase of Louisiana and Florida, it became possessed of the great valley of the Mississippi and the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, of which national domain Congress has organized 400,000 square miles into the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, and the territories of Florida, Arkansas, Michigan, and Huron; and three times as much more remain unorganized. The direction of these lands has been thrown into a bureau of the government, called the land department; and with much science, under the superintendence of the late Josiah Meigs, one of our best mathematicians, they have been surveyed into sections of a mile square, founded upon a series of true meridians. There we see a minuteness of survey which puts older countries to the blush, extended over an area as large as all Europe, and developing its geographical features, its natural history, and its mineral and agricultural resources, in all the richness of detail and certainty of mathematics. This bureau of the federal government is invaluable to the physical geographer.

The portions of this national domain not yet embraced by these minute surveys, including the Rocky mountains, the Pacific slope, and the great plains of Missouri, have been partly explored by scientific and competent officers and naturalists, sent out under the orders of the government. Captains Lewis and Clark explored the Missouri river, the region of the Rocky mountains, and the Columbia river of the Pacific slope; an extent of country within the temperate latitudes, never before examined by one expedition. Our squadron in the Pacific has examined the coasts of that ocean. Captain Pike explored the Arkansas and Red rivers; Dr. Hunter and William Dunbar, the Washita river; Major Long, the heads of the Mississippi, the St. Peters, Platte, base of the Rocky mountains, and the Arkansas river; Governor Cass and Mr. M'Kenny, the north-western lakes and their connexion with the Mississippi; Mr. Schoolcraft and Lieutenant Thomas, the lead district of Missouri and Illinois.

.. These parties were aided by astronomical and other suitable

instruments, and accompanied by Mr. Peale and Dr. James as naturalists, Mr. Orde ornithologist, Dr. Say entomologist, Mr. Keating chemist and mineralogist, Dr. Baldwin botanist, Professor Douglass mathematician, and Mr. Seymour designer. They fixed the latitudes and distances of many points, and returned rich in rare collections and scientific sketches of the country explored. These expeditions have thrown much light upon our physical geography, and are creditable to the nation. The Federal government, in aid of its marine, and to further and facilitate commercial operations, has surveyed and rendered charts of our long line of sea-coast, with its inflections, harbours, and soundings; and with instruments of the nicest construction fixed the meridian of Washington city as a base, with respect to Greenwich and Paris, and those of many of our cities. Its military engineers have made recognisance of all our harbours, our exposed points and elevations on the sea-coast and the Canada line, with reference to our defences, and have extended around many of them, lines, parallel to the horizon, in grades of ten or twenty feet rise; and at regular distances, marked the convergence or divergence of these lines to fix the exact elevation and nature of the slope. Several corps of topographical and civil engineers have, for the last four or five years, been employed by the Federal government to ascertain the practicability of connecting the Atlantic slope with the great central or Mississippi valley, and the Gulf of Mexico with the northern lakes, by rail roads and canals. These surveys have presented ten vertical sections of the country, from the Atlantic coast to the waters of the Mississippi, between New-England and Alabama, embracing in as many points the Alleghany mountains. These engineers have examined almost every basin, crossed almost every summit and plain in the United States, and present the most interesting results and finest perspective of the country to the lovers of physical geography. Mr. Darby has availed himself of these highly important views, and has not only given the results, but about twenty tabular statements, filled with the detail of their elevations and distances.

The labours of the Federal government do not stop here; it has, throughout the entire cordon of our military posts, from the Gulf of Mexico to the northern lakes, along our whole sea coast, and at Washington city, and also at its offices for the sale of lands through the Mississippi valley, amounting to nearly one hundred different points, ordered ranges of the thermometer, weather-gauges, and the courses of the winds, to be duly noted and registered, by the officers and commandants at those points; and to be reported regularly to the bureaus of the government. This budget is extremely interesting, and has done much in determining our climate and seasons. It shows the relative heat and moisture of the Atlantic slope and Mississippi valley. Mr.

Darby has extracted its essence, exhibited the results, and given many tabular statements of the detail.

Individuals of science and enterprise have added to the mass of facts already enumerated. The geology and mineralogy of these states, have been presented by M'Clure's general work on this subject—Eaton's Geology of the western part of New-York—Silliman's geological sketches of a great part of New-England—Dr. Mitchell's account of the North river and Long-Island—Troost's and Lea's neighbourhood of Philadelphia—Keating, Flint, and Schoolcraft, on the valley of the Mississippi—Hayden, Dr. Morton, and professor Vanuxem on the tertiary and sandy region of our sea coast—Dr. James and major Long on the Rocky mountains and sand plains of the upper Missouri and Arkansas, and professor Cleveland's excellent work on our mineralogy. Our botany is minutely and ably exposed: our general botany by Nuttall, Rush, Frazier, Lyons, Bradbury, Bartram, and others: our medical botany by Bigelow and Barton—our southern plants by Elliot—our northern plants by Torrey—our sylvæ by Michaux, and our funguses and mosses by Swinitz. Our ornithology stands beautifully figured, and ably described, by Wilson, Orde, and Charles Buonaparte. Dr. Say, Mr. Lesueur, and Mr. Lea, have collected and described our entomology, fish, and shells; Drs. Godman and Harlan have set forth our natural history—Harlan, Morton, Fitch, Vanuxem, and Bigsby have examined our fossils. Dr. Pickering is investigating the Alpine character and geographical ranges of our animals and plants. Pierce, Cist, Griscom, and M'Clure, have exhibited the anthracite region of Pennsylvania. The cadets at West Point, and of captain Partridge's academy, have triangulated most of the mountains and elevations in New-England, and on the North river, and ascertained their heights and distances; and H. S. Tanner's very able and scientific maps and atlases leave nothing to be supplied in the complete delineations of the country.

The above mentioned, is the ample and rich collection whence Mr. Darby derived his authentic facts, and which enabled him to adduce so many interesting results.

But if our physical geography excited so much interest in Europe, it was to be expected that our political condition would awaken an interest still more intense. The improvements of this age are not confined to the arts and sciences; they consist not alone in chemical developments, labour-saving machinery, and facility of communications; they reach the moral and political state of man. An enlightened spirit is abroad among the people. The dry bones are quickened; the inert mass begins to move; the people feel and assert their importance; their spirit is in the schools and the cabinet; it enters the very palaces of the *Belshazzars*, and writes alarming admonitions on the wall.

The still small voice of popular rights is heard in every legislative hall in Europe; and when a government is under the influence of public opinion, all is safe; names then are unimportant, and forms go for nothing. Call the head of such a government president, king, dictator—they are all the same, no matter whether set up by the popular franchise, or family prescription; they are the servants of the people, and the virtual representatives of that public opinion, which reaches them all, and to which all must bow. This spirit leaves the kings upon their thrones, because it is necessary to the good order of society. It compromises with privilege, because its eradication would convulse the body politic. Popular rights are the common *lares*.

The aristocratic and liberal parties of Europe, look with deep interest, but very different feelings, to these United States. The aristocracy of Europe would derive strength from our dissolution. They would call ours the last experiment upon popular government, and proclaim its failure conclusive of the want of capacity in man to govern himself. The liberal party lean upon our example, draw from the permanency of our institutions much support to the great cause of civil liberty, and consider the great question of representative and constitutional government solved. The friends of man in Europe anxiously inquire, whether a nation's prosperity is in a proper ratio with the freedom of her institutions? whether our population, our literature, our improvements in the arts, our facility of communication and domestic comforts, keep pace with our civil liberty? Mr. Darby's View answers these questions affirmatively.

He derived his facts illustrative of the political condition of this country, from the following authentic sources: viz., the census rolls of the Federal government, taken with great accuracy and nice discriminations of age, sex, colour, and occupation; Carey & Lea's Atlas of the United States, after the plan of Le Sage; Dr. Seybert's Statistics—Mr. Pitkin's Resources of the United States—Blodget's Tables—the returns of our schools and universities—of our banks and mint—reports on canals, roads, bridges, and public buildings—the histories of the different States; and above all, the legislative measures and annual budgets of the federal and local authorities.

This government of the people can have no secrets; all its acts are overt; all the disbursements, all the estimates, all executive proceedings, the very arcana of diplomacy, are annually unfolded to the sovereign people. Reports on the finances; on commerce; the exports; imports; tonnage; on our fortifications and defences; on our armories; military; marine; foreign relations; products of the seas; forests and agriculture, are annually submitted, examined and published, and become authenticated documents.

So great had grown the mass of facts above enumerated, and

so diffuse in its character, that but few Americans had the courage to encounter it and extract the information necessary to a proper understanding of our real condition. Foreigners did not attempt the task; the detail was bewildering; they possessed no clue to guide them, nor any principles of connexion. Mr. Darby's *View of the United States* is labour-saving to the American, and all that is desirable to the foreigner. It presents us at the tribunal of science in Europe, exhibiting our own case, and telling "a round unvarnish'd tale." It is an analysis of our geography and political condition, that rectifies all the theories of her philosophers and refutes all the misrepresentations of her travellers.

Mr. Darby's language and style are in the general adapted to the important and matter-of fact nature of his subject: he conveys his ideas in manly language, without any reaching after ornament. He is occasionally, however, stiff, and somewhat affected in the construction of his sentences; we discover an imitation of Baron Humboldt, in generalizing too much, using compound technical words, in meanings too unlimited; and a tendency to substitute new terms of a more general signification, for those already in use and understood; as "Chippewayan, Appalachian, Ocean river, Cabotia," for Rocky and Alleghany mountains, Gulf-Stream, and British North America. In such a work, however, style becomes a secondary consideration; and if the author's method be good, and his ideas clearly conveyed, we look no further. Mr. Darby's method is novel and philosophical. He throws the country into slopes and valleys, mountains and plains, and deduces our climate from the influence of neighbouring oceans, seas, and lakes; the course of the winds; the elevation of our ranges of mountains; and the nature and extent of our plains. He carries isothermal lines across our continent, and shows their deflections from the operation of the above-named causes. He examines the connexions between our great valleys and plains; their rock formations; agricultural capacities; and mineral resources. Such is the grand outline of his plan in relation to physical geography. We will now consider it more in detail.

Mr. Darby's second chapter is rich in original matter and extended views: it develops his plan.

"The territory of the United States is naturally divided into three great sections; that of the Atlantic slope; that within the great central valley of North America; and thirdly, a slope or inclined plane extending from the Rocky or Chippewayan mountains towards the Pacific ocean.

"The already most thickly inhabited part, and the seat of primitive European colonization, is an elongated, but comparatively narrow slope, falling towards the Atlantic ocean. The second section, flanked South by the Gulf of Mexico, North by the interior sea of Canada, and by a wide sweep spreading from the Appalachian to the Chippewayan mountains, embraces the most important part of the great central valley of the continent. This expanded region is drained in great

part by the innumerable confluent of the Mississippi, but having within its limits an important part of the basin of St. Lawrence or Canadian sea. Beyond the Rocky, or Chippewyan mountains, descends the great basin of Columbia or Oregon."

"In every disquisition upon its geography, the relative position and extent of these great natural divisions ought to be carefully kept in view. Contrasted in their general aspect, separated by natural if not by unpassable boundaries, and each in itself of great extent, the civil and political history of the United States must in all future times be modified by features which no human power can essentially change."

Mr. Darby gives the following bird's-eye view of the Atlantic slope and great central valley, before he enters on the particular description of each. This view is necessary to exhibit the river and mountain systems of those divisions, viz.

"To an eye sufficiently elevated and powers of vision strengthened so as to admit a view of the whole territory of the United States, the perspective would present, on the south-east an immense inflected sea-line, from the mouth of the Sabine to Cape Cod, of 2400 miles, unbroken and unadorned by any of those strong features which give relief to landscape. Approaching the Hudson, far distant hills would be perceived, but still the ocean spray would continue to have a beach of sand and shells. With the Merrimac the monotonous scenery would cease; more indented and now rising into rounded promontories, the ocean border would be seen richly variegated with sheets of water, intervening between isles now smiling in all the luxury of civilized cultivation. Extend the view inland from the Atlantic ocean and Gulf of Mexico, and one vast and very gently rising alluvial plain would seem emerging from the waters, and spreading to the base of the Appalachian mountains. The ocean plain, first an almost undeviating level, would be found imperceptibly broken into hill and dale; the hills first humble in elevation, but approaching the mountains more proudly swelling into that majesty, which gives so imposing an aspect to many of the interior parts of the United States. But to give still more grandeur to this interesting picture, the long and irregular chains and ridges of the Appalachian system, would appear stretching from south-west to north-east, through upwards of 1200 miles. Those chains and ridges, however irregular in their individual physiognomy, would be perceived arranged as a whole, with a symmetry which mocks the efforts of art, and again, exhibiting the peculiar phenomenon of constituting the far highest elevation intervening between the Atlantic ocean and Mississippi basin, without being the dividing ridge between the respective rivers of these two great sections of North America. Impressed with the common but erroneous opinion, that the Appalachian chains and ridges are the superlative of hills, and that the Atlantic slope is terminated by the base of that system, the observer would quickly perceive his error. He would discover that the Appalachian system, so far from constituting a dividing river line, that compared with the real fountain boundary, the mountains ranged obliquely; and would appear in some respects as extraneous to the general structure of that part of the continent; and as having been formed at a different period. The mountains would be seen deflecting their courses, but in no single instance as determining the recipient into which their waters are discharged. The river volumes would appear flowing down the mountain valleys, or bisecting the chains at very nearly right angles. This symmetrical inflection in the courses of the rivers, though apparent on both the Atlantic slope and Mississippi basin, is in a peculiar manner evident in the confluent of Chesapeake bay; the Delaware, Hudson, and Connecticut basins.

"If a perceptible line was drawn on a good map of the United States, an observer of such a diagram, would be placed relatively as would such a one as I have supposed. Such a map would present the mountains as crossing the river line at an angle of about 30°; and what is truly worthy of remark, the river line, from the sources of St. John's of New Brunswick, and Maine, to Florida Point, would appear to obey the inflections of the opposing Atlantic coast. The moun-

tain system, on the contrary, almost touching the ocean on the coasts of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New-York, penetrates, in its range south-west, more and more deeply into the continent, passing over New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama."

"Carrying our view west from the Appalachian chains, a new and variegated landscape opens. The great central valley of North America spreads its widely extended sweep from the Atlantic to the Pacific system of mountains; falling from the Appalachian by a gentle but broken descent to the Mississippi, and again rising beyond that great stream to the base of the Chippewayan. In its fullest extent, the central valley dips into the Gulf of Mexico, south, and mingles with the frozen marshes of the Arctic ocean, north. Of that part embraced in the United States territory, the Canadian sea flanks it on one side, whilst the Gulf of Mexico closes the landscape on the other; from the two bounding mountain systems are poured the thousand streams of the Mississippi and those of its confluent. The relative extent of these great sections which we have noticed will be given in another part of this view. In order to exhibit to the reader a condensed summary of the comparative heights of the two sections, the following tables were constructed."

We regret that the valuable tables referred to above, cannot be inserted without extending this article too far. We however insert one to show their rich detail.

"No. IV.—*Table of the ascents and descents, from tide water in Potomac river at Georgetown, to lake Erie at the town of Cleveland, by route of Potomac, Youghiogany, Monongahela, Ohio, Big Beaver, and Cayahoga rivers.*

Route.	Miles.	Feet.
Georgetown to the great falls, - - - - -	12	143
Harper's ferry, - - - - -	40 52	39 182
Shenandoah falls, - - - - -	5½ 57½	43 22
Cumberland, - - - - -	130½ 188	54½ 537
Mouth of Savage creek, - - - - -	219	446 906
Summit level, - - - - -	233	1503 2486
Mouth of Deep creek into Youghiogany river, -	249	falls 542 2144
Down Youghiogany river to the village of Smyth-		
field on the United States road, - - - - -	22½ 271½	739 1405
Connelsville, - - - - -	37½ 309	507
Mouth of Youghiogany river, - - - - -	349	87 811
Pittsburg, - - - - -	367	11 800
Mouth of Big Beaver river, - - - - -	397	106 694
Up the latter to the foot of the falls, - - - -	1½ 398½	12 706
Head of the falls, - - - - -	2½ 401	44 750
Warren, - - - - -	451	104 854
Summit Level between the sources of Big Beaver		
and Cayahoga rivers, - - - - -	461	53 907
Level of Lake Erie at Cleveland, mouth of Caya-		
hoga river, - - - - -	60 521	falls 342 565

"An adequate attention to these profile tables, will tend to prepare the reader for a more due conception of the great inflections in the surface of the United States. As respects the most prominent feature on the Atlantic side of the continent, the Appalachian system of mountains, we find it rising into masses in central Virginia, to an elevation of about 2500 feet, and in the Peaks of Otter to about 4000 feet above the ocean tides, and falling by a very gradual descent to the sources of the Mohawk, where the highest table land is only 420 feet. The

entire system penetrated by the ocean tides through the Hudson valley, extends in regular chains, and is altogether, perhaps, the most uniform mountain mass of the earth. It is not, as I have already observed, distinguished by any volcanic or other very elevated peaks, and in no one ridge rises to the region of perpetual snow."

Mr. Darby devotes the next three chapters to the minute examination of the Atlantic slope, gives its extent in square miles, and marks its peculiarities. He subdivides it into river-basins, and describes each separately with its connexion.

Instead of extracting paragraphs from these chapters, we will give an epitome of their contents, accompanied with some remarks of our own.

The great Atlantic slope, extends from Florida to New-Brunswick, a distance of 2100 miles in length, and from the summit of the Appalachian mountains to the Atlantic coast, a mean width of one hundred and sixty miles, embracing twenty-six degrees of north latitude. This slope contains 308,600 square miles, and is very distinctly divided into two narrow and elongated sections: First, the primitive slope commencing at the falls of the rivers, from Georgia to New-England, and rising in a real inclined plane to the tops of the Alleghany; and secondly, the diluvial shelf of sand, clad in pine forests, and extending from the falls of the rivers to the Atlantic. This should not be called any part of a slope, for it is a plain, but a few feet above the tides, and very uniform in its level. This shelf of sand, if we extend it to Cape Cod, is upwards of 1500 miles in length, and from Georgia to New-Jersey it averages 120 miles; thence to Nevisink hills 60 miles in width; and from these hills it runs out into the narrow cones of Long Island and Cape Cod.

According to late investigations, a true tertiary formation constitutes the substratum of this sand plain. This tertiary begins at the Nevisink hills of New-Jersey; appears through the lower parts of that state in the marl pits and calcareous earths, filled with shells and animal remains; in the shell formation of the Chesapeake shores of Maryland; the calcareous shell rock of York river, Virginia; the Neuse river, North Carolina; Eutaw springs, South Carolina; and Brice creek, Ogeechee, and Oconee rivers, Georgia. All of this tertiary pan, wherever we penetrate to it, exhibits shells and animal remains of an older association than the diluvial or alluvial formation, which warrant us in pronouncing it to be anterior and distinct. It is, however, very generally covered with a thick coat of sea sand, and the recent alluvial of the many rivers which cross it. North of the Nevisink, this tertiary has no existence; the sands of Long Island and Cape Cod rest directly upon the primitive.

It is a curious geological feature, that the tertiary with its covering of sea sand through Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia,

Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey, should rest immediately upon the primitive, without the intervention of the transition or secondary forms. The coat of sea sand throughout this whole space is sufficiently entire to give the character of sterility to the soil, when compared with our primitive and secondary regions. And where the river basins *do* excavate it, such is the low level of its plain, that the alluvions of these rivers and bays of the sea, do but deform it with swamps and marshes, instead of imparting fertility to its sands. The swamps and marshes thus created, generate annual diseases: bilious and intermittent fevers recur as regularly as the seasons, and render this region scarcely inhabitable, and its population enervated and inefficient. There seems to be no reclamation of these wet and swampy grounds; they lie too low to be relieved by any natural means. This sandy region is a great deformity upon our fine continent, and affects it like a wretched foreground which degrades a picture. It pushes the population away from the comforts and facilities of the sea, and obliges commerce to wind its way up our crooked rivers to meet this population at their falls, where it finds health and terra firma. Our foreign commerce, therefore, sustains much delay, and is burthened with many expenses in encountering the river navigation.

The most prominent features of this sand shelf, are Cape Sable, Cape Hatteras, Long Island, and Cape Cod, with the fine estuaries of the Chesapeake, Delaware, and Pamlico;—the interminable pine forests that clothe it, and the swampy and offensive margins of all its river basins.

The Gulf stream, in our opinion, has had much agency in throwing up this coat of sea sand, and in the formation of our prominent capes. Its powerful eddies, always whirling inwards to the main, must carry and deposit all its accumulated matter; and where this eddy has the strongest action, the coast will protrude into capes and exhibit deflections. The probability is, that Cape Sable, which has no basis but sand and the most recent shell concretions; which for four hundred miles is sunk very near the level of the sea, has been formed by the first great eddy of this ocean river, which is now daily adding to its dimensions, particularly on the gulf side. Its secondary eddies have acted upon the coasts of the Carolinas, Virginia, and Jersey; and encountering the cross currents from the rivers, have protruded our capes and indented the coast into bays. Its last action, which is now more direct, is upon the Newfoundland banks, where, in a few thousand more years, it will upheave a little continent.

The origin of the Gulf stream is no longer questioned, but the volume and extent of it are but little understood. Imagine a river two hundred miles wide, without soundings, running, according to Baron Humboldt, from two to five miles an hour,

with its counter currents and eddies of corresponding extent, sweeping in its course the very bottom of the ocean, and 2000 miles of the coast of South America and Mexico, collecting sea weed and all the wrecks of the ocean, and depositing all this mass of matter upon our coast and the great banks. Let the reader imagine moreover, the vast amount of shell fish and oyster beds nourished by these deposits, and as they perish, mixing their remains with the matter deposited, and he may conceive how rapidly it could form capes, islands, and banks. Were all its deposits collected in one place, it would annually form an island of many miles in extent.

The Gulf stream acts powerfully upon the tides. In the sea of Mexico it seems to take away all their wonted regularity. Their ebb and flow on the coasts of the gulf, particularly about the mouths of the Mississippi and Pensacola bay, depend on these eddies and the course of the winds; they often lose their periods and appear whimsical; but upon the coasts of Maine and New-Brunswick, the stream seems to act in concert with the natural flow of the tides, and by a sort of joint action produces astonishing results. The tides on the coast of Maine rise from twenty to forty feet; and in the bay of Fundy, where this joint action seems to tend, they rise to the surprising height of sixty feet. Such a volume of heated water flowing directly from the tropics, covering, according to Mr. Darby's estimate, fifteen thousand square miles, in the part of the Atlantic ocean near our coast, must act powerfully upon the general temperature of the atmosphere, and generate an undue and factitious degree of heat. According to a very curious and interesting table which Mr. Darby has given us in page 367, the difference of temperature between the air and water within the range of the Gulf stream, between the latitudes of 32° and 41° , the water is found to be from 4° to 10° of Fahrenheit warmer than the air. This long line of heated water, acting constantly upon the superincumbent air, must greatly heat and rarify it, and create a long line of comparative vacuum, for the surrounding air to rush into. This leads to much violence and turmoil in the air of that region; currents and counter-currents will be produced; storms, sudden changes in the direction of the winds, and great extremes in their temperature, will be the consequence. In winter, the long line of vacuum will attract to fill it the chilled and heavy air from the polar regions of Canada, spreading over us as they pass, the severity of the Canadian temperature, and sinking our thermometer, in the central parts of the United States, to 10° or 15° below Zero. Again, when in midsummer the power of the sun has heated the continent, and we look to the neighbouring ocean for cooling breezes, we look in vain, for there too the air is heated to a degree which is in equilibrium with the land, and

cannot act to refresh and cool it. It is under this balance, that our sultry summers oppress and enervate us. We conclude then, that the action of the stream not only contributes to the extremes of heat and cold upon our Atlantic coast, but by the continued struggle arising from this difference of temperature, many and sudden changes are wrought in the air and direction of the winds, which give the character of changeableness and instability to our climate. This very unwelcome neighbour of ours, the Gulf stream, works one more inconvenience. Its counter-currents wage an eternal warfare with our rivers, and throw athwart their mouths, bars of sand and shells, which exclude in most cases large vessels, and render their navigation difficult; hence our best harbours are often disconnected with these rivers, and therefore inconvenient, and less accessible to the products of the interior.

The real Atlantic slope, commencing at the falls of the rivers, and reaching to the summit of the Appalachian ridge, is primitive in its rock formation, except some small basins of secondary occasionally interspersed; and a narrow slip of transition, where it connects with the great secondary region of the west, near the summit of the mountains. This is the real hill and dale region of the United States; its gentle swells and picturesque hills form the fine rural scenery of our country, equally favourable to health and agriculture. Here is seated our best and most comfortable population; our country's pride and support. This region is all arable, and either fertile naturally, or susceptible of agricultural improvements. The portion of its soil formed by the decomposition of the trap or horublend rock, the limestone, old red sandstone, and some of the slates, is naturally very fertile; but the soil formed by the disintegration of the granite, and the scaling of the micacious and magnesian rocks, is comparatively poor, and too silicious or absorbent in its character to favour agriculture, without much art in its preparation. Its capacity however to support a population, is quite equal to that of any portion of Europe of the same extent.

The mineral resources of the slope are rich and varied. Iron ore abounds throughout its whole extent. Gold is found in considerable quantity over a space of two hundred miles square, in North and South Carolina, embracing the waters of the Yadkin, Catawba, and Broad rivers. From the best estimates, nearly the amount of half a million dollars has been collected, if we include the portion consumed in the arts. Most of this has been procured in the sand of the streams, or the gravelly hills near to them: but in three or four places it has been found in regular quarries, embedded in a quartz matrix; the largest lump weighed twenty-eight pounds avoirdupois. Lead appears in many places, and mines are opened in Pennsylvania, upon the Perkiomen; South-

ampton, Massachusetts; and Eaton, New-Hampshire. Zinc appears in mountain masses in Sussex county, New-Jersey. Copper mines have been opened in three places; in Bergen and Somerset counties, New-Jersey; and Montgomery county, Pennsylvania; and encouraging symptoms of this valuable mineral appear on a line of two hundred miles, commencing in Bergen, New-Jersey, and running on through Essex, Morris, Somerset, and Hunterdon counties of that state; and Bucks and Montgomery counties, Pennsylvania: and no doubt but a little more time and enterprise will develop it in an unlimited degree.

The coal region of Pennsylvania is literally inexhaustible. The finest anthracite exists in mountain masses. It is directly accessible: lies in most cases above ground, and requires no sinking of shafts one thousand yards; and there are no choke damp or gaseous explosions to be encountered in reaching it. It is hewn from the hills, and drifted by a system of canals just finished, to our large cities; and is becoming already an article of export, and a source of wealth to Pennsylvania.

Bituminous coal exists in basins in Virginia and Maryland, and is much in use. Throughout this slope the marbles abound, and present a great variety. The Kaolin clays, the aluminic earths, and other minerals necessary to the arts, are found in innumerable places. This slope may therefore be considered richer in mineral productions, than any part of the United States of equal extent; and contains in its bosom, the seeds of much future advancement in the arts, in agriculture, and commerce. The river system of this slope presents some very curious features: most of them break through the dependant ranges of the great Alleghany ridge, and lay their upper branches along the fine intervening valleys. After they bear down these great outer barriers, and issue upon the plains below, they run not off at right angles to the ocean, but deflect to an angle of forty-five degrees with the coast, southwardly, and observe a parallelism with one another. The Hudson, the Delaware, and Susquehanna particularly, are thus grouped: some great natural agent seems to have acted powerfully upon them, and given them this unusual deflection. The mountains seem to have been shaped to the rivers, instead of originating them.

Some of our rivers are not content with breaking down the dependent ridges, particularly the Hudson and Susquehanna; these have torn away the very Alleghany to its base, thrust their proud heads through its spoils, and now rest them upon the plain of the great western valley. So deeply has the Hudson pierced this giant, that she carries the very tides of the ocean through its base, and opens one of the most easy and valuable communications with the western valley.

Connected with this slope is the Alleghany system of our

mountains. This system observes a line of near 2000 miles, and a general parallelism with the sea coast. It is made up, however, of two very distinct ranges of mountains, which interlock their spurs about the heads of the Susquehanna river, in Pennsylvania, and by mere coincidence form upon the same line. The northern is the real granite or primitive range, occupying New-England, and the shores of the Hudson, in New-York. It has all the characteristics of a primitive mountain; its irregular forms, picturesque summits, and weather-worn sides covered with its own debris. Primitive mountains, every where, are irregular, and never admit parallel ridges with their intervening valleys: all their minor ridges are mere spurs of a common nucleus. The southern part of this range, called properly the Alleghany mountains, is generally secondary in its formation, and puts on a symmetry unusual and quite original. It consists of about six ridges, which run in parallel lines, observing great courtesy in their inflections and evenness of outline for a distance of 1200 miles, with their fertile intervening valleys.

These mountains seem to have been formed by some ocean currents, that rolled on through a series of ages, until they excavated the deep valleys and relieved their marginal barriers; which, as their currents diminished, became lakes in the very valleys they had scooped out; and after fertilizing them with their deposits, burst the outer barriers or ridges by the weight of accumulated water, precipitated themselves into the neighbouring seas, and left in bold relief this range of mountains. The rupture of the Blue Ridge at Harper's ferry, so eloquently described by Mr. Jefferson, is a strong confirmation of the above theory.

Mr. Darby has given ten vertical sections, crossing these mountains in as many places, from Massachusetts to Georgia, and showing in detail, by tabular views, the exact elevation and the gradual rise from the tides to their summits; and thence their gradual descents into the great central or Mississippi valley. These tables are highly interesting.

It is very remarkable, that neither the primitive nor secondary parts of the Alleghany system of mountains, exhibit any symptoms of volcanic action. They are formed without these violences of nature. The plastic hand of Neptune shaped them; not the angry Pluto.

Mr. Darby has thrown the Atlantic slope into river-basins, and by the rhumbs calculated the superficial extent of each. The results are given in tabular statements, and present a curious and original paper.

We come now to the great central or Mississippi valley. We stand upon the Appalachian range, and looking to the west, we are lost in wonder and amazement at the almost unlimited ex-

tent of this region. At our feet lie the charming valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi; beyond them the naked plains of Missouri, with their native pasturage and herds; and the back ground is finely relieved by the Rocky mountain barrier. On the left, we have the distant line of the Mexican sea, and on the right, this great valley runs on, embosoming the northern lakes, into Canada. The part of this valley in the United States is nearly twice the size of Europe; has twice as much native fertility; and can comfortably support twice the population of that old and cultivated continent. This valley, according to the following table of Mr. Darby, contains 1,099,000 square miles:—

“No. XX.—Table of the extent and geographical position of the respective valleys of the Mississippi basin.

NATURAL SECTIONS.	length.	mean width	area in sq. miles	between latitude		between longitude	
				N.	N.	W.	W
Ohio Valley, - - - -	750	261	196,000	34° 00'	42° 30'	1° 00'	11° 40'
Mississippi Valley, above Ohio, including the minor valley of Illinois, but exclusive of Missouri, - - - - -	650	277	180,000	37 00	48 00	9 00	20 00
Lower Valley, of the Mississippi, including White, Arkansas, and Red, river valleys, -	1,000	200	200,000	29 00	42 00	11 00	30 00
Missouri proper, including Osage, Kansas, Platte rivers, &c. -	1,200	437	523,000	37 00	50 00	13 00	35 00
Total, - - - - -			1,099,000				

The table does not embrace the upper valley of the St. Lawrence, or the portion of the valley of the northern lakes that lies within the United States, which would contain 300,000 square miles. This, added to the table, will show that this vast region contains about 1,400,000 square miles. The great central valley of the United States may be naturally divided into the following very distinctly marked sections, viz. 1st, The western slope of the Alleghany mountains; 2dly, The eastern slope of the Rocky mountains,—these have but little width; 3dly, The sand plains that commence at the foot of the Rocky mountains, are about five hundred miles in width, producing stunted shrubs and prickles; and with but little elevation above the great Mississippi plain, rests upon, and forms the line of its western termi-

nation. 4thly, The great plain of the Mississippi valley, commencing at the foot of the Alleghany mountain: it extends fifteen hundred miles west, to the sand plain; and is limited north by the valley of the northern lakes, and south by the Missouri hills, and a line crossing from them to the Cumberland mountain, and passing, by an inflection, not far from the mouth of the Ohio. This is much the most important division; contains the nucleus of the growing population of the west, and combines most of its fertility. 5thly, The valley of the northern lakes, and St. Lawrence. 6thly, and lastly, The slope of the Gulf of Mexico; this begins near the mouth of the Ohio, and very gently inclines to the Gulf; embracing the delta of that mother of rivers, and the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and parts of Tennessee, Arkansas, Georgia, and Florida.

We will give a short sketch of each of these divisions. The first, or western slope of the Alleghany, is a narrow strip, scarcely one hundred miles in width, embracing some of the western ridges of this suite of mountains, and noted for its sand, rock hills, and its abrupt and broken appearance. It is a depression of the Alleghany to the great western plain, and made up of the debris of its sand-stone formation. This strip is healthy and well relieved; entirely without swamp; but too broken and too sterile to favour agricultural productions. It is underlaid however with inexhaustible strata of the finest bituminous coal; abounds in iron ore, gypsum, salt springs, and heavy forests, which render it an important region of the United States; and when better developed will be rich, and contribute its full proportion to the wealth of the country. Already is much of its iron, salt, and coal, uncovered.

The highest part of this slope is about three thousand feet above the sea, and its western edge not more than eight hundred. In Pennsylvania, it terminates with the Chesnut ridge. In Virginia, its base is washed by the Ohio river; and through Kentucky and Tennessee is limited by the Cumberland mountain.

Secondly, The eastern slope of the Rocky mountains: these mountains rise to a height of ten thousand feet, where they base themselves upon the Mexican table; but their general elevation within the territory of the United States, is not more than five or six thousand feet above the sea. Dr. James says their construction is primitive; and that they rise very abruptly from the neighbouring plain. The eastern slope therefore cannot exceed one hundred miles in width, and is elongated into a strip, that lies quite across our territory. We know nothing of its mineral resources; but all agree that it is comparatively sterile, deeply covered with the fragments of this primitive range, and but little suited to agricultural purposes. The mountain range however, that forms its base, is sufficiently elevated to arrest the

winds and vapours of the Pacific ocean, and throw them back upon the western slope.

Thirdly, The sand plain in which the above-mentioned slope terminates, with a width of five hundred miles, embracing the upper parts of the Missouri, Yellow Stone, Platte, Arkansas, and Red rivers: it seems formed by the decomposition of some sand-stone pan, and must be considered secondary in its formation; of all our territory, this is the least susceptible of agricultural improvement. It is but a few hundred feet above the great central plain, or Mississippi valley; is covered with such shrubs and prickles as are the constant attendants of sterility and drought; and without moisture enough to impart fertility to its silicious soil. Such is the droughty character of its substratum, that in midsummer all the water disappears from the surface; and the very rivers which flow into it from the Rocky mountains, often present the singular phenomenon of flush running streams; but of which, as soon as they enter this region, the water is lost by evaporation and absorption, leaving their beds almost dry. And they appear full of running water again, after they pass it. No annual plant can thrive here; time however may prove it to be the favourite region of some permanent culture that dislikes moisture; it may become the vineyard of the United States. From the account of major Long and others, it appears to possess a very peculiar climate, not only dry, but very mild and uniform in its temperature. The Rocky mountains arrest all the vapours of the Pacific ocean; and the north-west winds of the arctic regions of Canada, in their prevailing course towards the south-east, leave unvisited an immense triangular space, formed by the line of these winds, the base of the Rocky mountains, and New-Mexico. Hence, no northern winds frequent that space, either to draw over it refreshing vapours, or their freezing temperature. All the accounts of New-Mexico, Chihuahua, and Texas, go to confirm this hypothesis; countries remarkable for their dry and peculiar climate.

The great plain of the central or Mississippi valley now claims our attention. It extends from the western slope of the Alleghany, to the sand plain region that we have just described; a distance of about fifteen hundred miles; and from the valley of the northern lakes, to the mouth of the Ohio, a distance of six hundred miles in width. This is the most valuable region of the United States; uniformly fertile, and the seat of our western population. It embraces the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Michigan; and a region about five hundred miles in width, lying west of these states and organized territories. No part of the globe presents such an extent of uniform fertility. It is literally all arable; there are no sterile plains; no rocky or

precipitous ridges, and scarcely any swamps, to deform its fair surface. This uninterrupted fertility arises from the decomposition of the great limestone pan upon which it rests.

This region, although crossed by the large rivers Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, and their branches, is really not a valley, but a plain. The difference in elevation over its whole surface is only a few feet. Actual surveys tell us that such is the fact. The north-east corner of this plain, near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, lies about eight hundred feet above the tides: the plains of Kentucky and West Tennessee are about the same height; at the mouth of the Ohio, but little different; and as we go westwardly, up the Missouri or Arkansas, to the sand plains, the same conclusions force themselves upon us. The great and numerous rivers that cross this plain, instead of forming distinct valleys, do but indent narrow lines or grooves into its surface, barely sufficient to contain their floods. These river channels, as the currents roll on, must form a declivity; and towards the lower parts of their courses, sink deeper into the plain; hence the large rivers of Ohio, Missouri, and others, seem bordered with abrupt hills of several hundred feet elevation towards their mouths; but the tops of these hills are the level of the great plain, and are formed by the smaller streams which fall into these large rivers, when their channels are thus worn down; and to give themselves an easy slope, these small streams must wear down in a corresponding manner, the neighbouring part of the plain; and leaving the abrupt points between them, present the appearance of river hills.

The formation of this plain is decidedly secondary, resting upon a horizontal limestone rock, whose thick strata have never been penetrated through, although the auger has pierced it in many different places, in search of salt water, to the depth of four and frequently six hundred feet. This limestone is hard, stratified, imbeds innumerable shells of the *terrebratulæ*, *enerinite*, *orthocerites*, *trilobites productus*, and others; it seems to be older than the *lias* of Europe. This limestone pan is generally but a few feet below the surface, and supports strata of bituminous coal and saline impregnations throughout most of its whole extent. It runs under the Alleghany mountains on the east; the sand plains of the west; rests on the granite ridges of Canada on the north, and is limited by the Cumberland and Ozark mountains on the south. The decomposition of this rock has fertilized this wide region, and its absorbent and cavernous nature prevents swamps and moisture accumulating upon its surface. Without mountains to relieve, or deep valleys to draw off the water, this widely extended region appears dry, clean, and healthful.

In addition to its unlimited agricultural capacity, this great

plain abounds in mineral resources; its coal field would cover half of Europe, and is 1500 by 600 miles in extent. We enter upon this bituminous coal in Pennsylvania, on the western waters of Susquehanna, and travel upon it through Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and to the very sand plains of the west; a distance of more than 1500 miles; and from the Cumberland mountains in Kentucky and Tennessee, to the plains of Arkansas, a distance of 600 miles. This coal is pure, lies above the river channels, and to quarry it costs about twenty cents a ton. Iron ore abounds generally, but in Missouri there is a mass of this ore forming a hill of 500 feet in height and five miles in extent, which yields seventy-five per cent. of fine malleable iron. The lead districts of Missouri and Illinois, would cover 200 miles square, and seem to be the richest region of that metal on earth. 12,000,000 pounds were smelted in the year 1828, and it is confidently expected to furnish 20,000,000 for market in the year 1829. Salt water is found over the whole extent of this region; yielding from one-eighth to one-twelfth of its weight in pure muriate of soda. This salt water in many places breaks out in the shape of springs and fountains; but more frequently the inhabitants bore to the depth of from 300 to 600 feet into solid rock, and when they strike the veins, it generally rises to the surface; and so general is the distribution of this indispensable article, that no doubt exists of its meeting the wants of the population in all stages. Gypsum and saltpetre are found in abundance, and most of the clays and earths useful in the arts. Here, indeed, will "every rood support its man;" for of such a region, without barren, heath, mountain, waste, or slope, and where all is fertile and healthful; where no timber lands need be left for fuel; with mineral resources enough to stimulate all the arts and contribute to all wants;—who can say what is the limit of its future population? Europe could seat all her nations comfortably upon this plain.

The monotony of the mighty tract is broken by the long sweep of beautiful prairies, with their rich pasturage, which skirt its western side, and sometimes intrude themselves to the very valley of the Ohio. The wide oceanic views, the long-drawn vistas, and rich variety of meadow and wood, the happy blending of the massy forests with the luxuriant pasturage, the waving lines of narrow wood which mark the courses of the streams, give to its western part an original richness of landscape infinitely more interesting than the confined workings of art, and excite more pleasing associations than the bolder and more rough views of mountain scenery.

The origin of these prairies has occasioned much theory: it is to our mind very simple; they are caused by the Indian custom of annually burning the leaves and grass in autumn, which prevents the growth of any young trees. Time thus will

form prairies; for, some of the old trees annually perishing, and there being no undergrowth to supply their place, they become thinner every year; and as they diminish, they shade the grass less, which therefore grows more luxuriantly, and where a strong wind carries a fire through dried grass and leaves which cover the earth with combustible matter several feet deep, the volume of flame destroys all before it; the very animals cannot escape. We have seen it inwrap the forest upon which it was precipitated, and destroy whole acres of trees. After a beginning, the circle widens every year until prairies open as boundless as the ocean. Young growth follows the American settlement, since the settler keeps off those annual burnings. Another proof of our theory is, that prairies are all upon rich rolling and comparatively dry soil, where much vegetable matter would accumulate to raise the flame, and but little moisture to counteract it.

This interminable limestone pan of the west abounds in caverns, some of which have an extent that mocks belief. One called the Mammoth cave, in Warren county, Kentucky, has been explored by gentlemen of science for the astonishing distance of ten miles, without finding the end. It is a subterranean water-course, deserted by its stream. There are hundreds of caves of very large and curious dimensions throughout this region. They are in general strongly impregnated with nitrous earth, out of which any quantity of saltpetre can be made. Throughout this section, particularly in the plains of the Ohio, recur continually ancient works of defence, fortifications, and breastworks, generally associated with sites of villages, and mounds which have served the purposes of cemeteries; and judging from their appearance and the age of the large trees growing upon them, they must be at least five or six centuries old. Many of our scientific observers have pronounced that they are the remains of a people very different from, and much more powerful than the present North American Indians; but from the facial angle of the skulls taken out of these mounds, the shells, amulets, neck-stones, idols, and cooking utensils found in the cemeteries connected with them; from the known habits of our Indians in forming such mounds even at this day, by a sort of annual funeral; and from what Ferdinand de Soto says of the manner the Florida and Mobile Indians entrenched and fortified themselves during his invasion of their territories, we have no doubt of these being the remains of the ancestors of our own Indians. De Soto says the Mobilians set up strong log pickets into circles or squares, having a gateway, and would cast up the earth from within, to the height of several feet, to give themselves the vantage ground in throwing their missiles upon their enemy. Imagine then these pickets of wood rotten and gone, the earth will remain and show the breastwork appearance of these places. Some of the forts include

several acres, and are either circular or square, with gate ways. The mounds are from ten to seventy feet in height, and the largest cover half an acre with their base. It is evident, however, that the Indians who left these remains, were more concentrated and numerous than the tribes we found, and that the Ohio valley was the seat of their operations. The probability is, that after becoming so strong, they fell into factions, and in their wars of extermination, became reduced and insignificant. The very extent of the forts and the size of the cemeteries warrant such a conclusion.

The climate of this great central plain is subject to great extremes, from the fell sweep the north-western winds make in winter. When a column of very cold and heavy air rushes from the Polar regions, sweeping as it goes two thousand miles of flat snowy region, to fill some vacuum in the sea of Mexico, it precipitates itself upon this plain, almost as cold as when it set out. The colds of winter would be much less felt, if a mountain barrier could be thrown across in an east and west direction, between us and these blasts.

We cannot close this long account of the central plain, without stating our thorough conviction, supported by Count Volney and the Abbé Correa, that the whole of this space has been the bed of an inland sea. The uniform and low level, the nature of the rock, and the character of the soil, enforce a belief that water has rested here through many ages, and has by its deposition produced this very uniform rock, and left the materials of this deep soil. The inland sea included the northern lakes, and had for its barriers the Alleghany mountains east; the sand plains of the Rocky mountains west; the granite hills of Canada beyond Lakes Huron and Superior on the north; the granite hills of the Mohawk and St. Lawrence on the north-east; and the Ozark hills and Cumberland mountains of Tennessee, then united, on the south.

The general level of this plain is not more than 800 or 900 feet above the ocean; and to form upon it a shallow sea, its barriers need not be more than 1200 feet above tide. The remains of the barrier about the Mohawk and St. Lawrence rivers, where it was broken through on the east, and also of the Arkansas and Cumberland mountains, where it was broken through on the south, evince that they belonged to mountains quite high enough for this purpose. The first great break was towards the south, in the direction of the Mississippi river; the gap between the Cumberland and Arkansas mountains is wide, say 150 miles; but when we reflect that the volume of water thus discharged was immense; and that this mountain was a frail secondary sand-stone in its construction, it is not surprising that it should have been thus torn away. This breach relieved

most of the vast section we are describing, leaving entire the northern part of the sea, where it was deepest, and which included the northern lakes. These lakes were no doubt, for a long time after the southern breach, united into one, and still formed a considerable sea. The shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie show sufficient indications of this fact. Finally, the eastern breach occurred about the region of the Mohawk and St. Lawrence rivers, which drained that sea, except the deepest pools, which still exist as lakes Superior, Huron, Michigan, Erie, Ontario, and their dependencies. The surface of much of the Mississippi plain, particularly Ohio, Indiana, parts of Illinois, and of the Genessee country of New-York, is scattered over with granite boulders, some of them weighing one hundred ton, and eight or ten feet in diameter. These belong to a granite formation, which lies north of Huron and Superior, and no doubt were carried by the drifting of the ice into which they had become imbedded, over this wide and shallow sea, and as it dissolved, were thus dropped upon this secondary plain.

The fifth division of the great central or Mississippi plain, is the valley of the northern lakes, which appertains, both as to its situation and rock formation, more to the Mississippi region than to the St. Lawrence, and the discharge of its waters through the latter, may be considered accidental. But little of the great western region is embraced by this valley; because the plain of the Mississippi proper butts near to these lakes. Mr. Darby calculates the extent of them, and gives the following table of their heights above the ocean, and of their depths; viz.

"No. XIII.—*Table of the relative heights of the Lakes Superior, Huron, Michigan, Erie, Ontario, &c.*

	feet
Superior, - - - - -	641
Huron and Michigan, - - - - -	600
Erie, - - - - -	565
Ontario, - - - - -	231
Crooked Lake, in Yates and Steuben counties, New-York, - -	700
Canandaigua Lake, - - - - -	680
Aqueduct at Rochester, - - - - -	499
Seneca Lake, at Geneva, - - - - -	440
Rome level, - - - - -	420
Seneca River, at Montezuma, - - - - -	371
Cayuga Lake, - - - - -	400
Lake Champlain, - - - - -	90½

"The residue of Huron, towards the Michigan coast, sinks to an almost unfathomable depth; 900 or 1000 feet would be a moderate estimate.

"The prodigious depth of the three upper Canadian lakes, is a very interesting phenomenon in physical geography. Though the surface of the two lowest of the three, Michigan and Huron, is 618 feet elevated above the Atlantic surface, their bottoms are nearly, if not altogether, 300 feet below the ocean tides.

"The surface of the Caspian has been determined by actual admeasurement to be 321 feet below that of the Black sea; but the Caspian is shallow, and its bottom, therefore, not greatly depressed below its surface. It is therefore probable that some parts of lakes Michigan or Huron are the deepest chasms on the

continental surface of the earth. This is one of the principal causes of the high transparency of their waters, a circumstance in their natural history, which has excited the admiration of travellers ever since civilized man has traversed their bosoms."

These lakes are noted for their delicate fish, the pure transparency of their water, and the uniform level of their surfaces. They, however, after very wet seasons, have been known to raise their surface two feet higher than ordinarily. The accumulation of water from the rains, and the checked evaporation arising from the clouds and lower temperature that accompany a rainy season, seem for a time to alter the proportions between supply and discharge, and the consequence is an elevation of their surface. The fact is very curious, that the bottoms of these lakes should be so much below the surface of the sea. We discover near them no symptoms of volcanic action, and cannot imagine what great agent should have thus acted upon the solid earth, and so deeply indented its surface. The following quotation from Mr. Darby, proves that the Ontario lake has greatly lowered its bed, and has no doubt been vented by breaking through its eastern barrier, in the direction of the St. Lawrence, viz. —

"Another phenomenon which distinguishes Lake Ontario, is the convincing evidence of an abasement of its surface, afforded by its alluvial shores. Such evidence it may be conceded, however, exists around each of the other great lakes in the St. Lawrence basin, but in no other instance so strongly marked as it is along the margin of Ontario. This evidence goes far beyond the ordinary appearance of either ancient or recent alluvial deposits.

"From near the Genessee river to Lewistown, on the Niagara river, there is a remarkable ridge or elevation of land, running almost the whole distance, which is 80 miles, and in a direction from east to west. Its general altitude above the neighbouring land, is 30 feet, and its width varies considerably; in some places it is not more than 40 yards. *Its elevation above the level of Lake Ontario is, perhaps, 160 feet*, to which it descends by a gradual slope, and its distance from the water is between six and ten miles. There is every reason to believe, that this remarkable ridge was the ancient boundary of this great lake. The gravel with which it is covered, was deposited there by the waters, and the stones every where indicate, by their shape, the abrasion and agitation produced by that element. All along the borders of the western rivers and lakes there are small mounds, or heaps of gravel, of a conical form, erected by the fish for the protection of their spawn. These fish-banks are found at the foot of the ridge, on the side towards the lake; on the opposite side none have been discovered. All rivers and streams which enter the lake from the south, have their mouths affected with sand in a peculiar way, from the prevalence and power of the north-westerly winds. The points of the creeks which pass through the ridge, correspond exactly in appearance with the entrance of the streams into the lake. These facts evince, beyond doubt, that Lake Ontario has receded from this elevated ground; and the cause of this retreat must be ascribed to its having enlarged its former outlets, or to its imprisoned waters (aided probably by an earthquake) forcing a passage down the present bed of the St. Lawrence."

"Wherever I have myself examined the banks, shores, and alluvial plains near any of the lakes, but particularly those adjacent to Ontario, the correctness of Mr. Clinton's conclusions were to me manifest. When the surface of Lake Ontario stood at 170 feet above its actual level, the Falls of Niagara did not exist! Whether this stupendous revolution was effected by sudden or slow change, it is difficult to determine; but it is probable that causes may have combined to pre-

duce great momentary alteration, and before or afterwards, the revolution completed by slow abrasion. It would be an unprofitable, because an unsatisfactory, inquiry, to attempt fixing the time of the *désechement* or more correctly *drainage* of this inland sea."

The formation of the valley of the lakes is a secondary limestone pan, exactly similar in its general appearance, saline impregnations, imbedded shells, and floetz position, to that of the great Mississippi valley, and it was doubtless produced by the same process, and at the same time. Its mineral resources are much the same, except the coal strata, which it seems to want. But it has symptoms of an extensive region of copper;—large masses of this metal, in a virgin state, have been found near Lake Superior. Mr. Schoolcraft tells us, that the ore of this metal is so abundant, that it forms a prominent cape of the lake, and even discolours the water for a great extent.

The salt impregnation of the west seems co-extensive with the limits we have assigned to the great inland sea, and leaves a strong probability that this sea was salt,—and by its long action on the surface, strongly impregnated and filled its porous and cavernous substrata with the naturally heavier salt water, which, confined by the more solid texture of the lower part of the limestone pan, still exists, and now furnishes a supply of that indispensable mineral.

The action of these great northern lakes, upon our climate, must be favourable; they supply moisture to much of the central plain. The winds from the north-west do not bring their vapours all the way from the Pacific or Polar seas; they lose those with which they are at first charged, before they reach the northern part of the Mississippi valley; and, in passing these great watery surfaces, they replenish their exhausted store. Thus recharged, they waft refreshing showers upon this region, and ensure its fertility. In the heats of summer, the cooler temperature of this great volume of water must contribute much to moderate their severity, by acting upon the columns of air passing over or near it; and taking from them a part of their caloric; whilst, in the winter, when snow and ice prevail everywhere, it cannot in any way affect the climate.

The sixth and last division of the great central valley, is the southern slope towards the Gulf of Mexico, extending from the mouth of the Ohio to the Gulf, and from Texas to Georgia; it includes the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and parts of Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, and Arkansas, and is about 600 miles square. This plane has a very easy descent from the mouth of the Ohio, where it is about 500 feet above the sea, to the Gulf, and is very generally fertile. It is indispensable to the wealth and comforts of the United States, because its climate and soil

embrace the rich staples of sugar, cotton, rice, and indigo. The northern part of this slope is secondary in its formation; but much the greatest portion of it is tertiary or alluvial. A singular tertiary region commences in Florida, near Alachua plains, spreads off to the north-west, and includes the Tallahassee and Apalachicola portion of Florida, the south-west corner of Georgia, the whole country of the Alabama, the Tombecbee and Tuscaloosa rivers, and stretches thence across the upper part of the state of Mississippi, to the Mississippi river. This region is about 600 miles long, and widens in Alabama to 150; it is a recent shell limestone, of a soft or friable nature, abounding in animal bones, pectins, ostra, and other shells; much of it is decomposed into rich soil, and the imbedded shells lie scattered over the whole surface. On the Alabama and Tombecbee it appears more massy, and the settlers have bored 300 feet for water without getting through it. The water found in this rock is unhealthful, and very disagreeable to the taste, being strongly impregnated with sulphur and sulphureted hydrogen gas. The rock is whitish, and in many places so soft that it has been hewn, as if it were wood, into square blocks, and out of it houses have been constructed. The soil through this region is generally black and rich, but is of a droughty nature, from the absorbing quality of this rock, which is too near the surface.

The most noted feature however of this great slope, is the wide, devastated and unsightly valley of the Mississippi river. This mother of streams, as its name imports, rolls on surcharged with the floods of a thousand rivers and the drainings of the great central plain, through the widely opened gap of the Cumberland and Arkansas mountains, and in its fell and destructive sweep to the Gulf, spreads its turbid and angry floods over a space fifty miles wide, until it approaches the Gulf, where it opens into a delta 150 miles in width. It seems to condemn the very sea into which it throws itself, pushes back its tides, and instead of a bay, forms prominent capes at its mouth. The whole distance of this wide valley is annually inundated, and at such time exhibits a long sea studded with trees, and defiled with cypress swamps, lagoons, drifted timber, and all the concomitants of disease and irreclaimable waste. After the subsidence of the floods, the river itself dwindles down to three-fourths of a mile, the average width of its low-water channel; and seems lost in its own wide-spread havoc and disorder. Such is the low level of this great swamp, and the sunken character of the river margins, that all agriculture is repelled; and until it has wasted much of its water, and exhausted its force by the numerous outlets of its delta, cultivation cannot approach even its banks; within its delta however, and its neighbourhood, art has secured its margin, and a rich product is the reward.

The soluble character of the alluvions of this river enables its floods to roll themselves at pleasure, from the one side of its wide valley to the other; and it is perpetually changing its bed, destroying by its abrasions one side, and forming by its depositions the other. The extensive borders however, of this great alluvial swamp, cannot fail to be highly fertile and productive, and really constitute the finest region in the United States for the growth of cotton, sugar, rice, and other valuable staples. The spaces between this river alluvion, and the tertiary that we have described, and much of the space west of this great swamp, including the Opelousas, the Red and Washita river districts, may be called a diluvion. It consists of plastic clay as a base, with sand and loam over it, most probably formed by the irruption of the great inland sea we have described, and the whole abounding in lignite and recent fluvial shells.

This Gulf slope has but few mineral resources, and is subject to great and sudden changes in the climate, and to tremendous gales and tornadoes, which prostrate whole forests, and must be always unhealthy. The commercial towns are annually subject to yellow fever, and over most of the space bilious remittent, intermittent, hepatic, and dysenteric diseases recur as regularly as the seasons, and not only enervate its population, but render life very precarious. In a country so exceedingly moist, change and hot, as this slope is known to be, liver and bowel complaints particularly prevail. The climate of this region is subject to great extremes; the great vacuums sometimes formed by the heat of the Gulf, draw down the northern winds so rapidly, without any barrier to intercept their progress, that these bring with them destructive frosts to the very shores of the Gulf, and destroy orange and all other tender trees. The eternal warfare kept up between the side currents of the trade winds which vent themselves along the Gulf and Mississippi valley, and the northern and heavier air rushing in to displace the warmer and more rarified of the Gulf, produces not only endless changes of weather, but gales, tornadoes, and hurricanes of a tremendous and desolating character, which often ravage the country. The last breathings of the trade winds, fraught with the vapours of the Gulf, and the great surface saturated with the water of the Mississippi swamp, render this slope always moist and sultry, and divest the air of all elasticity.

The current of the Mississippi river is from two and a half to four miles an hour, and seems to be more the result of the great weight of the column of water behind, than the natural descent of the river itself. The course of the Mississippi over this slope, following its windings, is 1000 miles; the fall does not exceed three or four inches per mile. The depth of the river

is in many places one hundred and fifty feet, and without anchorage for vessels in the neighbourhood of New-Orleans and Natchez.

We have now finished our sketch of the great central region of the United States. We feel that it is too hasty and too general to convey a just idea of its extent. Many interesting subjects are necessarily crowded out of such a picture. For much more detail we refer to Mr. Darby's book.

The last grand natural division of the United States is the Pacific slope, which is less understood, and about which we possess fewer facts than any other. It is an extensive region, whose limits are fixed on all sides except the north, where the line between us and England remains unsettled. We however push our limits in that direction to the 49th degree of north latitude. On the south, the 42d degree is the boundary between us and Mexico. Mr. Darby says it averages 500 miles in width, and contains about 400,000 square miles. The eastern limit, or Rocky mountains, average five or six thousand feet in elevation above the tides, and then slope down pretty regularly to the Pacific coast. Those who have explored this region, represent its climate as uncommonly moist and mild. The west winds from the Pacific ocean are constantly precipitating their vapours and rains upon it, and spread over it the mildness of temperature that appertains to such a volume of ocean.

A portion of our country is not generally fertile, but is well watered by the Oregon or Columbia and its branches, and the heads of the Buenaventura of Mexico; and from its mildness of climate, its abundance of fish, fur, and other productions, will be some day a powerful and rich country. It remains unsettled, and we know nothing of its mineral resources. Mr. Darby, in the following paragraph, speaks favourably of it.—

“The face of the Oregon basin as far as explored is far from promising. Much of the country is broken by mountains, or stretches in naked plains. Some fine valleys, though of confined extent, spread between the chains, and in respect to climate the Oregon territory possesses a decided advantage over that of similar latitudes on the Atlantic coast, to the amount of perhaps five or six degrees of latitude. See Chapter X. on Climate. An isothermal line drawn from the mouth of Columbia, would incline rapidly to the south-east, in rising to the plateau of Chippewayan, and allowing that plateau 3870 feet elevation, the line of equal heat would reach N. lat. 37° 50', supposing 400 feet elevation equal to a degree of latitude; and waving from the summits of Chippewayan towards the Atlantic, would in no place again deflect as high as its point of departure from the Pacific coast.

“From this melioration of temperature, the territory of Oregon, every thing else being equal, will be more habitable than similar latitudes on the Atlantic coast of the United States; and the Columbia much more accessible in winter, than the rivers and havens of Canada, New-Brinswick, Nova-Scotia, and Maine, or in fact even those of the Atlantic coast generally, as low as the Delaware. By reference to the comparative tables of mean heat on the opposing sides of the Atlantic ocean, it will be seen that advancing from N. lat. 30° towards the northern pole, the line of equal temperature inclines to N. E. and S. W. from a small

fraction above 0 to $14\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, giving to the coast of Maine a climate not materially different from that of Norway, in N. lat. 60° . But mere mean temperature gives a very inadequate idea of the respective climates on the eastern and western sides of the two continents. The moisture of winter on western coasts, leaves rivers open much higher, than could be expected from any data afforded by the thermometer."

We come now to Mr. Darby's chapter upon our climate; a subject of primary importance, not only to us, but to the philosophical world. This subject has been involved, heretofore, in much uncertainty; but we think that we now have data upon which to calculate it with more precision, and experience enough to enable us to correct results. Mr. Darby, in the first part of this chapter, departs from his usual matter of fact way of treating his subject; he turns pedant, makes a ridiculous parade of his learning, generalizes too much, and spreads himself over the whole globe, until he is lost in the immensity of his own views. He calls up earth, air, and water, to show the readiness and extent of his calculations, and his great geographical knowledge. He estimates the proportion between the land and water of the whole globe; measures and gives the extent of each ocean; the deflections of each continent and its size,—the ranges of all the mountains on the globe,—the direction of the oceanic currents,—the velocity even with which a particle of air is carried by the earth's motion in each parallel of latitude;—in fine, there seems no end to his geographical mathematics. What has all this to do with the climate of the Ohio valley or the Atlantic slope? These calculations are curious and learned, but belong rather to the universal geographer or to the astronomer. Mr. Darby gives then the following rules to enable us to determine the climate of a given place:—

"The laws upon which climate depends are few and simple.

- "1. All places on the same parallel of latitude, and at a like height and exposure, must have similar temperature.
- "2. Places on the same parallel of latitude, have difference of aerial temperature, if the places themselves differ in relative height, or exposure.
- "3. Difference of exposure arises from different terrestrial inclination, proximity to, and bearing from, extensive bodies of land, from mountains, or from collections of water.
- "4. Mountains and oceanic collections of water, exert a direct contrary influence on aerial temperature; the former tending to produce extremes of cold, the latter to reduce the atmosphere to a uniform annual temperature.
- "5. The atmosphere forming a part of the planet, is carried daily round the axis with the other bodies on the earth's surface; consequently, what is called wind, is a mere deviation from the natural motion of the air, caused by changes of temperature.
- "6. Land and water being always unequally acted on by an equal degree of heat, changes of temperature are constantly recurring near sea-coasts; and these changes are mostly in a near ratio with the relative extent of contiguous land and water.
- "7. The natural motion of the air being from W. to E., if the earth's surface was composed of uniform matter, or matter reflecting the rays of heat equally, wind at any given place would be uniform in its direction, as is the case on

wide oceans, and continents at considerable distances from the lines of contact between land and water.

"From the preceding laws, if the mean temperature of any place can be accurately determined, that of others not only contiguous, but at considerable distances, can be determined by having the latitudes and difference of elevation given. In Europe it has been shown, that a change of elevation of 338 feet or 100 metres is equal to a degree of Fahrenheit, and that a similar difference of temperature arises from a degree of latitude. Such allowances seem too artificial to be any where very correct, and are, in the United States, too small in the for-
— I too great in the latter case; but as it is impracticable to arrive at great in on the subject, I have used 400 feet, and one degree of latitude, as nearer the result of observation, than any other elements I have com-
pared with the tables. The explanation of this principle in meteorology will be again resumed."

These rules are just and well imagined, —and will go far to assist us in determining the climate of any country. The fact that a degree of latitude is equal to a degree of Fahrenheit, and that four hundred feet of elevation is equal also to a degree of Fahrenheit, is original and curious, and of much application to this subject of climate.

Mr. Darby now presents us a phalanx of facts, drawn from history, travels, remarkable events connected with the weather, from the times of congelation, continuation of snow and ice, the putting forth of vegetation, the ranges of plants, and the results of his own observations;—to which he has added thirty-six tables of the results and averages of many journals of the weather, ranges of the thermometer and courses of the winds, taken at different places,—many of them in the old continent, but most of them in this country,—embracing points from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada, and along our sea-coast. His analysis of these facts enables him to present this subject in a much more interesting and authentic shape, and warrants his speaking with certainty on our climate. He ascertains and deduces from this mass of authentic and documentary facts, the following results, viz.—That the general course of the winds in the temperate latitudes, is from the west and north-west, throughout the whole globe;—that this direction of the winds results from the earth's motion upon its axis, and is a universal law of nature;—that these winds, acted upon by the motion of the earth and the vacuum occasioned by the sun's track round the globe, make a parabolic curve from the north-west to the south-east, until they reach the tropics, where they become deflected and fall into the sun's track, and are trade winds;—that the winds blow so universally and generally in these directions, that they give character to all places, and form the basis of all calculation in regard to their subject however to be modified by circumstances,—such as the vicinity of a sea, a mountain range, a gulf stream, or the exposure of a country;—that climate being the result of fixed laws of the winds, and these equally fixed excep-

tions, must be always the same upon an average of years,—a fact which forbids the fanciful idea of amelioration and permanent changes;—that the temperature of water is lower in the general and more uniform than that of land. He deduces the fact of perfect analogy and parallelism between the climate or temperature of the old continent and new. He shows that the west side of the old continent, say England, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Sweden, is moist and mild from the prevalence of these westerly winds, damped by the vapours of the Atlantic, and tempered by its lower and more equable degree of heat; but that when we travel east, and just in proportion as we advance through Hungary, Poland, the Volga and Cossack country, into Tartary, the cold increases from the winds blowing over a greater extent of land, until we encounter a bleak temperature at least 10° colder on the same parallel, though in China a little moderated by the sea. In this country it is precisely the same. On our Pacific coast, the climate is moist and mild from the vapours and temperature of the great Pacific; when we come east, to the central or Mississippi valley, where the winds have swept a great extent of continent, the climate becomes more cold, at least 10° different on the same parallel, and finally a little moderated again upon the Atlantic slope, from the vicinity of the ocean and Gulf stream.

Mr. Darby ascertains from the above tabular data, and from his own observations on the flora, snow, &c., that, contrary to Mr. Jefferson's and Count Volney's opinions, the central or Mississippi valley, on the same parallel, is colder than the Atlantic side of the Alleghany. This results from his laws; for that region is further from the ocean, the winds reach it over a vast expanse of land, and without any mountain near it to temper them, or any barrier to arrest and ward them off, they sweep over it with relentless and continued fury, and deflected by the Alleghany, which is some protection to the Atlantic side, they rush down this valley to the very Gulf. It is unfair, therefore, to compare the east side of our continent with the west side of Europe, by the laws of nature; the difference will be about ten degrees in favour of Europe, and their climate less variable, because the ocean that tempers the air of that region, is more uniform than the continent which tempers ours.

Mr. Darby's idea of isothermal parallels is beautiful and philosophical, and we trust that we will be in possession of facts enough, before many years, to enable our geographers to mark upon their globes, charts, and maps, these parallels. Were we now to attempt to establish a base isothermal line around the earth, it would be inflected something in this way. Beginning at the mouth of Columbia on the Pacific, latitude 46° , the line would rapidly incline to the south as it approached the Rocky

mountains, nearly in the direction of the valley of the Multomah, and striking the base of these mountains, it would run with an easy angle of ascent, inclining to the south, up their slope, and ascend their summit upon the Mexican table about latitude 35° ; thence after crossing that table, it would incline northerly again, falling with an easy slope to the sand plains that skirt their eastern base, to latitude 40° ; thence it would cross these plains in that latitude, but as it approached the Mississippi river, it would drop to 35° , and preserve that with some inflection for the top of the Alleghany, until it approached near its eastern base; then it would mount to 36° on the Atlantic coast, from which it would strike an easy northern angle across the Atlantic, and reach the west side of Europe in 46° again; and as it crossed France, it would drop to 40° by the time it reached the Alps, and be deflected by them to 38° ; after clearing these mountains it would resume its parallel of 40° to the plains of Tartary, with some southern curve for the mountains of Armenia; thence it would reach the plains of Tartary on 36° ; in crossing the Hymalaya mountains of Thibet, drop down to 32° , and after that run on to China, and strike the Pacific in 36° ; thence in an easy northern angle across the Pacific, to the place of beginning at 46° .

Mr. Darby says that the clearing away of the forests, instead of ameliorating, subjects a country to greater extremes of heat and cold. He thinks these forests are a natural protection from the cold, and serve as resources of moisture. From the facts that Baron Humboldt and others furnish, there is no question but it renders a country drier to divest it of timber, and *ipso facto* warmer in summer, and we incline to think, warmer also in winter; for the naked ground does not favour the continuation of snow, which soon melts and leaves the face of the earth open to the action of the sun, and it will of course absorb much more caloric than the snow-clad forests. It thus becomes a reservoir of heat, to temper and correct the winds that invade it from the north; for before these cold and heavy winds have travelled far over such a surface, they will be divested of much of their severity. Imagine two columns of chilled and heavy air rushing from the regions of ice in Canada, to fill a vacuum in the Gulf of Mexico; one travelling over a snow-clad surface until it reaches the Ohio; the other, for the last 500 or 600 miles over an open and heated ground; the one would arrive nearly as heavy as at the outset, the other much lighter and warmer; of course they would affect us very differently: we conclude, therefore, that a naked country is also warmer in winter. We are not sure, however, but that the naked country would be more pleasant in summer, from the circumstance of the more dry and elastic air having a free circulation.

The distribution of moisture throughout the United States is

equable and happy. The rain gauges show about forty inches a year in Pennsylvania, which is one-third more than falls in Europe. At New-Orleans, however, there fall near fifty inches. No part of the land seems subject to drought; the general and uniform character of our winds gives a corresponding general diffusion to the rains. We have known the same spell of rain extend over eight hundred miles of our territory. All our plants, even the succulent garden vegetables, grow to perfection without irrigation in every part of the country. It is the happy construction of this continent, that not only ensures us moisture, but dispenses it over the land in such just proportions. Our two parallel ranges of mountains, running north and south, raise their heads highest in the south where most needed, and stand like two guardian giants on each side of our continent, to collect the moisture of the neighbouring oceans, and spread it over the great valley that seems consigned to their care. When they have reached the colder regions of Canada, lest lifting their heads in the eternal snows of the north might chill our continent, they bow them low, and sink into the flat plains of the polar regions; and this wide and rich valley between them, to help the dispensations of these foster mountains, has vast lakes and reservoirs of water of its own; and spreads forth without a barrier to arrest the northern winds which it receives, with all their vapours and freshness.

We have no deserts or tracts devoid of vegetation: it is the pride of our continent that it has none of these wide-spread wastes. We run to an angle in the tropics, where the vicinity of two oceans, aided by the great height of the Mexican Cordilleras, gives relief, and communicates freshness and fertility to the exposed part. It seems to be a law of nature, that when a continent has a great expansion within the tropics, without mountains or inland seas to temper it, the certain consequence is a desert. Under a burning sun the exhalations from the ocean cannot be wafted in sufficient quantity over more than a certain extent of space; fountains necessarily fail; and such a surface, whether it be sand or clay, bakes into a desert.

The clearing away of our forests will exert a great influence upon the moisture of our climate. It will become drier; our streams will fail in summer, because no accumulated ice at their heads, nor spongy woods retain and furnish an opportune and gradual supply of moisture. The rains as they fall will run rapidly off, and be felt but a short time after they have fallen. This state of things will be remedied in part by the freer course given to the winds, which will bring the occasional vapours from a greater distance, and by the art at which we are arriving, of penetrating the solid strata, drawing forth water from the never-

failing fountains of the great deep, and applying it to agriculture by a system of irrigation. The providences of nature are equal to all exigencies; her equilibriums are never disturbed; she makes an apparent evil work a real good; and keeps in her own hands the great balance of cause and effect; supply and expenditure. We will gain also in the more healthful state, that such an absence of the sort of moisture which forms swamps and offensive ponds would promote; and the fine spirits that a dry, elastic and less sultry ~~air never fails~~ to inspire.

The distribution of heat over our whole country, from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada, is singularly uniform. In midsummer or the month of August, the heat is the same through its entire space. The best journals of the thermometer establish the fact, that in Boston, and even Québec, the heat is as great as in New-Orleans and Charleston. This results from the nature of our continental exposure. Over such an extent the land becomes heated in its surface to an equal degree, from the long action of a summer sun,—from the greater length of the day and twilight in the northern than in the southern part. The difference between a southern and northern summer in the United States, consists in the duration, not in the intensity. The spring and autumn of the north are longer than those of the south.

The heat often oppresses us by its intensity; but insures to us the richest variety of fruits, vegetables, and agricultural productions, and enables us to cultivate nearly the same grain, garden and orchard plants, throughout the whole extent. This heat does more; it seems absolutely to preclude all idea of suffering by famine, or scarcity from the failure of our provision crops; because it enables us to vary our culture through all the varieties of the grains, roots, fruits, and vegetables; and what is still more, our long and genial summer enables us to have two distinct crops of grain in the same season;—our winter, or spring crops, of wheat, rye, oats, barley, millet; and our fall crops of maize. So distinct in time and season are they, that if excessive rains, or drought, injure our spring crops, we know it in time to count upon and enlarge our fall crop, to meet the approaching event; and vice versa, for we have ascertained by long experience, that a drought, or an excess of rain, does not affect both the spring and fall of the same year; if one season be bad, the other is almost sure to be good. In the north of Europe the case is different; they have but one, which is a spring crop; an excess of moisture often injures it, and scarcity and suffering is the consequence. This often happened before their active commerce and great facility of intercommunication enabled them to bring the surplus of one district to relieve the wants of another; and before they cultivated to much extent the Irish potato, which they now

depend on, and through it often relieve the shortness of a grain crop. It is very important for a country to be exempt from dearths; not only can it then redouble its population, and have its enjoyment all insured; but the population will be more orderly and more moral. Most of those political disorders and those immoral acts which affect a whole people, result from the desperation into which they are plunged by famines or scarcities.

With our physical geography is connected our system of canals, roads, and intercommunications. The facility of artificial intercourse depends always upon the connexion of which a country is susceptible; and the improvement of the natural connexions, upon the spirit of the government and the enterprise of the population. The Alleghany Ridge, particularly so called, is broken through by two branches of the Susquehanna, and falls off entirely between the north branch of that river and the Hudson. Great facilities are in consequence afforded in New-York and Pennsylvania to an artificial communication with the great valley of the lakes and the Mississippi. Those states have availed themselves of their advantages. The former has completed a line of canal from the tides of the Atlantic to the northern lakes; the latter is executing with great energy, a parallel line of communication between the city of Philadelphia and the Ohio: whilst Baltimore, Washington city, and Virginia, are advancing in the construction of canals and rail-ways, to cross the very Alleghany mountains in Maryland and Virginia, through their river valleys. When we reach the great central valley of the western country, we find that nature has afforded the greatest facilities in connecting most of that great plain and the northern lakes together: Ohio has already nearly finished a canal 400 miles long, connecting the Ohio river and the lakes. Indiana has provided the means of uniting by a canal 200 miles long, the Wabash with the lakes; and Illinois has also secured the necessary appropriation to connect the Mississippi with lake Michigan through the Illinois river. By these canals, a continuous, and much of it artificial system of navigable communication will be established, from the Gulf of Mexico, through either the Illinois, Wabash, or Ohio rivers, to the northern lakes; and from these lakes, (all of which are united,) to the Atlantic, either through the St. Lawrence: the New-York canal, and soon through the Pennsylvania canals: this communication makes a sweep of four thousand miles.

The great central valley, from its uniform level and the horizontal strata of its rock, enables us to extend lines of rail ways and canals in almost any direction; and the long lines of the Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, Arkansas, Tennessee, Cumberland, and other large rivers of this plain, lie in channels worn into the rock

pan with all the regularity of slope that art could give to them, present no falls, and afford the finest steam boat navigation throughout their whole courses. Boats of 500 tons go from New-Orleans to Pittsburgh, a distance of 1920 miles, during several months of the year, and will meet the canals which conduct across the mountains or across the plain to the lakes at all their points. The Atlantic coast too, is so deeply indented with bays and sounds, and is so sunken in its level, that surveys have been directed preparatory to the opening of communications across all the capes, and the junction of all these bays and sounds in a coast-wise direction.

Mr. Darby gives the detail of this interesting subject; we will content ourselves with the results. There are constructed or now constructing, with all the surveys completed, all the necessary laws had, and all the funds raised and ready, with enough done to show the whole character and cost of the work—3500 miles of canal and rail road in the United States. Most of this communication is made by the public authorities; not more than one-fourth by companies; and as far as experience speaks, we are warranted in saying, it will generally yield interest on the expenditure. We deduce from the facts before us, the following curious results,—that the average cost per mile of our canals is about 13,000, and of our rail roads 20,000 dollars, whilst similar works in England have cost about as many pounds—that our population of twelve millions have attempted one fourth more than England with twenty-three millions, and infinitely more than the population on the continent of Europe—that according to the population, we are doing nearly as much again as England,—and if we take abstractedly the work of New-York, she has done proportionably to her population, eight times as much as England. Notwithstanding that so much is done and doing, we feel that the spirit of the country is just awakened; we speak confidently of more than doubling all this within the next ten years. Already have we actually projected, surveyed, and ascertained, the cost and practicability of about 4000 miles more of artificial communication. The Federal and local governments, and individual companies, vie with each other in such works. The effect of them in this scattered nation has been signal; they have stimulated our whole population; have carried a sort of creative faculty with them into the interior; have brought into notice, and given value to numberless articles of agricultural and native products, that never were estimated, or sought a market before; they have given an activity to the people corresponding to the facility afforded; they carry intelligence and diffuse it into some of our most uncultivated settlements; they are developing our coal, iron, and all other resources, and founding upon them

the arts and manufactures which create a home market, and enrich our commerce with all the interchanges incident thereto; they insure that independence and comfort to the nation, which it looked for in vain, whilst it depended on foreign commerce for necessities; they are uniting and amalgamating the people, and imparting to them a unity of design, a community of interest, and a celerity of movement that will insure to us a wealth, a polish and a political influence, worthy of such a people, possessing such a country. This system of intercommunication will build up a home market, and we will sustain a circle of commerce with one another, infinitely more complete than that which the different European states have among themselves; because embracing more variety of climate, and a richer series of productions. Imagine the time not distant, when each district of our country thus connected, will have developed its own peculiar resources, and be ready to throw them into the great circle of interchange, and swell the active stream of our internal commerce:—Pennsylvania, with her iron, coal, marble, lead, glass, lumber, flour, wool, butter, and beef, and all her handicraft employments; New-York, with her salt, flour, gypsum, and foreign commerce; New-England, with her fish, oil, lumber, ships, and manufactures; New-Jersey, with her zinc, copper, and horses; Maryland and Virginia, with their tobacco, flour, Indian corn, fish, and hams; North Carolina, her gold, cotton, tar, lumber, and wine; South Carolina and Georgia, their cotton, rice, sugar, indigo, and lumber; Louisiana, Florida and Mississippi, their sugar, molasses, rum, cotton, rice, indigo, olive oil, and wine; Kentucky and Tennessee, their flour, whiskey, hemp, tobacco, salt, coal, iron, mules, horses, pork, and live stock; Ohio, her pork, lard, butter, cheese, flour, cattle, wool, horses, salt, and coal; Missouri and Illinois, their lead, iron, fur, and lumber; Indiana, her whiskey, corn, and pork; and the northern lakes, their white fish, fur, and copper. Add to the above, all the richness and variety of shapes into which our manufacturers and artists will elaborate those products, and the wealth and splendour that foreign commerce will throw over them, and we will have the picture that the next twenty years will present to us, and which even now is half finished. All this development awaits but a few years; it proceeds with the certainty of mathematics; time, not tariffs, conducts it on; it is the result of our growth, our free institutions, our wants, our well-established enterprise; no system can retard nor much accelerate it.

The effect of our climate upon animals and upon the human family, as far as experience furnishes data, is favourable. The wild animals of our forests are larger and more active than the same species in other countries, particularly our bison, grisley

bear, elk-stag, moose, mountain sheep, fox, and many others. But our domestic animals are not equal to those of Europe, of this time, because we have not paid that attention to the sort of crossing and blood which has in England almost created new animals. It is pretty certain, however, and generally admitted, that our domestic animals are larger than they were when first brought over, one or two centuries ago. The human family has certainly not degenerated here; our Indians, who are identified with the climate, are larger, better formed, and more active than the eastern nations; and the whites are tall, bony, and more active than the Europeans: they can endure more hardship, bear more fatigue, and move more quickly, than any Europeans with whom they co-operate. Our impression is, that a warm and comparatively healthy climate, acts powerfully upon our system, and gives to our bones and muscles more development, and that a changeable climate, subject to great extremes of heat and cold, acts upon our solids and spirits, and exercises them in such sort, that we get a spring of muscle and a corresponding quickness of movement which accompanies us through all our operations; our sensibility becomes keener, more easily affected; less, therefore, excites and puts us in motion. In the manufactures requiring much manipulation; in pursuing long journeys; in the labour of canals and farms; in firing small arms and cannon; handling sails, Americans have frequently acted with Europeans; and have never failed to surpass them in quickness and efficacy; we have more invention and tact, and show more management and contrivance, and more versatility: this may result in part from the different circumstances of our country, and from our free institutions.

Longevity in this country is as common as in Europe. Our few annuity offices make but little profit, calculating upon English principles of human life, and think of altering them. Our pension law of the United States, forty-six years after the revolution, showed that one-fifth of the whole army which fought in that revolution was living. Out of 200,000 men, who first and last were under arms during that contest, 24,000 applied for pensions,—all alleging poverty,—18,000 of whom were admitted as paupers, and entitled to pensions. Of course, in a country where subsistence is so easily procured, and competence and independence so general, they were scarcely half indigent. These facts speak much in favour of our longevity; and when we shall have meliorated our climate by cultivation, and become less gross in diet, we may expect a more extended term of existence.

We have now finished our sketch of the physical character and geography of this republic; and in addition to the highly interesting matter of our author, we have supplied some facts

which we thought of general interest, or necessary to the end of connecting the great features of the country.*

We have protracted this article so far, that we can give merely a few facts in regard to the moral and political state of the country; but as our history is so fresh, and the plan of our government so generally known, a few results will suffice to show the influence that our institutions have exerted upon the numbers, moral and religious character, manners, education, and spirit of the people.

Mr. Darby's eleventh chapter is rich in detail. He gives us tables of our population upon the established ratio;—he shows what proportion each great natural division of the country now contains, and the prospective growth of each. We extract the following results from his tables:—The census rolls of the government, from the year 1790 to 1820, establish $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. per annum, as the ratio of increase for this population. If we frame tables upon this ratio up to the year 1940, which he has done, the progressive increase will run thus, (selecting a few points in the scale:)—At this time, thirteen millions; 1850, twenty-six millions; 1875, fifty-five millions; 1900, one hundred and sixteen millions; and 1940, the end of his scale, the astonishing number of three hundred and seventy-five millions. The slaves increase less than the white or free population, and between the years 1790 and 1820, the proportion which they bore to the free population sank from $\frac{177}{1000}$ to $\frac{159}{1000}$ —a fact consoling to the friends of humanity. Leaving out the unsettled domain of the United States, and confining our views to the part organized into states and territories, the present population, which he puts at thirteen millions, gives but twenty-two souls to the square mile, in a country that could support three hundred in comfort.

Mr. Darby's tables of population upon the central or western valley, are so interesting that we give them entire.

“No. LXXX.—Population of

Alabama,	1810	000,000	1820	143,000
Arkansas,	1810		1820	14,273
Illinois,	1810	12,282	1820	55,211
Indiana,	1810	24,520	1820	147,178
Kentucky,	1810	406,511	1820	564,317
Louisiana,	1810	76,556	1820	153,407
Michigan,	1810	4,762	1820	10,000
Mississippi,	1810	40,362	1820	75,448
Missouri,	1810	20,845	1820	66,586
Ohio,	1810	230,760	1820	581,434
Tennessee,	1810	261,727	1820	422,813

1,078,325

2,233,667

* In this estimate no notice is taken of western Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New-York, but restricted to whole organized states and territories, and embraces

an area of about 745,000 square miles, or only a distributive population of four to the square mile. We have here, therefore, an immense space equal to the one-fourth part of all Europe, on which men have only recently placed their residence, and where their dwellings are still few and scattered, but where numbers are doubling decennially. The existing population in the central basin amounts to at least 3,300,000, and whilst the entire numbers in the United States have increased in thirty-eight years, from about four to thirteen millions, the interior mass, has in a similar period, augmented from 100,000 to 3,300,000, demonstrating a powerful gravitating force westward.

"When we carry into this analysis, the increased and increasing facility of intercommunication, the still prodigious disparity of relative density of population, and consequent cheapness of land in the west, we are fully warranted in assuming as a base of calculation, that the respective ratio of increase between the sections, will continue to maintain at least as great inequality as heretofore. On the preceding supposition, the central population would double every ten years; but to be within bounds, table No. 81 is calculated on a ratio of five per cent per annum.

"No. LXXXI.—Population of the central basin.

1826	3,000,000	1839	5,636,895	1852	10,613,690	1865	20,075,311
1827	3,150,000	1840	5,939,715	1853	11,176,874	1866	21,079,076
1828	3,307,500	1841	6,236,700	1854	11,735,717	1867	22,133,929
1829	3,472,855	1842	6,548,535	1855	12,324,503	1868	23,239,680
1830	3,646,495	1843	6,875,960	1856	12,940,728	1869	24,401,664
1831	3,828,915	1844	7,219,755	1857	13,587,763	1870	25,621,747
1832	4,020,255	1845	7,580,740	1858	14,267,151	1871	26,902,834
1833	4,221,265	1846	7,959,775	1859	14,980,508	1872	28,247,975
1834	4,432,325	1847	8,357,760	1860	15,729,533	1873	29,660,573
1835	4,653,940	1848	8,775,645	1861	16,516,009	1874	31,143,391
1836	4,886,645	1849	9,194,425	1862	17,341,809	1875	32,700,560
1837	5,130,975	1850	9,654,145	1863	18,208,899		
1838	5,387,520	1851	10,136,850	1864	19,119,344		

"By reference to table 80, it will be seen that the aggregate population of the United States for 1870, is estimated at 47,368,544, and comparing that with the same epoch, in table 81, it is shown that a period of less than 45 years from the present time, is sufficient to give superior population to the central basin. In fact, the ratio used in table 81, is too low. If the march of the emigrating column to the west is not arrested by unforeseen causes, the preponderance will be in the basin of the Mississippi in less than 40 years, or about 1865. And about that epoch, the relative density of population will be on the Atlantic slope, 90 to the square mile, and on the central basin 25. If every thing else is considered equal, the capabilities of farther increase after 1865 or 1870, will be as 9 to 2½, in favour of the central basin of North America over the Atlantic slope; and when each section is peopled in proportion to relative surface, the advantage of the central basin must have an access, as 80 to 22 or 40 to 11."

Mr. Darby thinks the capacity of the central or Mississippi valley to subsist a population, is in the ratio of four to one greater than that of the Atlantic slope.

When we look to the astonishing ratio of increase that carries on this tide of population, and are assured that the emigration from abroad of every sort, has not, since our revolution, averaged more than 12,000 souls a-year, we are struck with the progress we have made; and may fairly conclude, that there has been no tyranny of government, no unhealthfulness of climate, no immoral tendency of any state of society, to check our growth.

The ratio of increase for the next fifty years, will be greater than it has been since the existence of our government, for these reasons:—The nucleus of our population has been too much connected with the swampy and alluvial region of our Atlantic coast, and has suffered much loss from its noxious action; we have been, ever since the revolution, spreading over our immense extent of country; continually emigrating westward; breaking up all our domestic comforts; leaving an air which has become congenial to our frames, and friends that were necessary to the freshness of our spirits; encountering all the privations of long journeys, through woods destitute of roads, and all the severity of an untamed climate;—settling, finally, upon the margin of some swamp or unhealthy river, for the sake of better soil and the conveniences of water and navigation; living for years in tents or open log huts, upon wild meat and half-bruised maize; without delicacies to preserve us, or physicians to prescribe for us in sickness. These are the privations, exposures, and various changes of habit, which annually destroy thousands of our emigrating population. Death every year has tythed them. We have seen thousands of families squatted, as we term it, along the margins of rivers and swamps, who had lost half of their numbers, and many of the remainder were rendered helpless by disease. When we add to these gloomy annals, the habits of drinking spirits and eating three meals a-day of gross food, in which Americans indulge, the disregard of life that characterized our frontier population, and the loss from the Indian wars, we are warranted in concluding, that we have, up to this time, had many drawbacks upon our ratio of increase.

The future presents a more pleasing and favourable picture; we have formed the outline of our settlements for the next fifty years, for it seems a fixed policy of the government to leave the country west of the states and organized territories for the Indians; and we have perfected a system of roads, canals, steamboats, and other means of intercommunication, which carry commerce and comforts to every part; the settlers too have built comfortable houses and towns,—have their skilful physicians, churches, social amusements; are less gross in their habits, less exposed to the climate, less reckless of life; have put an end to Indian wars, and have in a great measure improved or become accustomed to the air and climate in which they live. The consequences will be more health, longer life, and less impediment to marriage and natural increase. We have no doubt, that they will multiply at least four per cent. per annum for the next fifty years.

The manners of the people of the United States are not generally refined, but are very generally civil. The portion living in cities, and who travel and enjoy social intercourse, are polished

and courteous. The body of our farmers and people of the interior, are indeed rough in their manners, though not boorish; they have all the friendly, benevolent, and hospitable feelings; they are independent in their approaches and address to strangers; they serve you for the pleasure it affords themselves, not from the idea of gain; they every where respect and favour the female character.

This people, new and mongrel as they have been called, are really the most homogeneous on earth: they all speak the English language, and almost without any dialect; they have the same political rights; the same feelings; the same moral sentiments, and the same pretensions, throughout the whole extent of our country:—they adopt the same manners; wear the same fashions; dance the same figures; introduce the same style of equipage, furniture, and architecture; and pursue the same routine of social amusements, from the large Atlantic cities, to the Ultima Thule of our frontier settlements. Unlike the peasants or cultivators of Europe, ours are not wrapped up in self, and coldly suspicious of all strangers; nor have they any fixed costume which denotes that they have no hopes ultra; that thus they vegetate through all generations, without those aspirations of ambition and pride which would advance their state and exalt their nature: here all are aspiring and all are advancing.

The great deformity upon our land is slavery. This state of things was imposed upon us by our ancestors; and owing to the extent of new country, and the variety of rich and valuable staples which we have been cultivating, of a laborious and profitable character, we have not only tolerated, but have so cherished the slave population, that its increase is almost as great as that of the free. It amounted to one and a half million at the census of 1820. Most unfortunately in our case, slavery is inseparably associated with colour, and so well defined is the line of distinction, and so unalterably fixed is the badge of disgrace, that but few sympathies exist between the blacks and their masters: unlike the freedmen of Rome, and the vassals of Europe, who mixed in the mass, and soon lost their cast and badge, our African is the same degraded being, whether he be free or a slave. Without pride to lift him above vice and meanness, and without education to invest him with foresight or honour, he is doomed to perpetual wretchedness and degradation. Occasional manumissions, and colonization, are acknowledged by all who study the question of our coloured population, to be but slight palliatives at the most. What then is the remedy? We answer, that from the nature of our staples, and the extent of our country, and for the reasons given, slavery will exist long; but like every thing else, will yield to time. The next hundred years will perhaps wear it out; for at the expiration of that

period, our enterprising freemen will crowd every occupation, meet every division of labour, and press upon the southern staple districts, whose profits then will be reduced, to such a degree that the master will find it for his interest to discharge his slaves, free himself from an onerous responsibility, and farm out his lands to labourers who will give him no trouble.

We have conclusive proof, that after the blacks do become free, and the care of the master ceases to cherish them, they dwindle away and decrease daily. This arises from the habits of concubinage in which they live; from the little care which they take of their families when they chance to have any; and from disease brought on by bad habits; or from living without comforts, on unwholesome food, in crowded hovels and confined places.

The story of our Indian population is soon told: they too form a degraded class; are distinctly marked, and are rapidly disappearing. We found them a spirited, proud, and noble race; but we have reduced them to insignificance;—our vicinity is contamination,—our touch is death; and our conduct towards them a mockery. We affect to preserve their nationality, and treat them as equals, when we know they are dependants; we have flattered their national vanity, until we have bargained them out of their lands; and have provoked them into wars, until we have almost exterminated them. We surround their remaining fragments with our teeming population, rather to enjoy the degraded picture, than to offer them our support, or the privileges of citizenship. There is no medium in fact with the Indian; he must as a warrior nurse his pride; pursue his game; be associated with forests and wilds; or become insignificant. When surrounded by the whites, divested of his nationality; of his game; his very woods; he sinks down, not to the tillage of the soil, for that his spirit cannot brook; not to the consolations of our religion, for with this he has no sympathy; but to the order of brutes; and before we can attach him to our customs, his spirit will have evaporated, and himself be lost in filth and drunkenness: our very attempts to save him, seem by some fatality to hasten his destruction.

The state of morality in this country is sounder than in Europe, and we have less crime in proportion to population. The Americans have less inducement to guilt, because subsistence is easily procured; and all their wants are within the reach of industry. Our vices are the result of idleness, thoughtlessness, passion, and sudden impulse; not of want, constitutional depravity, and political corruption. Having much time to spare, the common people drink, become sots, gamble, quarrel, fight; these are the prevailing excesses. We have no privileged orders to render fashionable the vices of seduction, boxing, and racing. Convic-

tions are relatively fewer than in England; they average throughout the whole country about three hundred annually to the million; whilst in England they are nearly seven hundred, and in Ireland eight hundred; and on a careful analysis of those convictions, we find more than half are of coloured people and foreigners. We may therefore call drunkenness, gambling, and fighting, leading to occasional murders, our prevailing vices; and the traits of temper or irregular conduct that we manifest oftenest, are vanity, exaggeration, and a disposition to overreach one another.

The aristocracy and clergy of Europe have roundly asserted, that religion would fall, and its holy precepts be lost to man, unless it were supported by government. We have falsified their prognostics. We are emphatically a religious people. The different sects of Protestants, and the Catholic religion, embrace our whole population, and influence its moral action. Our religion is the free gift of heaven; it comes in its divine character, not leaning upon the arm of flesh. Its support is the bounty of its votaries,—the voluntary contributions of a free people. Our cities are crowded with churches, and our country adorned with spires, without the extortions of tyranny or the tithings of misery. Our Sabbath is better observed; our Bible is better understood; and our moral duties are better deduced and practised, than in countries where religion is privileged. In New-England there is a church to every one thousand souls; in New-York, to every two thousand; and in the south and west, to every three thousand, as nearly as can be calculated. But from the pamphlets lately published in England, it appears that they have a church to about twenty thousand only. In Catholic Europe, the number of churches to the population is greater. In Europe, the people associate religion with tyranny, and wage war upon it accordingly. In this country, we embrace it as a friend and comforter. In Europe, it is a stranger, quartered upon the people;—here, it is the invited guest, entering into our sympathies, partaking our bounty, and receiving our hearty welcome. When religion possesses the mass of the people in a republic, it is almost impossible to impair its influence, because it becomes the fashion, a sort of *sine qua non*. All who represent such a people, or become candidates for their favour, must profess and support it; and the opinions of such influential men, react upon the mass of the people, and more deeply confirm them in its dogmas. No one, therefore, raises a voice against it, lest the popular displeasure be incurred, and the mark of deist or atheist, be set upon him. In a republic, where religion imposes no burthens, it is more practised, and for the reasons just given, will be more effectually perpetuated than in a government where it is established and privileged.

We are justly proud of our system of schools and education. It aims at diffusion rather than excellence, and seeks to embrace the mass of the people. In New-England and New-York the primary schools include every individual, and we may say that the rudiments of reading, writing, and calculation, are universal. The official returns of the schools of New-York show, that in 1828, with a population of 1,700,000 souls, she had 430,000 children under tuition. In New-England, the proportion is the same. The primary schools of the Middle and Southern states, are less perfectly organized; but the local authorities now have the subject under advisement. They possess the means; and a few years will show similar results as to the free population; the slaves stand excluded from motives of policy. We have forty-one colleges and universities in the United States, that issue the degree of Bachelor of Arts; eleven medical colleges, that bestow the degree of Doctor of Medicine; and ten theological colleges, that teach the biblical literature preparatory to clerical orders. The matriculated in all these colleges, amount to ten thousand, and the graduates to three thousand, annually, out of a free population of eleven millions. This is a greater proportion than any European nation exhibits. Mr. Brougham tells us, that in England proper, one in thirty is taught the rudiments. What a contrast! here all are taught them. All the new states have a landed estate reserved for the purposes of education; two townships of land six miles square for a college; and one mile square in every thirty-six for a primary school: this insures to them the means of placing a school at every man's door. A population thus provided and elevated in its moral and intellectual character, will truly be worthy of their independence, and capable of self-government. The people in this country have education in their own hands, and freely adopt all improvements; the Lancasterian, Pestalozian, or any other that facilitates and cheapens; they have no preoccupied grounds; no long established foundations to disturb; no dictatorial clergy to consult; nor prescribed modes to follow: education here is not the fixed thing of form; it partakes of the improvements of the day, and keeps pace with the march of the times.

We cannot go much further into the detail of our political condition: we might add, that all the arts are in progress; that our manufactures have doubled in the last ten years; and in ten years more will meet all the wants of the people; that out of 360,000,000 dollars worth of woven goods which this population consumes annually, we make at home 338,000,000, and import 22,000,000; that our style of furniture and ornaments is always good; that the fortifications of the country, and the organization of its army and navy, are approaching rapidly to perfection, and

accompanied with an activity and a skill which awaken the attention of Europe; that our finances are ample with scarcely any taxation, and our currency sound; that our commerce is in a wholesome condition, and the home market and interior trade rapidly increasing; that our long lines of water communications already mentioned, are uncovering and stimulating all our resources; that our elective franchise, now common to every adult resident, is exercised in perfect decorum and good order, and instead of producing riots and tumult, is raising the pride and character of the mass of the people; that this Union, called the Federal government, instead of dissolving away as the Europeans predicted, has gained strength with time; that it will be still stronger when our system of communication has had its effect, our interior trade is more fully developed, our home market better established, and through them, all local interests and feelings are more harmonized and blended.—From all these facts, and a thousand others which could be adduced, we may fairly conclude that the action of a liberal and free government is more efficient than that of any other, in improving every condition of the social economy, in advancing the arts, and in enlightening and exalting the human family.

ART. IX.—*A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada.* By FRAY ANTONIO AGAPIDA. Philadelphia: 1829: Carey, Lea & Carey.

THE conquest of the Moors of Spain was the catastrophe of a splendid tragedy. On the south, they were separated by a sea from the ferocious followers of the same faith, who strictly pursued the lessons of their prophet by fierce and continual wars, and against whose zeal the mountains of Atlas, and the sands of Zahara, were no barrier. On the north, they were hemmed in and encroached on, step after step, by the hardy Christians, who retained something of the spirit of their Gothic sires, and redeemed, by gradual and permanent conquest, the honour they had lost in the field of Xeres. The region where they settled embraced the fairest portion of Christendom; its fields luxuriant, fertile, and picturesque; its climate salubrious; its skies so bright, that gratitude or superstition had assigned them for the chosen abode of those beings of ethereal beauty, who were to welcome the pious Mussulman after his earthly pilgrimage. Thus cut off

in some degree from all other nations, either of their own or the Christian faith, and thus possessing in themselves all that was necessary for a nation's prosperity, the Moors of Spain present, in their whole course, a character singularly unconnected and independent. This very peculiarity of situation seems from the first to convey the idea of ultimate destruction,—uncertain indeed as to time and manner, but gradually approaching and irresistible. Like the hero of a drama, they are traced through every varying scene—through their rise, their splendour, and their decline—now triumphant in conquest, now bright in letters and in arts, now bearded by increasing enemies,—yet always with a feeling that their career will end in a downfall as brilliant and as sorrowful, and not less sure than that which awaits the creature of the poet's fancy.

The history of such a people may appear to many persons more in the light of a romantic tale, than as imparting those sober and important truths, which we seek to derive from the annals of nations. While author after author has dwelt with singular and praiseworthy minuteness on almost all the revolutions and incidents relating to the various kingdoms of Europe; they have been passed over with comparative neglect or contempt. It has been left to travellers to record the yet existing fragments of their arts, and to poets to cull from their scattered annals, tales of wild and chivalrous gallantry. But a regular and philosophical investigation of the causes which placed a people, whose habits and religion are alike supposed to be adverse to the development and improvement of the moral and intellectual faculties, so far in advance of those guided by better lights; a clear, full and continuous narrative of the events of seven hundred years; an account of institutions which appear to have been eminently calculated for the happiness and even grandeur of the people; these, and other points as useful and interesting, have been totally neglected. Such a history would afford scope for a story, not less original and delightful than that of Herodotus; for scenes, not less brilliant than those which glitter in the pages of Froissart; and for curious observations on the character of man, both as an individual and a member of political societies, scarcely less profound than those we admire in the matchless sentences of Tacitus and Hume.

We regret that it is not at this time our pleasing duty to notice such a work. We should indeed have rejoiced to find the task had been reserved for one, who, born and educated under the free institutions of America, and acquainted with the different monarchies of the old world and their peculiarities only from reading and personal observation, would have come to the task unfettered by any prejudices and feelings either of association,

or national predilection—one, who living among the scenes where his story is placed, would be enabled to obtain information more minute and curious than a foreigner could meet with, and to convey that air of local correctness and truth, which no mere reading can impart—one whose mind has always dwelt with peculiar fondness on the delineation of characters, manners, and events, differing from those of our own country and age—and, above all, one who has lately shown in a work which will prove a lasting honour to our literature, that, however happy he may have been in the exercise of a beautiful fancy, and the delineation of fictitious scenes, he can be still more successful in the sober narrative of events, the grandeur and interest of which are unsurpassed in the history of our globe.

In selecting, however, as the subject of another work, the Moors of Spain, Mr. Irving has entirely avoided entering into their general history, and confined himself to those events which attended their ruin and extermination. He has compiled in truth and in name, simply a “Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada,” and although we should feel sufficiently inclined to accompany our readers through the narrative of earlier times, it is certainly more within the limits of a review, and will probably be more amusing to them, to take up the tale where our author has chosen to commence it, to connect together by a necessary thread, some of the more brilliant and instructive passages with which it abounds, and thus enable them, in some respects, to assume our places, and perform for themselves the pleasure or the labour of criticism.

It will not however be out of place, nor in the least superfluous, to notice the situation of the Moors, at the time the chronicle of *Fray Antonio Agapida* commences; for, following the maxim of Horace, he has at once rushed into the middle of his subject, and involved us in the forays and skirmishes of Christian and Moslem knights, while we are yet ignorant of what had been won by the valour of the former, and lost by the inferior strength, or the imprudent dissensions of their impetuous and inconsiderate rivals.

Nearly three hundred years had passed away, during which, under a succession of Gothic kings, the Christian faith, corrupted indeed by the errors of Arius, had prevailed undisputed through the whole peninsula of Spain. Early, however, in the eighth century, the triumphant Mussulmans of Africa began to cast towards its shores a wistful eye, nor was it long before they took advantage of the quarrels of its chiefs, whether caused by private wrongs, arising from the lust of Roderick, by their own turbulent characters, or by the crafty intrigues and gold of their aspiring enemies. The rich plain of Xeres de la Frontera, and the

eleventh of November, the festival of St. Martin the good bishop of Tours, in the year 712, saw the complete triumph of the crescent. The chivalry of the Christians was mowed down on that fatal day, the king himself was slain in battle, or only escaped wounded from the field, to die in obscurity :^{*} his subjects had no chief to rally round ; and Tarik, the ferocious conqueror, pushed his advantage with a rapidity and a cruelty, that left the astounded Goths no time to recover from their amazement or their fear. The cities of Cordova, Seville, Toledo, and Lisbon, were rapidly reduced. The provinces which lay along the sea coast, from the Algarves to Catalonia were overrun, and although the Christians endeavoured to make a stand among the mountains of Arragon and Castile, they were soon routed by the triumphant Moors, and their poor remains shut up in the impregnable fastnesses of the Asturias and Biscay. Emboldened by their sudden success, the conquerors ventured to penetrate into the fair valleys of southern and western France : met, however, by the valour of Charles Martel, they were driven back beyond the Pyrenees, and their peaks thus became the northern boundary of their empire. All south of these, from the shores of Galicia to the pillars of Hercules, owned the dominion of the caliphs of Damascus ; for the feeble band of Christians which had sought refuge in the northern mountains, was deemed too small and too remote to claim notice, or even to reward the difficulty of subjection.

For thirty years after the conquest, the newly acquired kingdom acknowledged temporal as well as spiritual allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful, and was governed by successive viceroys, who were appointed and recalled by the Syrian monarchs. The distance however of the province, its intrinsic resources, independence and power, soon made such a subjection unnatural ; and when Abdalrahman, the sole remaining prince of the house of Ommeyah, who had escaped the fury of the Abasides, landed a fugitive on their shores, the soldiers and the people willingly united under his rule. He selected Cordova as his capital, and in the year 759, renouncing all connexion except

* “ Last night I was the king of Spain—to-day no king am I ;
 Last night fair castles held my train—to-night where shall I lie
 Last night a hundred pages did serve me on the knee—
 To-night not one I call mine own—not one pertains to me.”

“ Oh luckless, luckless was the hour, and cursed was the day,
 When I was born to have the power of this great signory !
 Unhappy me, that I should see the sun go down to night ;
 Oh death, why now so slow art thou, why fearest thou to smite !”
Lament of Don Roderick.

The reader will recollect the reference of Master Peter, the puppet player, to this ballad, when Don Quixote demolishes “ his chests and bags full of fine things.”

that of the same faith, with the Arabs beyond the Mediterranean, he completely established the powerful and independent kingdom of the Moors of Spain.

When Abdalrahman was first received by his new subjects, a venerable sheik gave him his blessing, and added to it the advice which appeared most natural to one who had passed a long life in continual wars of religion and ambition. "My son," said he, "since God has called thee into this path, follow it bravely; and in truth, it is with the horse and the spear that the honour of a lineage is to be maintained." But the new caliph was of a temper more gentle, and indeed more politic; after repressing, by the power of his arms, the insurrection of a few chiefs who clung to the house of Ali, he united his subjects by the closer bonds of peace; he repaired the bridges and roads; he built ships and improved the sea-ports; he founded hospitals and schools; he gave protection to his subjects by the faithful administration of justice; and even with the despised Christians, who had been hunted into the recesses of the north, he made a treaty which secured to them undisturbed their wild residence among the mountains of Asturia and Leon, on the payment of an annual tribute.

The kingdom thus founded by Abdalrahman was still governed, two hundred and fifty years after his death, by Haccam his lineal successor, unimpaired in extent, and increased in prosperity, population and wealth. The caliphs of Cordova, though absolute in power, seem to have adopted and exercised, in a peculiar degree, that system which contributes to the general happiness of the people, and which, as it is never secured, so is it seldom practised, except under institutions in which the control and authority of the subject are openly acknowledged. During this long period, no cotemporary nation, especially of Christendom, can be in any degree compared with the empire of the Moors, not merely in regard to the refinements and luxuries of life, but in the administration of the laws, the protection of industry, the rapid increase of population, the development of new sources of wealth, and the attainment of the great ends of all political society, the safety, happiness and prosperity of the people.

The name of Abdalrahman indeed, which was borne by three of the caliphs of Cordova, is impressed on our recollection as the invariable sign of magnificence, of popularity, and even of virtue—more virtue at least, than is compatible with our usual ideas of a sovereign of the middle ages, and of a Mussulman. Bold and powerful in war, they never entered into it without success, but preferring the arts of peace, they displayed their wisdom and have secured their fame, by the encouragement they gave them. When we read of the number and splendour of palaces and

mosques; of gorgeous columns; of fountains of quicksilver flowing into basins of alabaster; and ceilings glittering with gold, rubies and pearls, we might believe that these were fictions of Eastern romance, did we not learn at the same time, from authentic history, that the wealth, commerce, power and taste of the nation were fully adequate to the display of such magnificence. The mines of Andalusia were the most productive in Europe of silver and gold. The trade of the Moors from the numerous sea-ports scattered on their coasts, extended throughout the Mediterranean, and was more flourishing than that of any other nation. The population was incredibly dense; on the banks of the Guadalquivir were twelve thousand towns and villages; Cordova, the capital, contained two hundred thousand houses; twenty-four large cities professed allegiance to the caliph; and agriculture and manufactures were pursued to an extent, and with a perfection and skill, that are now sought for in vain in the same regions.

Yet amid all this prosperity, the sure cause of destruction was working at the core. The intriguing, restless, fierce character of the Arabs, was only controlled by power which it would have been madness to oppose. When the caliphs, lulled perhaps by the luxury and splendour that surrounded them, ceased to throw these aside on occasions of necessity, and to show, that although loved in times of ease, they could be despised with as much readiness in periods of danger, a thousand aspirants—all of whom, from the numerous families of Mussulman princes, could boast some drop of royal blood—were ready to rush into the struggle, and risk all chances, where a diadem was the prize. "Crown me to-day, and if my stars decree it, kill me to-morrow," though the candid exclamation of but one, was perhaps the secret determination of all.

When therefore Haccam, the grandson of the third Abdalrahman, was content to slumber out his reign in the palace of Cordova, and to commit to Abdallah, who obtained the surname of Almanzor, or "victorious," the command of his armies and the destiny of his empire; though indeed that great leader well fulfilled the trust reposed in him, yet his death displayed at once the weakness of the sovereign and the turbulence of the people. Haccam himself was imprisoned by those who aspired to the throne; and after his death a dozen short-lived sovereigns seized in succession the caliphate of Cordova, only to hasten more rapidly its dismemberment and extinction.

The result of this event, which may be fixed in the year 1027, was the division of one into several independent Moorish kingdoms, each governed by its own sovereign. Of these the most northerly was Huesca, which lay at the foot of the Pyrenees, and probably embraced the upper parts of the present provinces

of Arragon and Catalonia. The kingdom of Saragossa, much more powerful, extended over the greater portion of Catalonia, Arragon, and Old Castile. The kingdom of Toledo occupied the centre, that of Lisbon the west, and that of Valencia the east of the peninsula. The fine southern district, now divided into the extensive provinces of Algarve, Andalusia, and Murcia, was governed by sovereigns who resided at Seville, and ultimately at Granada.

From this division, we trace slowly but steadily the decline of the Moorish power. The Christians, whom we have seen chased into the recesses of the mountains, had from time to time been themselves the aggressors, and were only driven back by the wisdom and strength of the caliphs of Cordova. They were not long in perceiving, that the moment had now come when they were to fight for their faith and the far domains of their ancestors, under better auspices. They readily took part in the quarrels by which the Moorish sovereigns weakened each other, and they attacked in succession the separate kingdoms that had only been able to resist them when united. Alphonso, king of Leon, after a long and celebrated siege, reduced the city and conquered the kingdom of Toledo. The famous Cid, Rodrigo Diaz, whose name implies at once the generosity and the heroism of chivalry, successfully overran Huesca and Valencia, though after his death the latter again returned to the dominion of the Moors. The subjection of these was followed by the conquest of the neighbouring kingdom of Saragossa; and not long afterwards, Alphonso, the son of Henry of Burgundy, with the aid of a fleet of crusaders, on their way to the Holy Land, besieged and took Lisbon, and founded the kingdom of Portugal. Thus, by the middle of the twelfth century, and in little more than a hundred years, the Christians had regained all the northern half of Spain.

The fairest portion of the peninsula, however, was yet in the hands of the infidels, and as they were compressed more closely, their resistance became more obstinate. The Christian princes too, quarrelling with each other in the division of the spoil, left their enemies a temporary repose. The nobler sciences and arts, as well as the more active and lucrative pursuits of individual enterprise, were again seen to flourish with a prosperity and splendour, around the sovereigns of Seville, scarcely less striking than when fostered by the Omniades of Cordova, a century before. The Moors even ventured, with the aid of the African Mussulmans, to become in their turn the aggressors; and the defiles of the Sierra Morena—now more familiar to us from the exploits of the knight of La Mancha, or the wanderings of Cardenio and Dorothea—were chosen as the field of a hard fought battle, where the infidels expected another

Xeres. Their hopes and calculations proved presumptuous: they were met by the flower of Christian chivalry: their overthrow was disastrous and complete; and an annual festival at Toledo still celebrates the triumph of the cross at *las Navas de Tolosa*.

Following up their successes, the Christians soon made themselves masters of Valencia, and even besieged and took the ancient city of Cordova. The fate of the Moors seemed to be decided. They looked forward themselves, with momentary expectation, to their complete subjugation, or expulsion. This event, however, was still destined long to be postponed. Mohammed Abousaid, a wise and bold chief of the tribe of Alhaman, conceived and accomplished the scheme of founding a new empire, out of the remnant of his race. He selected as his capital the beautiful city of Granada; he collected together the Moors from the cities and provinces which had been conquered by the Christians; and taking advantage of the fertility of the soil, the extent of the coast, and the riches hidden in the bosom of the mountains, he turned his attention to the cultivation and improvement of these resources. He determined moreover to obtain a peace even at the expense of a tribute paid to the king of Castile, and thus hoped to arrest, in its decline, the empire founded by his ancestors.

All the glories of Cordova and Seville were again seen in the kingdom of Granada. In beauty of situation, the new city surpassed them both. Two hills arise amidst a broad *vega*, or plain, which stretches for thirty miles between ranges of mountains crowned with noble forests. On these hills, known by the names of the Albaycin and the Alhambra, and in the valley at their feet, is the city of Granada. The rivers Xenel and Darro refresh it by their sparkling waters, one of which sometimes washes down gold, the other virgin silver. Art added to the beauties of nature. The rich remains of the palace of the Alhambra still excite the admiration of the traveller; the garden of the Generalife was indeed worthy of its name, which signifies "the abode of love;" and innumerable monuments of utility and splendour marked at once the wisdom and taste of the sovereigns. The sciences were cultivated in well endowed academies; poets, artists, physicians, and philosophers, were liberally patronised; and it is perhaps to this period that we owe those simple and touching ballads and romances, which, even translated into European languages, have a charm scarcely to be imitated. A tone of refinement too, was imparted to the character of the people, though it is true, they did not altogether cease to retain the versatility, the ardour, the unsteadiness, and even occasionally the ferocity of their Arabian descent.

The prudence of most of the successors of Mohammed, ena-

bled them to maintain, for more than two hundred years, the kingdom he had founded: yet in this interval their frontiers were considerably encroached on by the kings of Castile; and the punctual payment of an annual tribute and the acknowledgment of a degrading vassalage, were submitted to with the full conviction of their necessity. This was the case, till the middle of the fifteenth century, when Ferdinand and Isabella, having united by their marriage all Christian Spain, ascended a common throne. At that period, Granada was governed by Muley Aben Hassan. He was a prince full of warlike courage, but his authority was weakened by a quarrel with his son Boabdil, the child of his divorced wife Ayxa, who had placed himself at the head of a party, inconsiderable neither in numbers nor power. The sovereigns of Castile were not regardless of the situation of the Moors; they had repressed most of the domestic factions of their own states; they had around them a body of brave and unoccupied soldiers; they looked upon the infidels as a race of intruders, whom it was their duty to drive beyond the sea; and they anxiously sought a fair occasion, to draw their swords in a cause which they deemed that of God and their country. This the impetuous character of Muley Aben Hassan was not long in affording them; and when the proud Moor had the boldness to declare, that the annual tribute to the Christian sovereigns was a mark of degradation to which he would no longer submit, they gladly prepared for the conflict, which they believed, and which in truth was to lead to the overthrow and expulsion of a hated race.

Here then commences *The Chronicle of Fray Antonio Agapida*, and we trust that the introduction which we have thus given, has not appeared to our readers either unnecessary or tedious, but that they will be the better enabled to accompany us while we follow the learned and pious father through his more minute history of subsequent events.

After a brief but beautiful description of the city and suburbs of Granada, the chronicler informs us that in the year 1478, king Ferdinand sent Don Juan de Vera, a zealous and devout knight, full of ardour for the faith and loyalty for the crown, to demand all arrears of tribute. The answer of the Moor was characteristic of his haughty temper. "Tell your sovereigns," said he, "that the kings of Granada, who used to pay tribute to the Castilian crown, are dead. Our mint at present coins nothing but blades of scimitars and heads of lances." The Spanish monarch only waited to hurl back the defiance thus cast at him, until he had effected a truce with Portugal with which he was then embroiled. This being effected, he turned his attention to the Moors, and while he aimed at nothing less than the complete extermination of their race, he resolved to carry on the war with cautious and

persevering patience, taking town after town, and fortress after fortress, and gradually plucking away all the supports, before he attempted the capital. "I will pick out the seeds, one by one, of this pomegranate," said the wary Ferdinand.

Muley Aben Hassan was not ignorant of the preparations and designs of his enemy. He was however confident in his own resources and strength, and determined to anticipate the Christians by striking the first blow himself. He fixed his eyes on Zahara, a fortress within the Spanish border, so strong as to be deemed impregnable—so much so indeed that it had passed into a proverb, throughout Spain, and a woman of forbidding and inaccessible virtue was called a *Zahareña*.

"It was in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and eighty-one," says the Chronicle, "and but a night or two after the festival of the most blessed Nativity, that Muley Aben Hassan made his famous attack upon Zahara. The inhabitants of the place were sunk in profound sleep; the very sentinel had deserted his post, and sought shelter from a tempest which had raged for three nights in succession, for it appeared but little probable that an enemy would be abroad during such an uproar of the elements. But evil spirits work best during a storm, (observes the worthy Antonio Agapida,) and Muley Aben Hassan found such a season most suitable for his diabolical purposes. In the midst of the night, an uproar arose within the walls of Zahara, more awful than the raging of the storm. A fearful alarm cry—'the Moor! the Moor!' resounded through the streets, mingled with the clash of arms, the shriek of anguish, and the shout of victory. Muley Aben Hassan, at the head of a powerful force, had hurried from Granada, and passed unobserved through the mountains in the obscurity of the tempest. While the storm-pelted the sentinel from his post, and howled round tower and battlement, the Moors had planted their scaling-ladders, and mounted securely, into both town and castle. The garrison was unsuspecting of danger, until battle and massacre burst forth within its very walls. It seemed to the affrighted inhabitants, as if the fiends of the air had come upon the wings of the wind, and possessed themselves of tower and turret. The war-cry resounded on every side, shout answering shout, above, below, on the battlements of the castle, in the streets of the town,—the foe was in all parts, wrapped in obscurity, but acting in concert by the aid of preconcerted signals. Starting from sleep, the soldiers were intercepted and cut down as they rushed from their quarters; or, if they escaped, they knew not where to assemble, or where to strike. Wherever lights appeared, the flashing scimitar was at its deadly work, and all who attempted resistance fell beneath its edge."

The struggle, it may be supposed, did not last long. Amid the howling of the tempest, and the shouts of the conquerors, the wretched inhabitants were dragged from their dwellings, and morning only dawned upon them to display the extent of their calamity, and to show them, for the last time, their desolated home. Leaving a strong garrison in the conquered fortress, Muley Aben Hassan returned with a train of miserable captives to Granada; and entered his capital, just as the citizens were preparing to celebrate his victory with extraordinary rejoicings. They viewed his retinue, however, with other feelings than those of joy; and sorrow clouded the festivities which had commenced.

* * *Granada* is the Spanish term for *pomegranate*.

"Deep was the grief and indignation of the people at this cruel scene. Old men, who had experienced the calamities of warfare, anticipated coming troubles. Mothers clasped their infants to their breasts, as they beheld the hapless females of Zahara, with their children expiring in their arms. On every side, the accents of pity for the sufferers were mingled with execrations of the barbarity of the king. The preparations for festivity were neglected; and the viands, which were to have feasted the conquerors, were distributed among the captives.

"The nobles and alfaquis, however, repaired to the Alhambra, to congratulate the king; for, whatever storms may rage in the lower regions of society, rarely do any clouds, but clouds of incense, rise to the awful eminence of the throne. In this instance, however, a voice rose from the midst of the obsequious crowd, that burst like thunder upon the ears of Aben Hassan. 'Wo! wo! wo! to Granada!' exclaimed the voice, 'its hour of desolation approaches. The ruins of Zahara will fall upon our heads:—a spirit tells me that the end of our empire is at hand!' All shrunk back aghast, and left the denouncer of wo standing alone in the centre of the hall. He was an ancient and hoary man, in the rude attire of a dervise. Age had withered his form without quenching the fire of his spirit, which glared in baleful lustre from his eyes. He was, (say the Arabian historians,) one of those holy men termed santons, who pass their lives in hermitages, in fasting, meditation, and prayer, until they attain to the purity of saints and the foresight of prophets. 'He was,' says the indignant Fray Antonio Agapida, 'a son of Behal, one of those fanatic infidels possessed by the devil, who are sometimes permitted to predict the truth to their followers; but with the proviso, that their predictions shall be of no avail.'

"The voice of the santon resounded through the lofty hall of the Alhambra, and struck silence and awe into the crowd of courtly sycophants. Muley Aben Hassan alone was unmoved: he eyed the hoary anchorite with scorn as he stood dauntless before him, and treated his predictions as the ravings of a maniac. The santon rushed from the royal presence, and, descending into the city, hurried through its streets and squares with frantic gesticulations. His voice was heard, in every part, in awful denunciation. 'The peace is broken! the exterminating war is commenced. Wo! wo! wo! to Granada! its fall is at hand! desolation shall dwell in its palaces; its strong men shall fall beneath the sword, its children and maidens shall be led into captivity. Zahara is but a type of Granada!'

"Terror seized upon the populace, for they considered these ravings as the inspirations of prophecy. They hid themselves in their dwellings, as in a time of general mourning; or, if they went abroad, it was to gather together in knots in the streets and squares, to alarm each other with dismal forebodings, and to curse the rashness and cruelty of the fierce Aben Hassan.

"The Moorish monarch heeded not their murmurs. Knowing that his empire must draw upon him the vengeance of the Christians, he now threw off all reserve, and made attempts to surprise Castellan and Elvira, though without success. He sent alfaquis, also, to the Barbary powers, informing them that the sword was drawn, and inviting them to aid in maintaining the kingdom of Granada, and the religion of Mahomet, against the violence of unbelievers."

The haughty sovereign of Castile heard of the capture of Zahara with indignation at being thus anticipated in the war, and with delight at the pretext it afforded for an immediate commencement of the most vigorous hostilities. While he was collecting an army, the chivalry of the border volunteered their services in what they deemed a holy conflict, and the marqués of Cadiz, one of the most valiant of the Spanish nobles, determined to compensate for the loss of Zahara, by the immediate attack and conquest of Alhama, a still larger place, considerably within the Moorish frontier. By dint of valour, and after a fierce struggle, he made himself master of the town, and at the same

time of a prodigious quantity of the richest booty; for in Alhama were collected the royal rents and tributes of the surrounding country. From its great strength and peculiar situation it was considered a place of perfect security, and indeed called the Key of Granada.

When the news of this fatal event reached the city, even Aben Hassan felt that it was a severe retribution for his conduct at Zahara; and the people did not hesitate to exclaim in terms of bitter reproach, at the folly of their sovereign who had thus involved them in war. They called to recollection the denunciation of the santón.

"His prediction seemed still to resound in every ear, and its fulfilment to be at hand. Nothing was heard throughout the city, but sighs and wailings. 'Wo is me, Alhama!' was in every mouth, and this ejaculation of deep sorrow and doleful foreboding, came to be the burthen of a plaintive ballad, which remains until the present day."

"Many aged men, who had taken refuge in Granada from other Moorish dominions which had fallen into the power of the Christians, now groaned in despair at the thoughts that war was to follow them into this last retreat, to lay waste this pleasant land, and to bring trouble and sorrow upon their declining years. The women were more loud and vehement in their grief; for they beheld the evils impending over their children, and what can restrain the agony of a mother's heart? Many of them made their way through the halls of the Alhambra into the presence of the king, weeping, and wailing, and tearing their hair. 'Accursed be the day,' cried they, 'that thou hast lit the flame of war in our land! May the holy Prophet bear witness before Allah, that we and our children are innocent of this act! Upon thy head, and upon the heads of thy posterity, until the end of the world, rest the sin of the desolation of Zahara!'"

"Muley Aben Hassan remained unmoved, amidst all this storm; his heart was hardened (observes Fray Antonio Agapida) like that of Pharaoh, to the end that, through his blind violence and rage, he might produce the deliverance of the land from its heathen bondage. In fact, he was a bold and fearless warrior, and trusted soon to make this blow recoil upon the head of the enemy. He had ascertained that the captors of Alhama were but a handful: they were in the centre of his dominions, within a short distance of his capital. They were deficient in provisions of war, and provisions for sustaining a siege. By a rapid movement, he might surround them with a powerful army, cut off all aid from their countrymen, and entrap them in the fortress they had taken.

"To think was to act, with Muley Aben Hassan; but he was prone to act with too much precipitation. He immediately set forth in person, with three thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, and in his eagerness to arrive at the scene of action, would not wait to provide artillery and the various engines required in a siege. 'The multitude of my forces,' said he, confidently, 'will be sufficient to overwhelm the enemy.'"

The assault indeed was made with all the energy and fury of the Moors, which were only withstood by the strength and loftiness of the walls they had themselves erected. Failing to take the town by storm, they turned aside the current of the stream which supplied it with water, and thus reduced it to the last necessity. The brave marques of Cadiz looked forward indeed

* The mournful Spanish romance of *Ay de mí, Alhama!* is supposed to be of Moorish origin, and to embody the grief of the people of Granada on this occasion. The translation of it by Lord Byron has rendered it familiar to all readers.

every moment to the loss of the prize he had so nobly won. His soldiers lay parched and panting along the battlements, no longer able to draw a bowstring or hurl a stone; five thousand Moors were constantly attempting to scale the walls, or keeping up an unceasing fire from a rocky height which overlooked part of the town; and the Christian forces, though rapidly collecting, were too distant, it was feared, to arrive soon enough to save their brethren.

In this emergency, an incident occurred which at once displays the chivalrous gallantry of the age, and is a striking trait of individual generosity. The duke of Medina Sidonia was a powerful Spanish noble, whose domains were nearest the Moors, and who, from his feudal rank and power, could at any time bring into the field a large force of vassals and retainers. The duke was at this time in deadly feud with the marques of Cadiz, but the wife of the beleaguered noble, relying on his magnanimity as a Christian knight, did not hesitate, in the urgency of her distress, to implore his powerful succour. The duke was far from disappointing the confidence reposed in him by the exalted matron; he forgot at once all cause of animosity, summoned his retainers from every part of his extensive principality, and moreover, by appealing to their generosity, as cavaliers of the true faith, obtained the voluntary aid of many of the most distinguished among the chivalry of Andalusia. Muley Aben Hassan, aware of the approaching relief, made another desperate attack on the fortress, but was repulsed with considerable loss, and even attacked in the rear by the vanguard of the Christian army. He saw at once that all further effort was vain; that to linger longer, would be to place himself between two enemies; and as the standards of the duke of Sidonia were emerging from the defiles above Alhama, he began his march towards Granada.

"When the inhabitants of Albama," says Fray Antonio, "beheld their enemies retreating on one side, and their friends advancing on the other, they uttered shouts of joy and hymns of thanksgiving, for it was a sudden relief from present death. Harassed by several weeks of incessant vigil and fighting, suffering from scarcity of provisions and almost continual thirst, they resembled skeletons rather than living men. It was a noble and gracious sight to behold the meeting of those two ancient foes, the duke of Medina Sidonia and the marques of Cadiz. When the marques beheld his magnanimous deliverer approaching, he melted into tears: all past animosities only gave the greater poignancy to present feelings of gratitude and admiration; they clasped each other in their arms, and from that time forward were true and cordial friends."

"While this generous scene took place between the two commanders, a sordid contest arose among their troops. The soldiers who had come to the rescue, claimed a portion of the spoils of Alhama: and so violent was the dispute, that both parties seized their arms. The duke of Medina Sidonia interfered, and settled the question with his characteristic magnanimity. He declared that the spoil belonged to those who had captured the city. 'We have taken the field,' said he, 'only for honour, for religion, and for the rescue of our countrymen and fellow-Christians; and the success of our enterprise is a sufficient and a glorious reward. If we desire booty, there are sufficient Moorish cities yet to be taken.'

to enrich us all.' The soldiers were convinced by the frank and chivalrous reasoning of the duke; they replied to his speech by acclamations, and the transient broil was happily appeased.

"The marchioness of Cadiz, with the forethought of a loving wife, had dispatched her major domo with the army, with a large supply of provisions. Tables were immediately spread beneath the tents, where the marques gave a banquet to the duke and the cavaliers who had accompanied him, and nothing but hilarity prevailed in this late scene of suffering and death.

"A garrison of fresh troops was left in Alhama; and the veterans who had so valiantly captured and maintained it, returned to their homes, burthened with precious booty. The marques and duke, with their confederate cavaliers, repaired to Antiquera, where they were received with great distinction by the king, who honoured the marques of Cadiz with signal marks of favour. The duke then accompanied his late enemy, but now most zealous and grateful friend, the marques of Cadiz, to his own town of Marchena, where he received the reward of his generous conduct, in the thanks and blessings of the marchioness. The marques celebrated a sumptuous feast, in honour of his guest; for a day and night, his palace was thrown open, and was the scene of continual revel and festivity. When the duke departed for his estates at St. Lucar, the marques attended him for some distance on his journey; and when they separated, it was as the parting scene of brothers. Such was the noble spectacle exhibited to the chivalry of Spain, by these two illustrious rivals. Each reaped universal renown from the part he had performed in the campaign; the marques, from having surprised and captured one of the most important and formidable fortresses of the kingdom of Granada; and the duke, from having subdued his deadliest foe, by a great act of magnanimity."

We have already alluded to the dissension that existed between Muley Aben Hassan, and Boabdil, surnamed *el Chico* or the younger, the son of the sultana Ayxa la Horra. The vigour and power of the old king, had hitherto been fully adequate to repress all attempts at open rebellion, but the reverses of the war and the dangers which were dreaded from its continuance, sensibly affected the turbulent and uncertain tempers of the Moors, and thus gave strength to the secret party which had been formed, by the intriguing sultana, to support the youthful monarch. Taking advantage of a temporary absence of Aben Hassan from Granada, the conspirators seized upon the fortresses and gates of the city, repulsed successfully an attack of the sultan on his return, compelled him to take refuge in Malaga, and placed, at least for a time, his triumphant son on the throne of the Alhambra. Thus commenced the feuds which aided the Christians in their conquest; the Moors became divided into hostile and implacable factions, and their ruin was more accelerated by fierce contests of internal than foreign foes.

Finding the rebellious party too strong to be easily overthrown, the old sultan determined to await a more favourable opportunity for repairing his domestic wrongs, and in the meantime, from his strong hold in Malaga, to pursue a more patriotic warfare against the Christians. He commenced his career, with a bold foray into the broad duchy of Medina Sidonia, one of the richest and most fertile districts of southern Spain. Taking the people by surprise, he seized an immense booty, re-

vengeed himself on the duke who had foiled him at Alhama, and driving before him immense flocks and herds, marched back triumphantly to Malaga.

The pride of the Andalusian chivalry was sorely mortified at the successful incursion of the Moors, and they determined on immediate retaliation. The marques of Cadiz, the adelantado of Andalusia, the count of Cifuentes bearer of the royal standard, the master of Santiago, and Don Alonzo de Aguilar, brother of the famous Gonsalvo de Cordova, with many cavaliers of note, hastened to take part in the enterprise. They assembled in the old warlike city of Antiquera, and twenty-seven hundred horse, and several companies of foot, comprising the very flower of Christian knighthood, set forth to inflict signal vengeance on the fierce and hoary infidel. Bold, impetuous, and confident of success, the gallant band determined to attack him in his den, and rushed through the mountainous region near Malaga, called the Axarquia, to terminate their foray by a brilliant assault upon that rich, and as they learned, weakly defended city.

"Never," says Fray Antonio Agapida, "did a more gallant and self-confident little army tread the earth. It was composed of men full of health and vigour, to whom war was a pastime and delight. They had spared no expense in their equipments, for never was the pomp of war carried to a higher pitch than among the proud chivalry of Spain. Cased in armour richly inlaid and embossed, decked with rich surcoats and waving plumes, and superbly mounted on Andalusian steeds, they pranced out of Antiquera with banners flying, and their various devices and armorial bearings ostentatiously displayed, and in the confidence of their hopes, promised the inhabitants to enrich them with the spoils of Malaga.

"In the rear of this warlike pageant, followed a peaceful band, intent upon profiting by the anticipated victories. They were not the customary wretches that hover about armies to plunder and strip the dead, but goodly and substantial traders from Seville, Cordova, and other cities of traffic. They rode sleek mules, and were clad in goodly raiment, with long leathern purses at their girdles, well filled with pistoles and other golden coin. They had heard of the spoils wasted by the soldiery at the capture of Alhama, and were provided with moneys to buy up the jewels and precious stones, the vessels of gold and silver, and the rich silks and cloths, that should form the plunder of Malaga. The proud cavaliers eyed these sons of traffic with great disdain, but permitted them to follow for the convenience of the troops, who might otherwise be overburthened with booty."

These proceedings of the Christians were not disregarded by their enemies. The garrison of Malaga was commanded by a celebrated warrior, Muley Abdallah, brother of the sultan, and surnamed El Zagal or the valiant. Suspecting the design of the enemy, he stirred up the peasantry of the mountains, and prepared himself, with what forces he could collect, to attack the bold adventurers among the fastnesses in which they so rashly entangled themselves. The Christians indeed soon found cause

* Many valiant exploits of this celebrated knight are recorded in the chronicle, but he is probably best known to our readers, from the beautiful ballad on his death, so simply and admirably translated by Dr. Percy.

to repent their folly; ignorant of the country, they plunged into defiles, where they were attacked without chance of defence, by the Moorish peasants assembled on the precipices; and when they attempted either to advance or retreat, they were thrown into confusion, separated from each other, and galled on all sides by their fierce and exulting foes. While in this desperate situation, they heard a new cry resounding along the valleys. "El Zagal! El Zagal!" echoed from cliff to cliff. "What cry is that," said the master of Santiago. "It is the war-cry of the Moorish general," said an old soldier; "he must be coming in person with the troops of Malaga." "Let us die then," replied the knight, "making a road with our hearts, since we cannot with our swords. Let us scale the mountain, and sell our lives dearly, instead of staying here to be tamely butchered." Bravely indeed, and long, did the Christian cavaliers sustain the unequal conflict; and if gallantry and courage could have repaired their rashness, they might have been saved on that fatal day. Above all, the marques of Cadiz, who had at first, but in vain, opposed the rash and hasty foray, and his friend Don Alonzo de Aguilar, fought with more than knightly valour, and tried every expedient which skill and prudence could suggest, to extricate the miserable remnant of their troops. A trusty guide at length pointed out a new path over the mountain, which they determined to attempt; but unfortunately, in the darkness and confusion, the bands were separated from each other.

"When the marques attained the summit, he looked around for his companions in arms; but they were no longer following him, and there was no trumpet to summon them. It was a consolation to the marques, however, that his brothers, and several of his relations, with a number of his retainers, were still with him: he called his brothers by name, and their replies gave comfort to his heart. His guide now led the way into another valley, where he would be less exposed to danger: when he had reached the bottom of it, the marques paused to collect his scattered followers, and to give time for his fellow-commanders to rejoin him. Here he was suddenly assailed by the troops of El Zagal, aided by the mountaineers from the cliffs. The Christians, exhausted and terrified, lost all presence of mind: most of them fled, and were either slain or taken captive. The marques and his valiant brothers, with a few tried friends, made a stout resistance. His horse was killed under him; his brothers, Don Diego and Don Lope, with his two nephews Don Lorenzo and Don Manuel, were one by one swept from his side, either transfixed with darts and lances by the soldiers of El Zagal, or crushed by stones from the heights. The marques was a veteran warrior, and had been in many a bloody battle; but never before had death fallen so thick and close around him. When he saw his remaining brother, Don Beltram, struck out of his saddle by a fragment of a rock, and his horse running wildly about without his rider, he gave a cry of anguish, and stood bewildered and aglashed. A few faithful followers surrounded him, and entreated him to fly for his life. He would still have remained, to have shared the fortunes of his friend Don Alonzo de Aguilar, and his other companions in arms; but the forces of El Zagal were between him and them, and death was whistling by on every wind. Reluctantly, therefore, he consented to fly. Another horse was brought him, his faithful adalid guided him by one of the steepest paths, which lasted for four leagues; the enemy still hanging on his traces, and thinning the scanty ranks of his followers

At length the marques reached the extremity of the mountain defiles, and, with a haggard remnant of his men, escaped by dint of hoof to Antiquera."

Great was the number of prisoners, and rich the spoils which the Moors carried to Malaga, after this fierce and unequal battle. War-horses, standards, and armour, filled the streets of the city, and the merchants who had hoped to profit by victory, could only redeem themselves from the consequences of defeat, by enormous ransoms. All Andalusia, mourned over the calamity which had befallen her bravest sons, and the fatal scene of conflict was called *La Cuesta de la Matanza*—the hill of the massacre,—a name it still retains.

The exultation of the infidels was in proportion to the lamentation of the Christians. When the people of Granada heard of the glorious success of the monarch they had expelled, and beheld the listlessness of their more youthful sovereign, the natural fickleness of their character led them to regret the change they had made. It was murmured that their king preferred the luxurious indolence of the Alhambra, to the rough forays among the mountains, which were the delight and glory of his father. Boabdil himself was not insensible to this; and he determined, by striking also a signal blow, to render the throne of Granada as famous as that of Malaga. He immediately assembled his forces at Loxa, a town near the borders, and consulting with his father-in-law Ali Atar, an old Moorish warrior of uncommon bravery and skill, determined to attack without delay the fortress of Lucena. The most illustrious and valiant of the Moorish nobility flocked to the standard of the youthful king; his mother, the sultana Ayxa la Horra armed him for the field; and all around rejoiced, except his beautiful consort Morayma, who could not repress the sad forebodings that filled her heart, and who long watched with tearful eyes, from the towers of her palace, the glittering standards which she never expected again to behold.

The mournful presage proved but too true. The count de Cabra, a brave Spaniard, no sooner heard of the attempt against Lucena, than collecting all the troops of the surrounding district, he marched to its aid. In concert with the garrison, he made a desperate attack on the besiegers, and eventually defeated them with great slaughter. Old Ali Atar was slain, Boabdil taken prisoner, and the scattered remnant of the late powerful army fled back with precipitation to Loxa and Granada.

"The sentinels," says the chronicle, "looked out from the watch-towers of Loxa, along the valley of the Xenel, which passes through the mountains of Al-garingo. They looked to behold the king returning in triumph, at the head of his shining host, laden with the spoil of the unbeliever. They looked to behold the standard of their warlike idol, the fierce Ali Atar, borne by the chivalry of Loxa, ever foremost in the wars of the border.

"In the evening of the 21st of April, they descried a single horseman urging his faltering steed along the banks of the Xenel. As he drew near, they perceiv

ed, by the flash of arms, that he was a warrior; and on nearer approach, by the richness of his armour and the caparison of his steed, they knew him to be a warrior of rank.

"He reached Loxa, faint and aghast; his Arabian courser covered with foam, and dust, and blood, panting and staggering with fatigue, and gashed with wounds. Having brought his master in safety, he sunk down and died before the gate of the city. The soldiers at the gate gathered round the cavalier, as he stood mute and melancholy by his expiring steed. They knew him to be the gallant Cidi Caleb, nephew of the chief alfaqui of the Albaycin of Granada. When the people of Loxa beheld this noble cavalier, thus alone, haggard and dejected, their hearts were filled with fearful forebodings.

"*'Cavalier,'* said they, *'how fares it with the king and army?'*

"He cast his hand mournfully towards the land of the Christians. *'There they lie!'* exclaimed he. *'The heavens have fallen upon them. All are lost! all dead!'*

"Upon this, there was a great cry of consternation among the people, and loud wailings of women, for the flower of the youth of Loxa were with the army.

"An old Moorish soldier, scarred in many a border battle, stood leaning on his lance by the gateway. *'Where is Ali Atai?'* demanded he, eagerly. *'If he lives, the army cannot be lost.'*

"*'I saw his turban cleaved by the Christian sword,'* replied Cidi Caleb. *'His body is floating in the Xenel.'*

"When the soldier heard these words, he smote his breast and threw dust upon his head; for he was an old follower of Ali Atai.

"The noble Cidi Caleb gave himself no repose, but, mounting another steed, hastened to carry the disastrous tidings to Granada. As he passed through the villages and hamlets, he spread sorrow around; for their chosen men had followed the king to the wars.

"When he entered the gates of Granada, and announced the loss of the king and army, a voice of horror went throughout the city. Every one thought but of his own share in the general calamity, and crowded round the bearer of ill tidings. One asked after a father, another after a brother, some after a lover, and many a mother after her son. His replies were still of wounds and death. To one he replied, *'I saw thy father pierced with a lance, as he defended the person of the king.'* To another, *'Thy brother fell wounded under the hoofs of the horses; but there was no time to aid him, for the Christian cavalry were upon us.'* To another, *'I saw the horse of thy lover, covered with blood, and galloping without his rider.'* To another, *'Thy son fought by my side, on the banks of the Xenel: we were surrounded by the enemy, and driven into the stream. I heard him cry upon Allah, in the midst of the waters: when I reached the other bank, he was no longer by my side.'*

"The noble Cidi Caleb passed on, leaving all Granada in lamentation: he urged his steed up the steep avenue of trees and fountains that leads to the Alhambra, nor stopped until he arrived before the gate of Justice. Ayxa, the mother of Boabdil, and Morayma, his beloved and tender wife, had daily watched from the tower of the Gomeres, to behold his triumphant return. Who shall describe their affliction, when they heard the tidings of Cidi Caleb? The sultana Ayxa spake not much, but sat as one entranced in woe. Every now and then a deep sigh burst forth, but she raised her eyes to heaven: *'It is the will of Allah!'* said she, and with these words endeavoured to repress the agonies of a mother's sorrow. The tender Morayma threw herself on the earth, and gave way to the full turbulence of her feelings, bewailing her husband and her father. The high-minded Ayxa rebuked the violence of her grief: *'Moderate these transports, my daughter,'* said she; *'remember magnanimity should be the attribute of princes; it becomes not them to give way to clamorous sorrow, like common and vulgar minds.'* But Morayma could only deplore her loss, with the anguish of a tender woman. She shut herself up in her mador, and gazed all day, with streaming eyes, upon the vega. Every object before her recalled the causes of her affliction. The river Xenel, which ran shining amidst the groves and gardens, was

the same on whose banks had perished her father, Ali Atar; before her lay the road to Loxa, by which Boabdil had departed, in martial state, surrounded by the chivalry of Granada. Ever and anon, she would burst into an agony of grief. 'Alas! my father!' she would exclaim; 'the river runs smiling before me, that covers thy mangled remains: who will gather them to an honoured tomb, in the land of the unbeliever?' And thou, oh Boabdil, light of my eyes! joy of my heart! life of my life! woe the day and woe the hour, that I saw thee depart from these walls. The road by which thou hast departed is solitary; never will it be gladdened by thy return! the mountain thou hast traversed lies like a cloud in the distance, and all beyond it is darkness.'

"The royal minstrels were summoned to assuage the sorrows of the queen. they attuned their instruments to cheerful strains; but in a little while the anguish of their hearts prevailed, and turned their songs to lamentations.

"'Beautiful Granada!' they exclaimed, 'how is thy glory faded! The Vivar-rambla no longer echoes to the tramp of steed and sound of trumpet; no longer is it crowded with thy youthful nobles, eager to display their prowess in the tourney and the festive tilt of reeds. Alas! the flower of thy chivalry lies low in a foreign land! the soft note of the lute is no longer heard in thy moonlight streets; the lively castanet is silent upon thy hills; and the graceful dance of the Zambra is no more seen beneath thy bowers. Behold the Alhambra is forlorn and desolate! in vain do the orange and myrtle breathe their perfumes into its silken chambers; in vain does the nightingale sing within its groves; in vain are its marble halls refreshed by the sound of fountains and the gush of limpid rills. Alas! the countenance of the king no longer shines within those halls: the light of the Alhambra is set for ever!'

"Thus all Granada, say the Arabian chroniclers, gave itself up to lamentation: there was nothing but the voice of wailing, from the palace to the cottage. All joined to deplore their youthful monarch, cut down in the freshness and promise of his youth; many feared that the prediction of the astrologers was about to be fulfilled, and that the downfall of the kingdom would follow the death of Boabdil; while all declared, that had he survived, he was the very sovereign calculated to restore the realm to its ancient prosperity and glory."

The natural result of the captivity and misfortunes of Boabdil, was the return of power and popularity to his father. Muley Aben Hassan was received with acclamation at Granada, and he wisely permitted the sultana Ayxa to remain unmolested in the quarter of the Albaycin, although when it was known that her son was merely a captive and not dead, she still proclaimed him the lawful tenant of the throne. In the mean time Ferdinand and Isabella greatly rejoiced in the fortunate result of the battle of Lucena. They heaped upon the count de Cabra new honours, and unbounded thanks. They were well aware of the value of the prize he had won for them; they forgot all the disasters which had befallen the Christian arms; and only looked forward to the speedy termination of the war. They were somewhat at a loss to decide on the course to be pursued towards the royal prisoner; but on deliberation, the wary Castilian deemed the most prudent policy to be that, which should fan the fire that had already begun to consume the entrails of his enemies, and aid the Spanish arms by continuing the fierce contest between the rival kings. He therefore, with all the semblance of magnanimity, offered his freedom to Boabdil; and the captive prince did not refuse to accept it, even with the condition that he should hold the crown of Granada as a vassal of Castile, pay

an annual tribute, and grant a safe passage through his towns to the Spanish soldiers. Muley Aben Hassan, however, was not disposed to relinquish the advantage he had gained. He repulsed his son vigorously, on his attempting to return to Granada; forced him to fix his residence at the town of Almeria; caused him to be denounced by the priests as an apostate; and made immediate preparations for a foray against the Christians, in which he hoped to repair the losses of Lucerna, and thus to fix the populace more strongly in his favour. "Allah Achbar!" exclaimed he, "God is great; but a successful inroad into the country of the unbelievers, will make more converts to my cause than a thousand texts of the Koran, expounded by ten thousand alfaquis." Fortune however did not always prove equally propitious: though the army despatched by the sultan was composed of his best troops, and commanded by Bexir, the gray and crafty alcajde of Malaga, and Hamet el Zegri, alcajde of Ronda, both famous for their impetuous courage and warlike skill, it was defeated with great slaughter at Lopera, and the Christians prided themselves on having avenged their companions who had fallen in the mountains of Axarquia. Among the spoils indeed of the slain and captive Moors, they recovered much which had been taken in that unfortunate conflict, and their exultation was blended with melancholy recollections as they viewed the sad trophies of that disastrous day. The good marques of Cadiz, who as usual was among the boldest in the battle, discovered the very war-horse which had belonged to his slaughtered brother Beltram. He laid his hand upon the mane, and gazed upon the empty saddle. "Ay de mi! mi hermano!" (wo is me! my brother!) broke from his lips; and the bitterness of his sorrow was only assuaged when he looked round on the heaps of slain, and felt that his brother was not unrevenged.

The marques, determining to follow up his success, attacked Zahara, which had remained in possession of the Moors, since its first capture at the commencement of the war; and made himself master of it after a violent resistance by the garrison. His bold and adventurous spirit kindled anew in the Christian cavaliers the desire to distinguish themselves in this holy warfare. Before their enemies had time to recover, they rushed across the border, desolated the fine vega of Malaga up to the very walls of the city, took the strong fortresses of Allora and Setenil, and even ventured to lay waste the country and burn the villages as far as the suburbs of Granada itself.

Old Muley Aben Hassan, already bowed down by infirmity and years, was overwhelmed with dismay at the triumph of the Christians. He suffered the cares of sovereignty to devolve upon his brother El Zagal, who had distinguished himself already as a warrior, and especially in the massacre of the Spanish chivalry

among the mountains of Axarquia. A bold soldier, he determined at once to carry on the war against the Spaniards vigorously but with caution, and also to endeavour to unite the Moors in one common cause, by the capture or death of Boabdil, the rival sovereign. This prince, since his release from captivity, had passed his days in indolence within the walls of Almería; he refused to listen either to the murmurs of his subjects or the remonstrances of his high spirited mother; and when El Zagal appeared before the town, the garrison willingly transferred their allegiance to a braver warrior. El Zagal at once made his way to the citadel to seize his wretched nephew.

"He rushed through the apartments of the Alcázar, but he sought in vain for Boabdil. He found the sultana Ayxa la Horra in one of the saloons, with Ben Ahagete, a younger brother of the monarch, a valiant Abencerrage, and several attendants, who rallied round them to protect them. 'Where is the traitor Boabdil?' exclaimed El Zagal. 'I know no traitor more perfidious than thyself,' exclaimed the intrepid sultana; 'and I trust my son is in safety, to take vengeance on thy treason.' The rage of El Zagal was without bounds, when he learnt that his intended victim had escaped. In his fury he slew the prince Ben Ahagete, and his followers fell upon and massacred the Abencerrage and attendants. As to the proud sultana, she was borne away prisoner, and loaded with revilings, as having upheld her son in his rebellion, and fomented a civil war.

"The unfortunate Boabdil had been apprized of his danger by a faithful soldier, just in time to make his escape. Throwing himself on one of the fleetest horses in his stables, and followed by a handful of adherents, he had galloped in the confusion out of the gates of Almería. Several of the cavalry of El Zagal, who were stationed without the walls, perceived his flight, and attempted to pursue him; their horses were jaded with travel, and he soon left them far behind. But, whither was he to fly? Every fortress and castle in the kingdom of Granada was closed against him; he knew not whom among the Moors to trust, for they had been taught to detest him as a traitor and an apostate. He had no alternative but to seek refuge among the Christians, his hereditary enemies. With a heavy heart, he turned his horse's head towards Cordova. He had to lurk, like a fugitive, through a part of his own dominions; nor did he feel himself secure, until he had passed the frontier, and beheld the mountain barrier of his country towering behind him. Then it was that he became conscious of his humiliating state—a fugitive from his throne, an outcast from his nation, a king without a kingdom. He smote his breast, in an agony of grief: 'Evil indeed,' exclaimed he, 'was the day of my birth, and truly was I named El Zogoybi the unlucky.'

"He entered the gates of Cordova with downcast countenance, and with a train of but forty followers. The sovereigns were absent; but the cavaliers of Andalusia manifested that sympathy in the misfortunes of the monarch, that becomes men of lofty and chivalrous souls. They received him with great distinction, attended him with the utmost courtesy, and he was honourably entertained by the civil and military commanders of that ancient city.

"In the meantime, El Zagal put a new alcaide over Almería, to govern in the name of his brother; and, having strongly garrisoned the place, he repaired to Málaga, where an attack of the Christians was apprehended. The young monarch being driven out of the land, and the old monarch blind and bed ridden, El Zagal, at the head of the armies, was virtually the sovereign of Granada. The people were pleased with having a new idol to look up to, and a new name to shout forth; and El Zagal was hailed with acclamations, as the main hope of the nation."

King Ferdinand commenced the campaign of 1485 with an army of nine thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry.

He immediately laid siege to Coin and Cartama, two strong fortresses which opened the road to Malaga, and after considerable resistance made himself master of them. These conquests were speedily followed by the more important one of Ronda, and before the close of the expedition, the Christians were in possession of no less than seventy-two places of strength, taken from the Moors. These advantages, it is true, were not gained without several reverses, for El Zagal was a bold and desperate soldier, and added to an implacable hatred of the Christians, a certain knowledge that it was only by brave resistance and occasional successes that he could maintain himself on the throne he had won. On this throne indeed he now believed he was permanently settled, for old Muley Aben Hassan had died, probably weighed down by age and misfortune, though certainly not without surmises little honourable to his brother. Boabdil el Chico too, the fugitive king, still continued at Cordova, existing on the cool courtesy and meagre friendship of Ferdinand, which had waned exceedingly ever since his guest had ceased to have any influence among the Moors.

So inconstant however was the spirit of this people, that the popularity of El Zagal soon began to decline, and the party of his nephew and rival, taking advantage of the circumstance, endeavoured to bring about his return. While the inhabitants of Granada were in a tumult of deliberation relative to their sovereigns, they were astonished at the sudden appearance, in their assembly, of the same wild and melancholy santón who had foretold so truly the misfortunes that were to follow the capture of Zahara. He had long dwelt in a cave among the heights which overhang the Darro; and his haggard appearance, solitary life, and deep enthusiastic tone, gave double weight and sanctity to his prophecies. "Beware, oh Moslems!" exclaimed he, "of men who are eager to govern, yet are unable to protect. Why slaughter each other for El Chico or El Zagal? Let your kings renounce their contests and unite for the salvation of Granada, or let them be deposed." The people heard the words of the santón as if they were an oracle; the old men and the nobles consulted together, and it was finally determined to divide the kingdom between the rivals, giving Granada, Malaga, Almeria, Almunecar, and their dependencies to El Zagal, and the residue to El Chico, who was to select Loxa as his capital. Boabdil consented to the arrangement, and repaired at once to Loxa. Determined to avoid war if possible, he informed Ferdinand, that he still adhered to the treaty they had made: that he held himself a vassal of the Castilian crown; and that he would grant free passage for his troops, to pursue the war against El Zagal. But Ferdinand listened not to his professions; he needed him only as an instrument to create civil discord; he

now told him that his agreement with the usurper had destroyed all claims on his indulgence; and he determined to pursue the war against the whole remnant of the Moorish race.

The Castilian sovereign opened the next campaign with still greater splendour than the last; twelve thousand cavalry and forty thousand foot assembled at Cordova in the month of May; the proudest of the Spanish nobles, with their gorgeous equipages and long trains of vassals, were seen day after day entering the gates of the ancient city, or encamping beneath its walls; the chivalry of Christendom hastened from distant parts to signalize themselves in the holy cause; Gaston du Leon, seneschal of Toulouse, brought with him many valiant cavaliers of France; and beneath the broad banner of St. George, the earl of Rivers, brother-in-law of king Henry VII., led the knights, archers and yeomanry of England.

“‘It was a glorious spectacle,’ says Fray Antonio Agapda, ‘to behold this pompous pageant issuing forth from Cordova, the pennons and devices of the proudest houses of Spain, with those of gallant stranger knights fluttering above a sea of crests and plumes; to see it slowly moving with flash of helm, and cuirass, and buckler, across the ancient bridge, and reflected in the waters of the Guadalquivir, while the neigh of steed and blast of trumpet vibrated in the air, and resounded to the distant mountains. But, above all,’ concludes the good father, with his accustomed zeal, ‘it was triumphant to behold the standard of the faith every where displayed, and to reflect that this was no worldly-minded army, intent upon some temporal scheme of ambition or revenge; but a Christian host, bound on a crusade to extirpate the vile seed of Mahomet from the land, and to extend the pure dominion of the church.’”

The first object of attack was the city of Loxa itself. It was valiantly defended by Boabdil and the fierce Hamet el Zegri, but after many desperate sallies, they were forced to capitulate; the king was suffered to retire to Priego, a town about three leagues distant, and Ferdinand, particularly elated at the capture of a place where he had been formerly defeated, immediately repaired it and placed a strong garrison within its walls. The chronicler records many feats of prodigious valour which were performed by the assembled chivalry of various lands, in this celebrated siege, and dwells particularly on the bravery and prowess of the English. Of their leader the earl of Rivers, he relates an anecdote trifling enough in itself, but deriving in the eyes of the worthy jesuit wonderful interest, from the royal condescension and pious wit of which it was the cause. The earl lost two teeth in the battle, and the Castilian sovereign did not deem it beneath the dignity of his rank to visit and console his distinguished ally on so great a loss. Flattered by the commiseration of the sovereign, the pious and gallant noble promptly replied, that he gave thanks to God and the holy virgin for being thus honoured by a visit from the most potent king in Christendom; that he accepted with all gratitude his gracious consolation for the loss of his teeth, though he held it little to lose two teeth

in the service of God, who had given him all—"a speech" says Fray Antonio Agapida "full of most courtly wit and Christian piety; and one only marvels that it should have been made by a native of an island so far distant from Castile."

The conquest of Loxa was but the precursor of still more important advantages. Pursuing their triumphant career, and scarcely opposed by El Zagal, who was afraid to leave the capital on account of the domestic feuds which his presence only could repress, the Christians took Illora, Moclin, and all the strong places on the western frontier, and closed the campaign by ravaging the vega up to the very walls of Granada itself.

Ferdinand determined to commence that of 1487 with bolder plans than he had hitherto adopted. As yet the war had been little more than a succession of brilliant but brief exploits, such as sudden forays and wild skirmishes among the mountains, or the capture of castles, fortresses, and frontier towns. He now resolved however, to reduce larger places, to subdue effectually the surrounding country, and thus to force the surrender of Granada; and he was the more induced speedily to adopt this course, as the Mahometan sovereigns of the East had of late displayed intentions of coming to the aid of their Spanish brethren. This circumstance served to awaken new ardour in the bosom of all Christian knights, and so zealously did they respond to the summons of the Castilian king, that when he marched out of Cordova, on the eve of Palm Sunday, he had an army of twenty thousand cavalry and fifty thousand foot, the flower of Spanish warriors, led by the bravest of Spanish cavaliers. Ferdinand determined to commence the war by the capture of the towns on the sea board, by which he would deprive the Moors of one of their most abundant sources of wealth and supplies, as well as cut off the possibility of external aid. Marching rapidly across the mountains, he began by the siege of Velez Malaga, the conquest of which was deemed necessary before attacking the redoubtable city of Malaga itself; and the lovely situation of the town, at the upper end of a valley of amazing fertility and beauty, inspired the hardy soldiers as they encamped in it with new desires for conquest, and presented fresh prospects of booty.

El Zagal no sooner heard of the incursion of the Christians, than leaving Granada, even at the risk of enabling Boabdil to seize the throne, he marched with all the forces he could collect, and made a bold and sudden attack on the enemy. He failed however to take them by surprise; was defeated with considerable slaughter; and the town beholding the destruction of the aid on which it had relied, was forced to surrender. El Zagal, as he had indeed anticipated, found the gates of the capital closed against an unsuccessful king; the banner of his rival floated on

the tower of the Alhambra: and he was forced to fix his residence at Guadix, a city within a few leagues of Granada.

Having made every necessary arrangement for the government and security of his new conquest and the surrounding country, Ferdinand turned his attention to the great object of his campaign, the reduction of Malaga. This indeed was a matter of no ordinary difficulty, for the garrison was brave and numerous; the common people were active, hardy and resolute: and above all, its commander was the famous Hamet el Zegri, former alcaide of Ronda, a prudent, fierce, and enterprising soldier, of indomitable courage, and unrelenting in his hatred to the Christian name. In vain was the fidelity of this chief attempted by offers of unbounded wealth; in vain were proposals of surrender on the most advantageous terms repeatedly made; in vain were batteries erected on every side—nothing could quell his proud spirit.

“‘It was a glorious and delectable sight,’ observes Fray Antonio Agapida, ‘to behold this infidel city thus surrounded by sea and land by a mighty Christian force. Every mound in its circuit was, as it were, a little city of tents, bearing the standard of some renowned Catholic warrior. Beside the warlike ships and galleys which lay before the place, the sea was covered with innumerable sails, passing and repassing, appearing and disappearing, being engaged in bringing supplies for the subsistence of the army. It seemed a vast spectacle contrived to recreate the eye, did not the vollying bursts of flame and smoke from the ships, which seemed to lie asleep on the quiet sea, and the thunder of ordnance from camp and city, from tower and battlement, tell the deadly warfare that was raging.’

“‘At night, the scene was far more direful than in the day. The cheerful light of the sun was gone; there was nothing but the flashes of artillery, or the baleful gleams of combustibles thrown into the city, and the conflagration of the houses. The fire kept up from the Christian batteries was incessant; there were seven great lombards in particular, called The Seven Sisters of Ximenes, which did tremendous execution. The Moorish ordnance replied in thunder from the walls; Gibralfaro was wrapped in volumes of smoke, rolling about its base; and Hamet el Zegri and his Gomerres looked out with triumph upon the tempest of war they had awakened. Truly they were so many demons incarnate,’ concludes the pious Fray Antonio Agapida, ‘who were permitted by Heaven to enter into and possess this infidel city for its perdition.’”

Week after week did this siege continue, the Christians using every means of attack which ingenuity and valour could devise, and the fierce Hamet el Zegri seeming to derive new courage from the lessening numbers, and increasing sufferings of his garrison, and fresh hopes from every sally and conflict with his enemies. Famine, however, and the protracted dangers of the siege, produced an effect upon the inhabitants, less used to war, which the hardy soldiers scorned to feel or acknowledge. The citizens began to separate their interests from those of the garrison, and they eventually compelled Hamet el Zegri and his Gomerres to confine themselves to the tower of Gibralfaro, while they entered into negotiations with Ferdinand, which ended in the surrender of the city. As the Moorish chief beheld the

Christian legions pouring into Malaga, and the standard of the cross supplanting the crescent, he scoffed at the treaty which had thus been made by men of commerce, at the expense of liberty and honour. The fierceness of his soldiers however was broken; and they who would have resisted all the assaults of war, sank at advances of famine. They forced their commander to capitulate, and though their bravery might have deserved a better fate, the warriors were condemned to slavery, and Hamet himself was loaded with chains and thrown into a dungeon. The miserable citizens of Malaga had hoped for, but did not find a better fate; they were indeed allowed eight months to ransom themselves, but so exorbitant was the sum demanded, that all they could collect of their own wealth, all they could beg from their brethren of Granada, did not suffice to make up the amount: to the number as some say of eleven, and others of fifteen thousand, they became slaves! As they left their homes, they turned their eyes in anguish to heaven; they deplored the fate which tore asunder the bonds of domestic affection and drove them in misery from the land of their forefathers.

Ferdinand having now completed the conquest of all the western portion of the kingdom of Granada; and the capital itself with the surrounding region being held by Boabdil, who acknowledged himself a vassal, with every term of humiliation and dependence; nothing remained but to reduce the territory governed by El Zagal. This task proved somewhat more difficult than the Castilian monarch had anticipated. His first campaign was productive of no advantage; on attacking the town of Baza, into which El Zagal had thrown himself, he was repulsed and obliged to retreat with considerable loss; and the Moors laid waste the country within the borders of Murcia, and captured and burned more than one fortress of strength. The following season, the Christians renewed the war with fresh vigour, and again undertook the siege of Baza. El Zagal, afraid to leave Guadix, his capital, lest it should be seized by Boabdil, and he thus be surrounded by his enemies, was yet well aware of the importance of the struggle with Ferdinand. He threw into Baza a large body of his bravest troops under his best generals, and intrusted the supreme command to his cousin and brother-in-law, Cidi Yahye Alnazar, a cavalier experienced in warfare, and redoubtable in the field. Well did the chiefs and warriors fulfil the trust reposed in them by their sovereign. Ferdinand found another Malaga on his hands, and notwithstanding the immense numbers and determined resolution of his troops, the Moors cut them down in desperate and repeated sallies, and repulsed them time after time from the walls. When the resources of the garrison began to fail, and the money provided by the sultan for the payment of his soldiers was exhausted, the citizens freely collected

together all their vessels of gold and silver, and brought them to the commander—"Take these," said they, "and coin them, or sell them, or pledge them for money wherewith to pay the troops." The women of Baza also were seized with generous emulation; "shall we deck ourselves with gorgeous apparel," said they, "when our country is desolate and its defenders in want of bread?" So they took their collars, and bracelets, and anklets, and other ornaments of gold, and all their jewels, and put them in the hands of the veteran chief. This valorous resistance only increased the spirit of perseverance and desire of conquest in the breast of Ferdinand. Week after week, and month after month, did he try every resource which prudence or bravery could point out. Ardently did Cidi Yahye await the moment when the Christians should retire in despair; and reluctantly did he admit the thought, that his brave garrison might be forced to surrender. Yet six months had worn away, and twenty thousand Christians had fallen before the walls, but still no sign of retreat, almost no diminution of numbers appeared in their loss. Brave and devoted as were the Moorish chiefs, they could not but acknowledge that resistance must be eventually vain, and when Ferdinand offered them terms of honourable surrender, and guarantied to the citizens their property and the exercise of their faith, they at length determined to send as an envoy to Guadix, Mohammed ben Hassan, one of their bravest chiefs, who should inform the old monarch, El Zagal, of their situation, and receive his commands to yield up the city, or to die in fulfilling the trust he had confided to them.

"The old warrior king," says the chronicle, "was seated in an inner chamber of the castle of Guadix, much cast down in spirit and ruminating on his gloomy fortunes, when an envoy from Baza was announced, and the veteran alcaide Mohammed stood before him. El Zagal saw disastrous tidings written in his countenance. 'How fares it with Baza?' said he, summoning up his spirits to the question. 'Let this inform thee,' replied Mohammed, and he delivered into his hands a letter from the prince Cidi Yahye. The letter spoke of the desperate situation of Baza, the impossibility of holding out longer without assistance from El Zagal, and the favourable terms offered by the Castilian sovereigns. Had it been written by any other person, El Zagal might have received it with distrust and indignation; but he confided in Cidi Yahye as in a second self, and the words of his letter sank deep in his heart. When he had finished reading it he sighed deeply, and remained for some time lost in thought, with his head drooping upon his bosom."

The fierce courage of the old monarch was tamed; he saw the end of his power approaching; he had no resource left, but to meet his fate; and he determined at least to save, as far as he could, the remnant of his brave people.

"Allah Achbar!" he said to Mohammed, "God is great; there is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet. Return to my cousin Cidi Yahye; tell him it is out of my power to aid him; he must do as seems to him for the best. The people of Baza have performed deeds worthy of immortal fame; I cannot ask them to encounter further ills and perils in maintaining a hopeless defence."

The reply of the sultan determined the fate of the city; the Christian king adhered to the favourable terms he had offered; and on the fourth of December 1489, he was received within its walls. The surrender of Baza was the general signal of submission with the smaller towns around. Fortress after fortress laid its keys at the feet of the Castilian sovereigns; and the gloomy reflections of the Moorish monarch, as he buried himself in the recesses of his palace, were only interrupted by daily news of some fresh portion of his kingdom being added to the domains of the conquerors. It was while he was thus hid in solitude, and bowed down by adversity, that Cidi Yahye ventured to approach him, and to declare that no course was left but submission to the Christian arms. Deeply and bitterly did the old man feel the destruction of his kingdom, and the triumph of the infidels over his holy faith; he believed himself conquered, not by the power of man, but by the hand of heaven; "Alahuma, sub-ahana her!" he exclaimed, "the will of God be done!" He bowed his neck; he surrendered his territories to his enemies; and retiring into the mountains of Andaraxa, which he had reserved for his residence, sought to bury there his shame and humiliation from the world. His haughty spirit however could not long bear so wretched an existence. In a few months he surrendered to Ferdinand for a small sum, his trifling domain, and crossed over into Africa. Here his ill fortune pursued him; he was seized by some petty sultan, deprived of sight and of wealth, and expired a miserable old man in the city of Fez.

Nothing now remained of the once extensive empire of the Moors, but the city of Granada and the surrounding district. Boabdil sought to propitiate Ferdinand, and ward off the approaching blow, by renewing his acknowledgments of vassalage. This however availed him nothing; the Christian monarch had advanced too far, and with too much success, to pause in his career. He summoned Granada to surrender, and when the people compelled their sovereign to refuse the summons, he determined to commence the siege. In order that nothing might be wanting to insure its accomplishment, he reduced all the neighbouring fortresses, laid waste the vega so as to destroy all source of provision, assembled an enormous army, and declared his firm determination of never retiring from before the walls, until the complete conquest of the Mussulmans and the expulsion of their king. We have not space to follow Fray Antonio Agapida through the eventful story of this siege. He relates many anecdotes of the heroism both of Christians and Moors—of the determined and patriotic resistance of the one, and the pious and chivalric gallantry of the other. He dwells however with such peculiar delight on a bold exploit of Tarfe, a Moorish cavalier renowned for his great strength and daring spirit, and the return

it met with from the Christian warriors, that we cannot forbear communicating it to our readers.

"In one of the sallies, when skirting the Christian camp, this arrogant Moor outstripped his companions, overleaped the barriers, and galloping close to the royal quarters, lanced his lance so far within, that it remained quivering in the earth close by the pavilions of the sovereigns. The royal guards rushed forth in pursuit, but the Moorish horsemen were already beyond the camp, and scouring in a cloud of dust for the city. Upon wresting the lance from the earth, a label was found upon it importing that it was intended for the queen. Nothing could equal the indignation of the Christian warriors at the insolence of the bravado and the discourteous insult offered to the queen. Fernando Perez del Pulgar, surnamed, 'El de las hazanas,' (he of the exploits) was present and resolved not to be outraved by this daring infidel—'who will stand by me,' said he, 'in an enterprise of desperate peril.' The Christian cavaliers well knew the hairbrained valour of del Pulgar, yet not one hesitated to step forward. He chose fifteen companions, all men of powerful arm and dauntless heart. In the dead of night he led them forth from the camp and approached the city. The gate was forced, and a confused chance medley skirmish ensued. Fernando del Pulgar stopped not to take part in the affray. Putting spurs to his horse, he galloped furiously through the streets, striking fire from the stones at every bound. Arrived at the principal mosque, he sprang from his horse, and, kneeling at the portal, took possession of the edifice as a Christian chapel, dedicating it to the Blessed Virgin. In testimonial of the ceremony, he nailed with his dagger to the door of the mosque, a tablet on which was inscribed *Ave Maria*. He remounted his steed and galloped back to the gate. The alarm had been given, the city was in an uproar, soldiers were gathering from every direction. They were astonished at seeing a Christian warrior galloping from the interior of the city. He overtook some, cut down others, and rejoining his companions, they all made good their retreat to the camp. Not many days after this, a Moorish horseman armed at all points was seen to issue forth, followed by a rabble which drew back as he approached the Christian camp. He was more robust and brawny than was common with his countrymen; his visor was closed; he bore a huge buckler, and a ponderous lance; his scimitar was of a Damascus blade; and his richly ornamented dagger was wrought by an artificer of Fez. He was known by his device to be Tarfe. As he rode slowly along in front of the army, his very steed prancing with fiery eye and distended nostril, seemed to breathe defiance to the Christians. But what were the feelings of the Spanish cavaliers when they beheld tied to the tail of his steed, and dragged in the dust, the very inscription—*Ave Maria* which Fernando Perez del Pulgar had affixed to the door of the mosque! A burst of horror and indignation burst forth from the army. Fernando del Pulgar was not at hand to maintain his previous achievement, but one of his young companions in arms, Garcilasso de la Vega, after obtaining permission from the king, closed his helmet graced by four sable plumes, grasped his buckler of Flemish workmanship, and his lance of matchless temper, and defied the haughty Moor in the midst of his career. After a desperate conflict, they both fell to the earth; the Moor succeeded in placing his knee on the breast of his victim, and brandishing his dagger, aimed a blow at his throat. A cry of despair was uttered by the Christian warriors, when suddenly they beheld the Moor rolling lifeless in the dust. Garcilasso had shortened his sword, and as the Moor raised his arm to strike, had pierced him to the heart. The laws of chivalry were observed throughout the combat. The knight now despoiled his adversary; then rescuing the holy inscription of *Ave Maria* from its degrading situation, he elevated it on the point of his sword, and bore it off as a signal of triumph, amidst the rapturous shouts of the Christian army."

The spirit which animated Tarfe glowed in the hearts of many of the Moorish cavaliers; the bravest warriors of the kingdom, driven from all other parts, were collected within the walls; despair increased their energies; and sally after sally showed the

boldness and resolution with which they were determined to defend the last hold of their faith. For nine long months did this warfare continue. At length however, pressed by famine, beaten in their assaults, and without hope of succour, the counsellors of Boabdil advised him to surrender. All seemed to feel the fatal necessity to which they were reduced, and Muza, the bravest of his generals, was the only one who lifted his voice in opposition. Ferdinand, glad thus to conclude a protracted siege, offered to the inhabitants liberal and even generous terms. He agreed that certain valuable territories in the Alpuxarra mountains should be given to Boabdil for his maintenance and residence; that the Moors of Granada should be protected in their own religion, customs and laws; that they should pay the same tribute they had been accustomed to render to their own monarchs; and that those who chose to depart for Africa, should be provided with a passage for themselves and their effects. When these terms were laid before the council, all but Muza advised the acceptance of them, and a submission to what they deemed the will of heaven. That indignant warrior vehemently opposed the surrender, and urged them rather to perish, with their faith and their empire, beneath the ruins of their sole remaining city. When he found that his words were vain, he strode haughtily from the palace, repaired to his dwelling, armed himself at all points, mounted his favourite war-horse, and issuing forth from the gate of Elvira, was never seen nor heard of more.

On the 2d of January 1492, Boabdil, having agreed to the terms of capitulation, met the Castilian sovereigns at a small mosque near the banks of the Xenel, which remains to the present day, consecrated as the hermitage of St. Sebastian. He there delivered to king Ferdinand the keys of the city, the last reliques of the Arabian empire in Spain; and accompanied by his family and a devoted band of cavaliers, set out for the domains reserved to him in the Alpuxarras.

"At two leagues distance," says Fray Antonio Agapida, "the cavalcade winding into the skirts of the mountains, ascended an eminence commanding the last view of Granada. As they arrived at this spot, the Moors paused voluntarily to take a farewell gaze at their beloved city, which a few steps more would shut from their sight for ever. Never had it appeared so lovely in their eyes. The sunshine, so bright in that transparent climate, lit up each tower and minaret and rested gloriously upon the crowning battlements of the Alhambra, while the rega spread its enamelled bosom of verdure below, glistening with the silver windings of the Xenel. The Moorish cavaliers gazed with a silent agony of tenderness and grief upon that delicious abode, the scene of their loves and pleasures. While they yet looked, a light cloud of smoke burst forth from the citadel, and presently a peal of artillery, faintly heard, told that the city was taken possession of, and the throne of the Moslem kings was lost for ever. The heart of Boabdil, softened by misfortunes and overcharged with grief, could no longer contain itself. 'Allah Achbar! God is great!' said he, but the words of resignation died upon his lips and he burst into a flood of tears. His mother, the intrepid sultana Ayxa la Horra, was indignant at his weakness—'You do well,' said she 'to weep like a woman, for what you failed to defend like a man.' The vizier Aben Co-

mixa endeavoured to console his royal master. 'Consider, sire!' said he, 'that the most signal misfortunes often render men as renowned as the most prosperous achievements, provided they sustain them with magnanimity.' The unhappy monarch, however, was not to be consoled; his tears continued to flow. 'Allah Achbar!' exclaimed he, 'when did misfortunes ever equal mine?' From this circumstance the hill, which is not far from Padal, took the name of Feg Allah Achbar: but the point of view commanding the last prospect of Granada, is known among Spaniards by the name of 'El ultimo suspiro del Mora'—or the last sigh of the Moor."

The abstract of the Chronicle of Fray Antonio Agapida, has reached a length so much greater than was anticipated, that we are compelled to abridge our intended remarks on the general merits of the work.

Mr. Irving, by assuming the fictitious character of Fray Antonio Agapida, has at once given to his story a picturesque and even a poetic interest; he has enabled himself to dwell on minute incidents with pardonable and agreeable fulness, and avoided without impropriety those elaborate disquisitions, deeper studies, and more profound reflections, which are deemed necessary in modern history, and which, as we have remarked, would certainly be required where the Moorish empire was the theme. Collecting his materials from various historians, and adopting in some degree the tone and manner of a monkish chronicler, he has embodied them in a narrative which in manner reminds us of the rich and storied pages of Froissart. He dwells on the feats of chivalry performed by the Christian knights with all the ardour which might be expected from a priest, who mixed according to the usages of the times, not only in the palaces of courtly nobles and their gay festivals, as an honoured and welcome guest, but who was their companion in camps, and their spiritual and indeed bodily comforter and assistant on the field of battle. He delights to record heroic acts which had their pretext at least in the triumph of the cross, and the extension of his holy faith; and like the canon of Chimay, he describes with delight, honourable emprises, and noble adventures, and deeds of arms, which he thinks will encourage the valiant and the good to pursue the same virtuous career.*

These circumstances have of course given to the style a peculiarity, a sort of mannerism; but this is not unpleasant, and in other respects it is lively, rapid, and less artificial than in the previous works of Mr. Irving. He delineates with evident delight and with great effect pictures of gay and smiling nature; and the fair fields and glowing skies of Andalusia are described with the same fondness as the rural beauties which occupy so large a portion of the Sketch Book and Bracebridge Hall. The tone of feeling preserved throughout the volume is liberal and manly.

* *Afin que honorables emprises et nobles aventures et faits d'armes, soient notablement registrées et mises en mémoire perpétuelle, parquoy les preux aient exemple d'eux encourager en bien faissant, je veux traiter et recorder histoire et*

The sufferings of the Moors, their unceasing but useless struggles, their gradual but certain and irresistible destruction, their captivity, their expulsion, and their sorrows, are delineated with great gentleness and true pathos, though these perhaps lose some of their effect from too frequent recurrence. The episodes and anecdotes are neither so numerous nor characteristic as might be desired, and the stories of successive sieges and forays, are described occasionally with a minuteness which the frequent repetition and similarity of them render unnecessary.

The narrative, however, presents a historical picture which can never cease to claim attention. It leads to one of the most striking contrasts to be found in the annals of modern times—a contrast which displays the same country, possessing the same resources, the same fertile soil, spoiled by no foreign invasion, changed by no great domestic revolution, at one time first in the rank of nations—at another among the most degraded. Four centuries ago it was the treasury of Europe; now all that tyranny can extort from desolated fields and exhausted commerce is insufficient to support a government weak and inefficient at home and despised abroad. The union of all the rival provinces, the discovery of a new world boundless in wealth, the extension of her influence over remote parts of Europe, seemed to place Spain high in the career which was to lead to prosperity and glory; but they proved the signal of her decline and ruin. The free character of her people sunk into that of submission to the hand of power, and her government became gradually one of diversified oppression. This weakness was only equalled or exceeded by another—the unresisted sway of superstition. That passion, the most degrading of those which affect human destiny either in individuals or nations, since it looks with even more pleasure on the debasement of its own votaries and ministers than on the destruction of its enemies, first exercised its power by the expulsion of the most enterprising, populous and wealthy race of subjects, inhabiting the most fertile provinces; from that period its power has been progressive until it seems to have filled the cup of bitterness and misery to overflowing. Yet may we not hope from recent events, that some healing cordial is still mingled in the chalice; that the time of regeneration is neither hopeless nor distant; that the fertile vegas of Granada may again teem with a numerous and happy people; that the descendants of those who first crossed the Atlantic may pursue commerce to her most distant abodes; that the free principles of liberty once maintained by Gothic firmness, may be restored to those who have suffered them to expire; and that the Christian altar, no longer a shrine of intolerance or superstition, shall extend the blessings of charity and benevolence to all the brethren of the human race.

ART. X.—MEMOIRS OF DR. PARR.

- 1.—*Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Opinions of the Rev. Samuel Parr, LL. D., with Biographical Notices of many of his Friends, Pupils, and Contemporaries.* By the Rev. WILLIAM FIELD. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1828.
- 2.—*The Works of Samuel Parr, LL. D.; with Memoirs of his Life and Writings, and a Selection from his Correspondence.* By JOHN JOHNSTONE, M. D., Fellow of the Royal Society, &c. In eight volumes. London: 1828.

SINCE the demise of Dr. Johnson, no author has passed from the stage of life in Great Britain, about whom so much has been published, and in whose memory so much interest has been displayed, as the renowned *Samuel Parr*. Sketches and anecdotes of this mighty scholar abound even in the common journals: the attention of the British literati, and of all the reading loungers, has been called on every side to every trait of his character and the whole tenor of his long life. Already, we possess distinct and copious memoirs from two of his most intimate friends and associates,—those mentioned at the head of our article. The compeer of Johnson has not indeed been resuscitated by a Boswell; but some magician of this order may yet accomplish more than a galvanic revival of his intellectual being, and reproduce his colloquial wisdom and acrid flow of eloquence. We need still—to use his own phrase,—the droppings of his tongue; for his biographers concur in declaring that, in richness and felicity of conversation, he more than equalled the other oracle. In the present *Memoirs* we have ample accounts of his education, studies, professional labours, sermons and tracts, correspondence and connexions, family affairs and personal habits, but only a few examples of the profound or acute remarks, the splendid sentences, the classical lore and novel imagery, the piercing shafts and overwhelming bolts, by which he delighted or astonished his mere hearers, and uniformly vanquished his antagonists, in social discussion.

Dr. Blomfield styled Parr “the profoundest scholar and most sagacious critic of the age.” Archdeacon Butler pronounced him to be “in classical knowledge supreme,” and other testimony not less authoritative could be adduced to the same effect. Both his biographers assert and almost prove his superiority in Greek and Latin learning, and even in powers of general authorship, over his British contemporaries. After having read again, in this new collection of his works, such specimens of his Latin compo-

sition as the Preface to Bellendenus, and his inscriptions; and of his English style and ethics, as the Dedication and the Preface to the Warburtonian Tracts, and some of his pulpit discourses and political addresses, we confess that we are disposed to unite in placing him at least on the level of the Bentleys and Porsons in scholarship, and of the Taylors and Johnsons in dignity, force, plenitude, and correctness of English diction. He is a great moralist, an erudite divine, a deep metaphysician, a well-informed jurist, a most redoubtable censor and disputant, the nicest and surest of philologers. But it is not in these characters, or with this extraordinary combination of positive excellence, that we would at first view him, and treat his biography as a subject of unusual interest for the British world of letters, in which we include our own country. Warburton, Johnson, and Parr, are eminently remarkable as the representatives of a species of scholars and writers peculiar to England, who have enjoyed an existence altogether singular. We refer to their long ascendancy and vogue in the highest circles; their close and equal relations with noblemen, statesmen, and other dignitaries of the first order; and to the importance conferred on their opinions and labours. For all this we find no other basis or origin than classical erudition and literary faculties; and it was obtained in spite of uncouth manners, dictatorial spirit, and tone, and the want of those adventitious and external advantages which commonly procure deference, sway, and exalted intimacies.

The continent of Europe has furnished no instances of which we have heard or read, like that of Parr in his whole character, pursuits and connexions. Men there have been and are, out of England, who can be at least compared with him as scholars and writers, and whose merits and productions have been widely honoured and acknowledged; yet their lives and influence have been materially different, or relatively unimportant. In France, a few years before and at the beginning of her Revolution, authors, plebeians by birth, and some of them—such as Jean Jacques Rousseau—of unpolished and overweening demeanor, seemed to mix on an equal footing with the privileged and fashionable classes, and to be invested with both social and political consequence: but they were writers of eloquent declamation operating upon the nation in general; poets and moralists addressing themselves to the fancy and taste of the patricians; pseudo-philosophers assailing political institutions and religious sentiments, upon which attention was universally fixed, and which even courtiers and ministers were blindly leagued to impair. Moreover, their consideration and influence with the upper ranks were rather apparent than real; a fact so well understood and keenly felt by themselves, that it rendered them more earnest and reckless in their revolutionary efforts. D'Alembert's curious and

able *Essay on the Commerce of Men of Letters with the Great*, (Essai sur la Société des Gens de Lettres et des Grands,) though written at an earlier period, is applicable for the most part to all the subsequent time. The men of letters and the *great* were distinct species every where on the continent; the former much inferior in the estimation of the latter; seeking rather, than sought, and constantly subject to airs of condescension and humours of insolence. We shall make a few quotations from D'Alembert's text, as illustrations possessing historical and moral interest.

"*Les Dieux*, écrivoit Philippe au plus grand génie qu'il eût dans ses états, *m'ont donné un fils, et je ne les remercie pas tant de me l'avoir donné, que de m'avoir donné du temps d'Aristote*. Cette lettre, qui fait pour le moins autant d'honneur au prince qu'au philosophe, doit immortaliser Philippe aux yeux des sages, bien plus que l'habileté dangereuse avec laquelle il prépara les chaînes de la Grèce; il y a long-temps que les philosophes ne reçoivent plus de pareilles lettres, je ne dis pas des princes, mais de ceux même qui n'ont aucune espérance de le devenir."

"C'est un grand géomètre, dit-on, et c'est pourtant un homme d'esprit, louanges assez humiliantes dans leur principe, et semblables à celles que l'on donne aux grands seigneurs. Ces derniers raisonnent-ils passablement sur un ouvrage de science ou de belles-lettres, on se récrie sur leur sagacité; comme si un homme de qualité étoit obligé par état d'être moins instruit qu'un autre sur les choses dont il parle; en un mot on traite en France les géomètres et les grands seigneurs à-peuprès comme on fait les ambassadeurs Turcs et Persans; on est tout surpris de trouver le bon sens le plus ordinaire à un homme qui n'est ni François ni chrétien, et en conséquence on recueille de sa bouche comme des apophthegmes les sottises les plus triviales. En vérité si on détréloit les motifs des éloges que prodiguent les hommes, on y trouveroit bien de quoi s'y consoler de leurs satires, et peut-être même de leur mepris."

"Parmi les grands seigneurs les plus affables, il n'en est peu qui se dépouillent avec les gens de lettres de leur grandeur vraie ou prétendue jusqu'au point de l'oublier tout-à-fait. C'est ce qu'on aperçoit surtout dans les conversations où l'on n'est pas de leur avis. Il semble qu'à mesure que l'homme d'esprit s'éclipse, l'homme de qualité se montre, et paraisse exiger la déférence dont l'homme d'esprit avoit commencé par dispenser. Aussi le commerce intime des grands avec les gens de lettres ne finit que trop souvent par quelque rupture éclatante; rupture qui vient presque toujours de l'oubli des égards réciproques auxquels on a manqué de part ou d'autre, peut-être même des deux côtés."

"Un homme de lettres plein de probité et de talens, est sans comparaison plus estimé qu'un ministre incapable de sa place, ou qu'un grand seigneur deshonoré: cependant qu'ils se trouvent ensemble dans le même lieu, toutes les attentions seront pour le rang, et l'homme de lettres oublié pourroit dire alors comme Philoëmèn, *je paye l'intérêt de ma mauvaise mine*."

The same author remarks, that in England, all were satisfied with the circumstance of Newton's being the greatest genius of his age; but that in France, the philosopher would have been required to be *aimable* besides. It happened that an eminent French geometrician was discovered to be a man of refined mind and captivating manners; very soon, says D'Alembert, every geometrician, without distinction, was run after in Paris, but the mania did not last long. He laboured to persuade his countrymen of rank and wealth, that the writers of the nation were the dispensers of fame or blame both present and future, domestic and external, and of course to be caressed and honour-

ed ; that the professed, regular men of letters were the only true judges of literary productions ; that intellectual culture and endowments were the most valuable and noble in themselves ; that England was indebted for the admiration which she enjoyed in France, to her authors ; that birth, fortune, rank, office, power, might fail, while knowledge and talents were sure resources, and alone procured reputation and honour for a country. We may infer from the success of the Johnsons and Parrs, that these truths have made the proper impression on the *great* in England ; but other circumstances contribute to explain the case. The English nobility and opulent gentry are educated in the classical schools and universities, where they imbibe a particular reverence for scholarship, receive a strong tincture of it, and become more or less acquainted with its intrinsic value. The constitution of church and state, and of the liberal professions, is such that individuals of humble birth and fortune, may and often do reach the highest posts in each, by means chiefly of learning and talents. In the administration of a government comparatively free, under a system of education mainly classical, with an immense body of readers, and an overruling public opinion formed by public writers and speakers, literary knowledge and capacity cannot fail to be recognised and treated as *powers* : all who would possess general influence and reputation, must strive to speak or write with pith, information, elegance or correct taste ; and they naturally honour what is thus necessary and efficient. The hierarchy in Great Britain—we might say the clergy in general, have great weight throughout the social and political system ; and they owe it to religion, income and learning united. Their learning being essentially classical, that accomplishment partakes of whatever authority and lustre they derive from other sources. Ministers of the gospel enjoy considerable importance in the United States, and a portion of them are scholars, though not of the same calibre as the British. New-England can boast a number of divines eminently erudite, whose lives and works deserve to be much more widely known and appreciated than they are. In that division of our Republic, too, the ecclesiastic is a person of manifold consequence. But neither erudition nor oratory nor superior authorship, enters materially into what we may call the clerical momentum : this is derived from the religious spirit and habits of the people, the rivalry or polemic warfare of numberless sects, the impressive functions and exemplary morals of the pastors.

In our country, the number of individuals of the several higher professions and classes, whom such scholars and writers as Johnson and Parr would directly and forcibly interest, is much less in proportion, than it is in Great Britain, or even in Germany, France, or Italy. Here liberal leisure is rare : classical education

slender; business, in the common sense, nearly universal; elementary, practical, or statistical knowledge chiefly prized. No employment, not even that of the teacher of the ancient languages, seems to exact profound or very comprehensive studies. A smattering suffices, almost for celebrity. Authorship and oratory are pursued to a wonderful extent, and in a signal variety of modes, but with fewer exigencies as to philological knowledge, philosophical insight, refined taste, and durable texture, than they ever have been in any other nation. Nevertheless, the British classical models are read and valued among us. The peculiar circumstances of the country account for the rarity of close imitation, and the relative insignificance of scholarship. We may hope that the multiplication of classical seminaries, the improvement of colleges, the enlargement of professional education, and other conducive changes which are in progress, will finally advance and determine the standard of merit and utility; since, whatever may be the prevailing doctrines and general practice on this side of the Atlantic, classical instruction is demonstrably the most eligible as a basis for the national mind and reputation. "It so happens," says Parr, "that my own reading either in ancient or modern books, is not very confined; and the result of my observations is, that classical learning enables men to lay the strongest and broadest foundation for zeal and knowledge; that it qualifies them in the best manner for the duties of public as well as private life; that it prepares them to advance with a firm and steady step, from the refinements of taste, to the researches of philosophy; and above all, that in well-stored and well-disciplined minds it forms a most effectual barrier against the encroachments of those delusive and pernicious principles which have disturbed the repose, and obstructed both the intellectual and moral improvement of the civilized world." But we have, on this head, not merely the evidence and authority of scholars of this gigantic frame, and indeed of all who have been deeply versed in the ancient languages, or long engaged in teaching them. There is, besides, emphatic testimony from men who had taken a most efficacious lead and passed the greater part of their lives in the political and social world, and who, having been classically educated, could fully judge by their double experience. Thus, Mackintosh, Grenville, Burke, Fox, reciprocate the strain of Parr. "I am earnest in my wish," says Burke, "that critical erudition may live and flourish; for, let persons of limited conception think what they will of it, it has ever been and ever must be the first principle of a taste, not only in the arts, but in life and in morals. If we have any priority over our neighbours, it is in no small measure owing to the early care we take with respect to classical education, which cannot be supplied by the cultivation of any other branch of learning, and

which makes some amends for many shocking defects in our system of training our youth. It diffuses its influence over the society at large; it is enjoyed where it is not directly bestowed; and those feel its operations who do not know to what they owe the advantages they possess." Charles James Fox observes in one of his letters to Parr—"If I had a boy whom I wished to make a figure in public speaking, I would recommend *Euripides* to him, morning, noon, and night, perhaps preferably to *Homer* and *Virgil* themselves." A popular speaker with us might find it difficult to imagine how excellence in his art could be connected with the perusal of a Greek tragedian; yet the greatest of British parliamentary debaters practised no affectation, and expected to be at once understood, when he expressed the idea which we have just quoted, and when he referred familiarly to *Homer* and *Virgil* also, as manuals for the youth ambitious of distinction in oratory.

We shall now proceed to digest a part of the details which are furnished in the rival Memoirs of Mr. Field and Dr. Johnstone, in order to make more particularly known to the American reader, who and what was the illustrious subject of their pages, and to exemplify some of the sentiments which we have premised.

Samuel Parr was born at Harrow, in England, on the 15th January (O. S.) 1747. His father was a respectable surgeon and apothecary in that village, who, himself, taught the son the rudiments of the Latin. His education was continued by regular and able tutors in the celebrated public school of the place. From this institution he was withdrawn at the age of fourteen, for the purpose of being trained to his father's profession. His proficiency in the ancient languages had been extraordinary; and the passion which he had conceived for them and literature in general, constantly impeded and at length totally frustrated the scheme of converting him into a surgeon or physician. During the three or four years of his probation, he read some medical books, and assisted in some surgical operations, but he was much more occupied and delighted with philological and metaphysical researches, and exercises in Latin and Greek prosody. On one occasion, vexed at being called from his Aristotle to compound medicines, he petulantly indicated to his father a grammatical error in a Latin prescription, and the father replied—"Sam, d—n the prescription, make up the medicine." But the pestle and mortar were not implements for such an intelligence. When he reached his seventeenth year, he obtained permission to exchange the profession of medicine for that of divinity, and was supplied with the means of entering Emanuel College in the University of Cambridge.

In the college he found excellent tutors, and every facility for

advancement in those branches of knowledge which he fondly loved. Before he completed his twentieth year, but not before he had acquired a prodigious fund of learning and a high reputation for genius, he was compelled, by the want of money, to quit the university and accept the post of head assistant at Harrow school. With regard to Cambridge, he has used in his correspondence and some of his publications, language very different from that which Gibbon employed about Oxford. He commemorated with gratitude and admiration the literature and science of his Alma Mater, and especially her devotion to that knowledge (the classical) "which no man ever despised who possessed it, and which no candid man will decry who possesses it not." In 1767, he entered upon his laborious office at Harrow, and, from that period, continued to fill it without intermission of effort or diminution of zeal, during five years. Sheridan was one of his Harrow pupils. He says of the gifted orator and dramatist—"Both my learned coadjutor and myself discovered talents in him, which neither of us could bring into action while he was a school boy. We thought highly of him, though he gave us few opportunities of praising him." This statement refutes the story of Sheridan's *dulness* at school. Of his proneness to indolence and dissipation there, and in all other stages of his career, no doubt can be entertained. Parr's propensities were entirely opposite. When not engaged in teaching, he was pushing his religious and metaphysical inquiries into the most recondite sources, and enriching his store of Greek and Latin from both the ancient and modern repositories.

In 1769, he entered into holy orders and undertook the curacy of two parishes within five or six miles of the school. On the death of the master of Harrow, in 1771, he became a candidate for the vacant office, but was rejected through undue influence. The pretext of the governors or trustees was his youth, he being then only in his twenty-fifth year. One of his biographers remarks that he had then, however, covered his head with "the large obumbrating wig" which in the end gained as much notoriety as ever peruke had won, and which caused Sir William Jones to tell him that if he had the luck to live *forty* years he would have a chance of overtaking his face, so antiquated did this appear amid the huge curls. Indignant at the injustice which he experienced, he dissolved his connexion with Harrow, and by the advice of his friends formed a similar establishment in the neighbouring village of *Stanmore*. Here, requiring a female superintendent, he married at once a lady with whom he never afterwards enjoyed much content. It was a match of convenience, and produced no other sentiment than esteem in the rare intervals of good humour. She was cold, positive, and formal,—brought up as he used to say, in rigidity and frigidity; he was impetuous, ardent, irascible,

dictatorial, and singular. Forty of the pupils of Harrow followed him to Stanmore; he counted twenty more in a short time; and he was nearly as fortunate in repute as in capacity: nevertheless, owing to heavy expenses not anticipated, and fluctuations of favour, he had no alternative at the end of a few years but to break up the establishment, and accept the mastership of the grammar school at Colchester. His biographers give interesting accounts of his plans of instruction and discipline, and his personal courses at Stanmore.

The study of Greek constituted a leading object. *Nihil sumus sine græcitate*, exclaimed Erasmus, and thought Parr. The latter called the teaching of the Greek plays, "the most difficult and the most honourable of school business;"—he explained, scanned, illustrated, repeated them, with incredible zest—kindled the liveliest admiration in his boys, and equally astonished the ripe scholars who came to hear their recitations, by the readiness, affluence, subtlety, and depth of his comments on all the principal Greek and Latin authors. His memory supplied perpetually illustrative or parallel passages, which he poured or thundered forth *ore rotundo*;—every lesson was an ample and curious lecture. His pupils acted with success, before a large assemblage of literati, the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles; and he intended to make it an annual custom to represent thus a Greek play. He much approved the practice of causing boys to commit to memory Greek and Latin verses. He laid equal stress upon the importance of English composition, which he himself had studied with as much care and earnestness as the Greek metre, and upon which he prided himself not less than upon his classical learning. Several distinguished authors celebrate the instructive and amusing eloquence, with which he descanted on the English themes proposed to his senior pupils.

There is much to applaud and something to condemn in his system of discipline. Mr. Field relates that he was the advocate and patron of pugilistic combats among boys—"he held a tacit agreement with his pupils, that their battles should be fought on a certain spot, of which he commanded a full view from his private room, as thus he could see without being seen, and enjoy *the sport*, without incurring the loss of his dignity." We admire this even less than Mr. Wyndham's love and defence of bull-baiting. Parr encouraged among his pupils convivial meetings, literary debates, and athletic exercises. With all his weight of wisdom and wig, he could adapt himself to youth in most of their characteristic speculations and pleasures. It is of record that Johnson—who like Parr, underwent the drudgery of a pedagogue,—was a strenuous supporter of the birch. If we may credit the assertions and anecdotes which some of Parr's pupils and friends have registered, he outdid Johnson in the work of

flagellation, and rivalled the famous Dr. Busby himself, who boasted of having sixteen bishops at one time on the bench in the house of Peers, made by his trouncing arm. Barker, in the *Parriana*, avers that in the use of the rod, Parr distinguished between the dunces and boys of talent—sparing the former as much as possible, but rarely the latter. The case is mentioned of a pupil—now a celebrated divine—who for some time after he entered the school, had the mark of dulness or mediocrity, and enjoyed the comparative exemption allowed to his order. But it happened that one evening, after school hours, the head assistant called to acquaint Parr that he had discovered the lad to be a genius—"Say you so," (roared the Doctor,) "then begin to flog to-morrow morning." It is added, that when asked respecting any person who had been educated by him, whether he had been his pupil, his usual reply was—"Yes, I flogged him." Introducing a pupil to a lady, he addressed her thus—"Allow me, madam, to introduce to you an old pupil of mine whom I have often flogged, and who I assure you is all the better for it." He thus acquired a reputation for severity which rendered him the terror of mothers. Another of his disciples remarks,—“it would have amused any body, except the parties immediately and others not very remotely concerned, to see the doctor receive the bundle of rods and select a few twigs for present execution, while a peculiar expression of complacency sat on his countenance, as if he was fully satisfied of the usefulness of the infliction, and resolved to do his duty every way in spite of vulgar clamour.” Nevertheless, in some of his conversations he disapproved of *beating children*, and affirmed that *words* were his worst rod, and that what his boys most dreaded, was “his talking to them and shaming them before the whole school.” It is admitted on all hands that he displayed a wonderful sagacity in ascertaining the different dispositions and talents of his pupils. His attention was uniformly and earnestly directed to the object of inspiring a sense of honour and regard for *truth*, the love of which he represented as preferable to almost any other social quality, while he condemned the habit of falsehood as dangerous or fatal to the whole moral system. It was at Stanmore that the Doctor first “abandoned himself” to smoking. His pipe seemed ever afterwards to be as naturally associated with his image as his peruke. We shall have occasion to notice the pipe again.

At Colchester, Parr did not remain long, but he acquired valuable friends there, and made his debut as a *politician*, a character in which he became more and more zealous and conspicuous. The war of the mother country upon the American colonies filled him with indignation. He styled it the war of the king and the nation, as undoubtedly it was in the outset, but he reprobated its principles and objects. In his *Preface to Bellendenus*, he states

that lord North had no concern in the measures in which it originated; and that this minister undertook it with hesitation and reluctance, when impelled by the combined wishes of the sovereign, the senate and the people. *Whiggism* was Parr's idol. His fervent devotion to it blasted his chances of high preferment in the church. He must be censured for the excess of his zeal and activity in politics, but the credit of disinterestedness may be claimed for him with confidence. We are inclined to admit as generally exact, what he wrote of himself in his old age. "I never deserted a private friend, nor violated a public principle; I have been the slave of no patron, and the drudge of no party. I formed my political opinions without the smallest regard, and have acted upon them with an utter disregard to personal emoluments and professional honours."

At this period he preached often, sometimes without the aid of notes, and generally with the highest success. In the spring of 1778, poverty and disappointment impelled him to apply for the station of master of the grammar school at Norwich, which was readily conceded. At this place, though he enjoyed honour, and much enlarged his reputation and the circle of his powerful friends, he endured particularly that "very irksome toil" and suffered that "very galling need," to which he used to advert with keen sensibility, in the latter and more prosperous years of his life. Among the sacrifices which he made to his necessities, none seemed to have left a deeper impression than the sale of his *Stephani Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ*, a work precious indeed to an enthusiastic hellenist. At Norwich, he early appeared in form as an author, by publishing three sermons which were written in a philosophical vein and masterly style, and to which the judges of such excellence paid the amplest tribute of praise. The University of Cambridge recognised him as one of the brightest of her sons, and in 1781 bestowed on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. On this occasion, he delivered in the law schools two Latin theses, "in both of which were displayed such strength of reasoning, and power of language, so accurate a knowledge of historical facts, and so clear a comprehension of legal principles, that the whole audience listened with fixed and delighted attention." In the public disputations which followed, he equally captivated his learned hearers by the fluency and elegance of his Latin, his acuteness, promptitude and logical vigour. Soon after, the mother of one of his pupils, grateful for his services to her son, presented him with the perpetual curacy of Hatton, worth about £100 per annum. At this epoch of his narrative, Dr. Johnstone has introduced two letters of sir William Jones to Parr, that contain, each, a passage of advice which deserved more attention than they finally received from the doctor. The first which we shall quote consists indeed of "golden sentences."

"You speak well in your letter of your Dean. Yet I have been told that you are engaged in a controversy with him: oh! my friend, remember and emulate Newton, who once entered into a philosophical contest, but soon found, he said, 'that he was parting with his peace of mind for a shadow.' Surely the elegance of ancient poetry and rhetoric, the contemplation of God's works and God's ways, the respectable task of making boys learned and men virtuous, may employ the forty or fifty years you have to live more serenely, more laudably, and more profitably, than the vain warfare of controversial divinity, on the dark mines and countermines of uncertain metaphysics."

The second relates to a topic which the reader will deem much less important and serious, but which proved to be of moment for the doctor and the world.

"You will send a copy of your Discourse to me, and may rely on my sincerity, as well as on my intention; but, in the name of the Muses, let it be written in a *legible* hand, for to speak plainly with you, your English and Latin characters are so ill formed, that I have infinite difficulty to read your letters, and have lost all hopes of deciphering many of them. Your Greek is wholly illegible—it is perfect algebra; and your strictures on my *Isæus*, excellent and valuable as they are, have given more fatigue to my head and eyes than the whole translation. Half an hour in the day would be as much time as you could employ in forming your characters; and you would save four times as much of your friend's time. I will speak with the sincerity which you like; either you can write better, or you cannot; if you can, you ought to write better; if not, you ought to learn. I scribble this as fast as I can move the pen, yet to me it is perfectly legible; it should be plainer still if my pen were better, or I were less hurried. Farewell, my dear friend!—if I did not love and respect you, I would not give you this chiding, which I know you will take in good part."

It might be made a question, whether the penmanship of the portentous critic, was not even worse than that of the portentous conqueror Napoleon. There are some pleasant references to it, in the letters of others of his friends, and his own correspondence. An oriental scholar wrote to him—"You cannot conceive what a weight you have taken off my shoulders by employing an amanuensis; for since I received the stone from Rosetta, and the brick from Babel, I have never been so completely puzzled. Your writing is certainly more mysterious than the former, and more inexplicable than the latter." In a letter to his printer concerning his manuscript of the "Characters of Mr. Fox," he begs him to have it put together and returned, so that he might show to his friends "a many-handed, many-headed, many-footed monster, which certainly belonged to no known species, and for which all printers, booksellers, and devils of the press would put up their prayers that it might never propagate its own shapeless race." Executors, editors, and transcribers have all suffered alike in handling his "chaotic scrawls," compositions supposed to be of much value, remain undeciphered, defying the skill or patience of any Champollion. According to his biographers, he always regretted the awkwardness of his autograph "as mainly diminishing his capability of usefulness, and his independence of composition." His language further is:

"I have felt frequent and serious inconvenience from my early and perverse inattention to an attainment (penmanship), the usefulness of which was justly

appreciated by an ancient critic. 'Non est aliena res, quæ fere ak honestis negligi solet, cura bene et velociter scribendi,' &c. I hope to put some check upon the boyish heedlessness and petty vanity of others, by reminding them, that in the art of writing, Mr. Fox was eminently distinguished by the clearness and firmness, Mr. Professor Porson, by the correctness and elegance, and Sir William Jones, by the ease, beauty, and variety of the characters which they respectively employed."

When he had an important task to execute, he relied upon the assistance of his pupils and his friends. Dr. Johnstone thinks that if he could have written legibly and with mechanical ease, he would have been induced to prosecute some great work to its termination. He could dictate precisely and fluently to two amanuenses at a time; yet this faculty was far from being equivalent to the employment of his own fingers. The office of his amanuensis was however of great advantage to the youth whom he occasionally selected for it.

The sermons which he printed, admirable as they are in argument, language, and reflection, were too long to be *heard* without indications of impatience. In the preface to one of them, which extends to seventy quarto pages, he says with genuine *naieté*—"for the length of this sermon I am unable to make any satisfactory apology." The set discourse on *Education*, which he preached at Norwich, is a comprehensive treatise, philosophical and practical, more calculated for the closet than the pulpit. We venture to cite here four or five short passages, for the worth of the truths which they contain. •

"When persons have been trained up in a constant and sincere regard to their religious and social duties, sensibility in time anticipates the suggestions of reason, and passion faintly resists the dictates of conscience; the general course of life is almost mechanically exact; our best volitions are formed without anxious deliberations; and our best deeds are performed without painful effort."

"The good seed of early education, though oppressed, is not totally destroyed. The blossoms are partially nipped, but the soundness of the soil yet remains. Even the first approaches, which persons virtuously educated, make to guilt, are attended with a shame and a compunction, to which men of gross ignorance are utterly callous; and when the heat of youth has, in some measure, spent itself, Reason gradually resumes her seat; and Religion, in a voice which cannot but be heard, reasserts her violated rights."

"To our boyhood, wise and virtuous education gives that sweet simplicity and innocence, which melts every serious beholder into affection, and relieves even the savage heart with a momentary feeling of honest approbation. In our youth, it inspires us with such a fine sense of decorum, as makes us shrink from folly with scorn, and from vice with loathing; and it animates us, at the same time, with that unwearied activity of mind, which struggles with every difficulty, and triumphs over every danger. Our manhood it distinguishes by that firmness and dignity of thinking, which exalts us from one degree of excellence to another; which causes us to start at the smallest deviation from moral rectitude; and impels us to recover from the shock, by the instantaneous and determined exertion of our whole strength. To old age, which is itself the fruit of a well-spent life, it gives a serenity of mind, which the world can neither bestow nor take away,—a deep and sincere love of virtue, which finds a pure and perpetual source of pleasure in the effects it has wrought on the tempers and manners of our friends and our children—a comfortable remembrance of habitual well doing, which alone can endear to us the days that are passed and will return no more;

or enable us to look on the approach of an unknown world, without solicitude and without dismay."

"Very few and very simple are the truths which we have any of us a right to pronounce necessary to salvation. It is extremely unsafe to bewilder the judgment, or to inflame the passions of men, upon those abstruse subjects of controversy, about which bigots indeed may dogmatise with fierce and imperious confidence; whilst they, who are scholars without pedantry, and believers without superstition, are content to differ from each other, with sentiments of mutual respect and mutual forbearance."

"I would have young men educated in the sentiments of the warmest affection, and the highest reverence, for the established religion of this free and enlightened country. I would at the same time endeavour to convince them, that, in all the various modes of Christian faith, a serious observer may discover some sound principles, and many worthy men. I would tell them that the wise and the good cherish within their own bosom a religion, yet more pure and perfect than any formulary of speculation they externally profess; that their agreement upon points of supreme and indisputable moment is greater, perhaps, than they may themselves suspect; and that upon subjects, the evidence of which is doubtful, and the importance of which is secondary, their difference is nominal rather than real, and often deserves to be imputed to the excess of vanity or zeal in the controversialist, more than to any defect of sagacity or integrity in the inquirer."

Another discourse, entitled "On the late Fast," which he pronounced from the pulpit at Norwich, was purchased and read with extraordinary avidity. It may be designated as a code of political ethics, dictated by philosophy, patriotism, and eloquence. It treats of the effects of luxury on states, the influence and agency of Providence in determining the fate of nations, the dependence of public happiness on the integrity of public manners, the character of government as the medium through which the Deity conveys punishment to a wicked, and reward to a righteous people. What was observed in reference to this performance, may be applied to most of his other discourses and addresses—that the author sometimes rises into declamation, but that species of declamation, which, while it rouses the fancy, does not offend the judgment, yet, supported by good sense and animated by elegant language, equally affects the heart and convinces the understanding. There is a letter to Parr from the incomparable Sir William Jones, touching the Fast Sermon, from which we must extract a passage that relates in part to the American struggle.

"Your eloquent figures would give eyes to Tiresias himself, or compel him at least to use his tongue. The style of the discourse seems very masterly, and the sentiments just. I smiled at your exhortation to *forgive* the Americans; but they will *forgive you*, and *if possible, your country*. I have been fighting your battles in many companies, and bearing ample testimony to your *integrity*. I find more difficulty in supporting your *reasons*, especially your sheet-anchor—'that we should unite in upholding Government, because our enemies are so numerous and virulent.' What! must we, because we have many misfortunes already, add to them the last and worst of human misfortunes, a despotism in substance, with freedom in shadow? 'This I cannot comprehend; but think that wise men ought to diminish, instead of increasing, the number and magnitude of their calamities. I will not exult on account of the late masterly stroke of Washington; but I confess, that I rejoice with an *exceeding great joy*.'"

Our Doctor passed nearly seven years at Norwich, from 1779 to 1786, working prodigies as a teacher, preacher, critic, and politician, and labouring at the same time under severe pecuniary distress—

es, and the most mortifying discouragements in his clerical profession. *Meo sum pauper in ære*, was his exclamation in 1782—"I toil for a scanty subsistence in an irksome employment, but I hold fast to my integrity;—my politics, my morals, my religious notions, all coincide, and all conspire to one great end, national happiness, built on national reformation. I never stooped to the meanness of apostasy, and never gave up the cause of America, though in the perplexed state of our public affairs, I thought moderation a *temporary* duty." More than temporary was that duty, for a clergyman, whose escutcheon should always bear the dove: but Parr was surrounded at Norwich by vehement politicians; some of the leading whigs in London were his early literary coadjutors, and elevated by that genius and culture which he worshipped; his nature was inflammable, and the *vivida vis* of his sturdy intellect dashed him in some sort against the rocks of party, on which his dearest secular hopes and peculiar rights were finally wrecked. Dr. Johnstone properly laments that he employed so much of his time and fire in writing for a *party* and denouncing his antagonists. The biographer is sure that his *long vernacular sermons* would soon have been listened to with delight from the *mitred* chair, if he had not assailed political *men* personally; if he had confined himself to the vindication of his own principles and his own Gamaliels. The Doctor stood forward as the partisan of Wilkes, excused the coalition of Fox and North, and hailed Fox as his perpetual cynosure. He reprinted Rapin on Whigs and Tories, with notes in which he discussed with his wonted energy and exuberance, constitutional questions, the merits of falling or rising statesmen, the religious establishment, and so forth.

But if in Norwich he was unduly heated as a politician, he never lost his temper or charity as a theologian. In the midst of dissenting clergymen, he maintained his creed and preference, as a minister of the Established Church, yet never outraged the doctrines or feelings of others. We are struck with this trait of enlightened toleration throughout his whole course. In this respect, he is most advantageously contradistinguished from the mighty intelligences whom he most resembled, such as Warburton, Horsley, and Johnson; and in the same, there is a remarkable coincidence between him and the American divine, President *Stiles*, of erudite and pious memory, whose account of his own system deserves to be connected with this part of our text.

"It has been," says the exemplary Puritan, "a principle with me, for thirty-five years past, to walk and live in a decent, civil, and respectful communication with all; although in some of our sentiments in philosophy, religion, and politics, of diametrically opposite opinions. Hence, I can freely live, and converse in civil friendship, with Jews, Romanists, and all the sects of Protestants, and even with Deists. I am, all along, blamed by bigots for this liberality, though, I think, none impeach me now of hypocrisy; because I most freely, fully, and plainly, give my sentiments on every thing, in science, religion, and politics. I have my

own judgment, and do not conceal it. I have no secrets. I hold it beneath the dignity of a philosopher, to suppress his sentiments upon any thing. It is indeed unworthy of him to make up hasty opinions on every new subject which occurs. Upon these, therefore, he should discourse, in the way of search and inquiry, till he has formed his judgment: then let him express it; but without reprobating others, or treating them with acrimonious reflections, because they think differently. There is no passing through life, without many undesirable connexions. —I will endeavour to enjoy my present situation, do the work faithfully, and leave the issue with the Most High, the Supreme and All-wise Disposer of all events.”

Parr courted the society of the dissenters, in order to promote harmony and charity. He told them, “let us eat and drink together, laugh and joke together, and then go away, and snarl, and bite one another, *if we can*.” He familiarly termed them his *non con* friends; urging the efficacy of amicable intercourse between persons of different creeds, with this sound testimony. “I have always found that when men of sense and virtue mingle in free conversation, the harsh and confused suspicions which they may have entertained of each other, gradually give way to more just and more candid sentiments. In reality, the example of many great and good men averts every imputation of impropriety from such intercourse; and the information which I have myself gained by conversing with learned teachers of different sects, will always make me remember with satisfaction, and acknowledge with gratitude, the favour they have done to me by their unreserved and judicious communications.” Convivial meeting is, in fact, the best remedy for those mistakes and asperities, into which men are apt to fall with regard to each other, before mutual knowledge, when they happen to be in opposite or different sects, whether religious, political, scientific, professional, or social. Prejudices and animosities are often carried to the grave, to the vexation of those who cherish them, and the injury of their objects, which the converse of a festive hour would have radically cured or greatly mitigated. It is a deep error to attach all or chief importance to speculative opinions, or things adscititious and exterior to the essential mind and being. Pure morals, warm hearts, good tempers, fond or generous sympathies, rich understandings, practical virtue, salutary action, are the real treasures and delights of this world. A cultivated man lives with gratification, and dies with solace, in proportion to the liberal affections which he has possessed, the solid good which he has achieved or endeavoured to accomplish, the sound knowledge and sentiment which he has communicated, the beauties of the pages which he has read, the excellencies of nature and art which he has contemplated. As the mind expands or contracts, sinks or rises, according to intellectual intercourse, so does the spirit according to the natures with which it communes. Live with people who have but few ideas and frivolous habits, and some assimilation is inevitable; associate only with

your own fraternity, and bigotry of one kind or other will be the consequence. Opulent and nervous intellect replenishes and invigorates the head, as strong and generous sentiment vivifies and improves the heart, in its external operation. There is a mental and a moral atmosphere to be carefully sought or avoided. Parr looked abroad for Christianity, and not mere *Churchianity*, as he phrased it; for genius, learning, and benevolence, even in the ranks of unitarians, and materialists, and Tories; and it is alike notable and edifying, with what nice discernment and cordial liberality he treated the *heretics*,—how he contrived to educe and appropriate the pleasure or instruction or concurrence which they were able to return. For Wyndham and Burke, after they had become apostates in his opinion, he retained and expressed the same friendship and admiration; and with Johnson and the younger Pitt, he relished friendly interviews scarcely less than the *sodality* of Mackintosh and Fox. Regardless of the gross injustice and affront offered to him in the “Pursuits of Literature,” he solicited the acquaintance of the author, *Mathias*, on account of his literary deserts, bequeathed a mourning ring to him, and commemorated his “taste, learning, sagacity, and moral principles.” We doubt whether in the annals of authors, scholars, or divines, there is an instance of generous placableness, more absolute than in the *facts* of the note which he privately appended to the following bitter and unjust satire.

“To brutes humane, to kindred man a rod,
Proud to all mortals, humble to thy God—
In sect a bigot, and yet lik’d by none,
By those most fear’d whom most you deem your own.
Lord o’er the greatest, to the least a slave,
Half weak, half strong, half timid, and half brave:
To take a compliment of too much pride,
And yet most hurt when praises are denied.
In dress all negligence, or else all state,
In speech all gentleness, or else all hate.
There most a friend where most you seem a foe,
So very knowing that you nothing know;
Thou art so deep-discerning, yet so blind,
So learn’d, so ignorant, cruel, yet so kind,
So good, so bad, so foolish and so wise
By turns I love thee, and by turns despise.”

The note is as follows:—

“These very animated verses were written by Philip Homer, when, from some unknown cause, he was extremely angry with me. I was pleased with the verses, and I took proper and effectual measures for explanation. He is rather irascible, but sincere, honourable, generous, learned, ingenious, and truly pious. He is the brother of my ever-to-be-lamented friend, Harry Homer; and happy am I to add, that my friendship with Philip Homer was quickly restored and permanently established.

“July 11th, 1822.”

The inexorable castigator in the school-room, the unsparing satirist and accuser in politics, the overbearing disputant at the

table, the terror of sciolists and coxcombs every where, the colossal and bristled critic, not only practised charity of the kind which we have just mentioned, but was constantly alive to the claims of distress, and omitted no act of humanity, no good office, feasible for one in his situation. When he came to possess money, it was daily placed in the hands of his servants for the relief of beggars. He feared that a poor man unrelieved might steal; and deemed it better that twenty should cheat him than some bitterly suffer from neglect. He procured aid for the needy when he could not administer it himself; dunned the rich and the great, and raised subscriptions, for decayed scholars or their families; and gave literary assistance with profuse and laborious kindness. For many years he imposed upon himself the painful task of visiting the accused and the convicts in the gloomy dungeons of Warwick jail, in order to lend spiritual succour, and study their cases. He pored over masses of documents, advanced moneys, enlisted influence, to enable them to make the best defence, or obtain commutation of punishment. We anticipate facts a little, but it is to mention,—as we have touched the topic of his benevolence—that when his income was augmented, he provided for the education of a number of promising youth, at the rates of ten, twenty, thirty, and forty pounds sterling a year. His principal biographer relates it as an instance within his own immediate knowledge, that the Doctor's largess to one family alone, in one year, amounted to eighty pounds, at a juncture when he was not in easy circumstances. At Stanmore, Colchester, Norwich, and Hatton, he received many boys for smaller stipends than the regular; and several he educated for nothing. He did even more, in accepting some who were about to be expelled from other schools, with the purpose of rescuing them from the infamy of expulsion and effecting their reform.

In 1785, fatigued with the government of a public school, he removed to the retired village of Hatton, of which parish he had been appointed the perpetual curate, as we have before stated, with one hundred pounds a year. He fixed himself in the *manse*, and for an increase of revenue, adopted the plan of private tuition. Here he afterwards constantly resided until his dissolution; an interval of nearly *forty* years. This became the scene of herculean exploits, and the Mecca of genius and learning from every part of the kingdom. The first care of the Doctor was to add to his edifice an academic porch; a room spacious enough to admit his invaluable library, which consisted of about four thousand volumes when he went to Hatton. It grew to more than *ten thousand* before his death. The catalogue forms an octavo volume of 700 pages, and comprises such a body of ancient and modern literature, as such a scholar and writer might be expected to collect in half a century. Though many of the works were

the gifts of authors and of friends, far the greater part were selected and purchased by himself. "These books," said he in one of his publications, "I have long been collecting, with indefatigable industry; upon these I have expended more than half the produce of more than twenty years' unwearied labour; these I consider as the pride of my youth, the employment of my riper years, and perhaps the best solace of my declining life." His biographer Johnstone remarks.—"This library, founded by himself, is alone a monument of the intellectual courage and capacity of Parr. It was begun when he was a boy at college, and when the price of a book deprived him of some other need or comfort: it continued to accumulate when he was bowed down by penury and opposition; whatever else he wanted, he always found money to buy books, and the sums he expended in the year 1824, when his life was waning, show that his ardour in the cause of letters was inextinguishable." In the beginning of his mortal illness, which continued for many weeks, a bed was put up for him by his express desire in the library, to which he was at once translated from his chamber, and there he breathed his last. He signified it as "a favourite wish," that his executors would, by the publication of his *catalogue raisonné*, give to the learned world a fair opportunity of seeing "what sort of a collection of books had been made by a country parson." Like most of the large private libraries formed by savans and literati, singly, in Europe, it has been dispersed by auction; a practice of which we are at a loss to pronounce whether it be on the whole beneficial or injurious to the cause of science and letters. Parr's books were overspread with evidence of his prodigious industry and erudition; but unluckily, or luckily, he had consigned to the title-pages and margins, memoranda of personal opinions and literary history, of which not a few proved unpleasant to coteremporaries, though curious to the English republic of letters at large. His executors have been accused of suppressing some which the Doctor designed to be divulged, while on the other hand, they represent it as "very vexatious" that the premature disclosure and surreptitious publication of a part, prevented them from exercising discretion on a broader scale. We have thus reported the history of his library, because it is not the least striking and expressive part of that of the man. His enjoyments and his pride in the midst of his books, might be envied by the possessors of any other species of treasure, or mixed source of joy and trouble, for such is the nature of every extensive property here below. Perhaps, few of the human race could be found or imagined in situations entitling them to more esteem and congratulation, than were due to this literary enthusiast and artist, the country parson, when surrounded by his ten thousand volumes; attention being had to the circumstances under which they

were collected and retained, and the uses to which they were applied.

Parr limited his number of pupils, at Hatton, to seven at a time, and might have obtained at first, any number; but during the hot effervescence of opinions in regard to the French revolution, party spirit succeeded in deterring parents from seeking that tuition for their children, which was before almost universally acknowledged to be an inestimable favour. About the year 1798, having conceived much disgust at the political intolerance thus extended to his professional merits, he renounced the office of a teacher, in which he had been unremittingly engaged for thirty years. He devoted himself with ardour to the care of his parish, and is portrayed by his biographers as the very model of a faithful village pastor. But the *res angusta domi* was severely felt until it was considerably abated by one of those acts of munificence, which are not uncommon in English biography, and do honour to a nation wherever they occur. Some of his distinguished friends perceived in their visits to Hatton, that the scantiness of his finances preyed upon his spirits, though he uttered no murmurs. A subscription for a perpetual annuity of *three hundred pounds sterling*, was at once opened among them, and forthwith filled, and it was punctually paid by the dukes of Norfolk and Bedford. Mr. Coke of Holkham tendered to him the living of Buckingham, and lord Chedworth another; both of which he declined, preferring to remain at Hatton. He accepted, however, a valuable benefice from Sir Francis Burdett, who bestowed it with a delightful grace. "I am sorry," wrote the generous donor, "that it is not in my power to place you in a situation which would become you; I mean in the episcopal see of Buckden, but I can bring you very near it; for I have the presentation of a rectory, which may soon be worth £270 a year, and which is very much at Dr. Parr's service," &c. In all this there is a noble and enlightened spirit of patronage, enough to compensate for the neglect of the government. The reader may recollect that the Marquis of Rockingham cancelled a bond for ten thousand pounds sterling, due to him by Mr. Burke. We can place such instances of bounty to genius and patriotism, by the side of those gifts of villas and palaces which are noticed in the social annals of Rome. Fortune ere very long smiled fully upon Parr. A preferment which Bishop Lowth obtained for him in 1788, then regarded as small, proved at the expiration of twenty years, by the falling in of leases, and the demand of land for canals, an estate of three thousand pounds per annum, which made him affluent for nearly the last twenty years of his life, and which he turned to the best accounts. The Whig leaders intended to raise him to a bishoprick, but lost the power by delay or miscalculation.

It was in 1787 that Parr published his celebrated Latin preface to *Bellendenus de Statu*. We need not repeat the history of Bellendenus and his works, but may be expected to say something of the composition and purport of the Preface, which exalted the author to the first rank of modern latinists. By a singular conceit, as we would call it, he put forth in this form, his opinions on the merits of the chief whig orators, and on the principles and measures of their antagonists, which he detested. The richest and most magnificent in style, of modern Latin compositions, is but a violent party-pamphlet. Nothing of the same kind had been invested with like dignity. Fox, Burke, and North, are his *Tria Lumina Anglorum*, whose oratory, maxims, and procedure, he extols to the skies. The characters of other leading men of the times are also etched in strong and brilliant lines. Indignant and superlative invective is heaped on the ministerial government and party. High tribute has been paid to the diction and texture of this Preface by consummate judges. We shall copy a part of the Bishop of Cloyne's testimony. "We know and have felt the elegant latinity of Louth, and Barford, and Sir William Jones, but we have never met with more critical discrimination, with bolder variety of phrase, with finer words and with fuller periods, than in the composition before us. The scholars on the continent, whatever they may think of our politics, will have no reason to speak contemptuously of our Latin, after so extraordinary a specimen of it." In the Preface, Dr. Middleton is charged with having made, without acknowledgment, in the preparation of his Life of Cicero, a very free use of the Treatises of Bellendenus. The detection of this plagiarism increased the sensation which Parr's classical politics and "phraseological beauties" produced in the literary and political circles.

We admire nearly as much, his next publication—the Dedication and the Preface to the Warburtonian Tracts. It would be difficult for us to select any other seventy pages of English prose which we should prefer to have written, with regard to all qualities of transcendent style, poignant irony, and terrible reprobation. Bishop Hurd was a man of talents, of station, of power; but how he dwindles, or withers in the hands of his honest, keen, resistless censor! and how even Warburton, Jortin, and Leland gather strength and lustre in the same hands! We could wish for space to transcribe the characters of those three worthies and their writings, as they are traced in the Preface to the two Tracts. The panegyric on Johnson, too, is in the noblest strain. At this distance of time, we can almost sympathize with Hurd as he perused the address—"Your critical writings, my Lord, have, by few scholars, been more frequently read, or more carefully studied, than by myself. I have paced

it' like Homer's mules, with many a weary step, through the heights and the depths, the obliquities and the asperities, the archaisms and the modernisms, the strained analogies and the crooked anomalies, the rhetorical flourishes and the logical quaintnesses, the colloquial familiarities and the oracular solemnities, of your most elaborate and peerless style," &c. Dr. Johnstone scarcely exaggerates when he observes that these two productions are among the striking monuments of English literature, and that there are none of the same extent, from which a richer selection of choice phrases, brilliant clauses, bitter allusions, sarcastic turns, and happy illustrations could be formed. Hurd attempted no defence, and even forbore in his several subsequent works to advert in any mode to the strictures of Parr.

The Doctor's personal acquaintance with *Johnson* began at an early period of life. They resembled each other in robustness of intellect and body, energy and fertility of elocution, overbearing spirit and magisterial tone; but they differed widely in political and religious opinions, and were too near each other in pretensions, faculties, and manner, to be comfortable or very cordial in intercourse. Both were impatient of contradiction, intolerant of nonsense, and jealous of prepotency wherever they appeared. We infer from the details of their lives, that Parr was much more liberal in his judgments and feelings than the Litchfield sage; more erudite, more pleasing in his gentler moods, and on the whole, much less offensive in his sternness, stiffness, and various eccentricities. Johnson preceded Parr to the grave forty-one years. The Rev. Mr. Field thinks that they must have had frequent interviews. Boswell notices one of their meetings at the house of a Mr. Langton, to whom Johnson said on leaving him—"Sir, I am obliged to you for having asked me this evening. Parr is a fair man. I do not know when I have had an occasion of such free controversy." He used to exclaim—"what pity that such a man and such a scholar should be a whig!" When Parr read Boswell's account, he vehemently said—"I remember that interview well—I gave him no quarter. The subject of our dispute was the liberty of the press. Whilst he was arguing, I observed that he stamped. Upon this, I stamped. Dr. Johnson asked—why did you stamp, Dr. Parr? I replied—because you stamped, and I was resolved not to give you the advantage even of a *stamp* in the argument." The pun constitutes the merit of the reply. Miss Seward admits that Parr was the equal of Johnson in oral discussion. Parr wrote the Latin inscription for Johnson's monument in St. Paul's cathedral, and purposed to write his life. He called him "an admirable scholar, who would have had a high reputation for mere learning, if his reputation for intellect and eloquence had not overshadowed it; if the classical scholar had not been,

forgotten in the great original contributor to the literature of his country." Mr. Field draws the following parallel:—

"As to personal resemblance—this probably consisted chiefly in size and figure, though somewhat perhaps also in the air and attitude, and a little too in the bold contour and oblique position of the head; but not at all in the features or the expression of the face. Dr. Johnson is said to have had a cast of countenance like that of an ancient statue, yet it has always been described as peculiarly hard and rugged; uncouthly marked with scars and cramps; almost constantly shaded with gloom, or soured with ill humour; even to the view of familiar acquaintances, displeasing; and to the eye of the stranger, strongly repulsive. But, in Dr. Parr, the features of countenance, though somewhat broad and harsh, were yet upon the whole agreeable; and the general expression, especially that of his fine gray eyes, thickly overhaded with bushy eyebrows, whilst indicating the energy of powerful intellect, exhibited at the same time much of the soft serenity, and the smiling complacency, which a mind at ease with itself, and a spirit glowing with the warm feelings of benevolence, seldom fail to impart. It was only when he was annoyed by rude intrusion, or when provoked by unreasonable opposition, that his countenance assumed the look of stern severity, or the scowl of angry displeasure, which has been sometimes represented as its natural or usual character.

"With respect to the second great point of comparison—beyond all doubt the praise of superiority is due to Dr. Johnson, in native force and gigantic vigour of intellect; and the still higher praise of greater and more successful exertions, directed to the entertainment and instruction of mankind, in all the most pleasing, elegant, and useful departments of literature. But it must be admitted, on the other hand, that for various, extensive, accurate, and profound erudition, Dr. Parr is entitled to claim the precedence; and instead of a comparison, an almost perfect contrast might be drawn, between the low superstition, the weak prejudices, and the contemptible bigotry, by which the mind of the former was narrowed and degraded, and the large and enlightened views, and the just and generous sentiments, by which the mind of the latter was expanded and enriched.

"If it be thought that in both these great men there was too much impetuosity and irritability of temper, and if it be said that both were too dictatorial in delivering their opinions, and too impatient in hearing contradiction from others, yet it must be acknowledged, that nothing could be more opposite than the petulance, the moroseness, the intolerance, the arrogance, sometimes approaching to insolence, so frequent in Johnson, and the cheerfulness, the sprightliness, the good humour, the kind and courteous manners so habitual in Parr. It is probable that Johnson was feared more than he was loved, even by his intimate friends; it is certain that Parr possessed, in a wonderful degree, the power of attracting to himself the hearts of others; and of blending with the respect which his talents and acquirements commanded, a large portion of that affectionate regard, which pleasing and amiable qualities only can inspire. Johnson has been characterized as a 'tremendous companion;' but Parr may be truly described as a kind, condescending, engaging associate, in whose presence every one felt himself easy and happy; whose displeasure nothing could seriously provoke but conceited ignorance, and intolerant bigotry."

We have already intimated that Parr incurred popular odium by his politics, in the first years of the French Revolution. Closely allied with Fox and Sheridan, he shared in their bad fame, and he was as bold and forward as they were in the manifestation of Jacobin sentiments, then so called. One of his favourite toasts in reference to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, was—*Qui suspendunt, suspendantur*. At a public dinner, when summoned to drink *Church and King*, the text of a party, he peremptorily declined; but being again imperatively pressed, he

rose and with "deep toned energy of voice," answered—"I am compelled to drink to the toast from the chair; but I shall do so with my own comment. Well, then, gentlemen, *Church and King*. Once it was the toast of Jacobites; now it is the yell of incendiaries. It means a church without the gospel, and a king above the law." This was the period of the Birmingham riots, in which Dr. Priestley's mansion, library, and furniture were burnt by the mob. Parr's house was threatened by the same *incendiaries*, and he suffered much loss and inconvenience by the removal of his library, which it was thought advisable to place at once beyond the reach of the barbarians. Nothing daunted, he spoke and wrote vehemently against the rioters, and the government by which they seemed to be encouraged. Two addresses occasioned by these events, and embracing the chief political topics of the era, are among the best of his literary offspring; we mean, "The Sequel," and the "Serious Address to the Dissenters of Birmingham." We are tempted to make three short quotations,—the reference to his own perilous situation, and the sketches of Priestley and Paine.

"In what age, or in what country, do I live? Whither, as an unoffending citizen, shall I flee, for the protection of the laws? And where, as a diligent and faithful teacher of Christianity, shall I look for its salutary influence, even amongst those who make their boast of being its most zealous defenders? O superbiam invidiam! Alios in facinore gloriarì, aliis ne dolere quidem impunitè licere! But the ways of Providence are unsearchable; and among all the anomalies which baffle conjecture and afflict sensibility in the moral world, the follies, the fickleness, and the passions of man are the most inexplicable and the most deplorable. He is a tyrant, in defence of liberty. He is a plunderer, in support of law. He is an oppressor, for the honour of government. He is a savage, in the very bosom of society. He becomes the unrelenting persecutor of his species, for the imaginary glory of his God."

"Let Dr. Priestley be confuted, where he is mistaken. Let him be exposed, where he is superficial. Let him be repressed, where he is dogmatical. Let him be rebuked, where he is censorious. But let not his attainments be decried, because they are numerous, almost without a parallel. Let not his talents be ridiculed, because they are superlatively great. Let not his morals be vilified, because they are correct without austerity, and exemplary without ostentation; because they present, even to common observers, the innocence of a hermit and the simplicity of a patriarch; and because a philosophic eye will at once discover in them the deep-fixed root of virtuous principle, and the solid trunk of virtuous habit."

"I recognise, in Mr. Paine, a mind, not disciplined by early education, nor softened and refined by various and extensive intercourse with the world, nor enlarged by the knowledge which books supply; but endued by nature with great vigour, and strengthened by long and intense habits of reflection. Acute he appears to me, but not comprehensive; and bold, but not profound. Of man, in his general nature, he seems only to have grasped a part; of man, as distinguished by local and temporary circumstances, his views are indistinct and confined. His notions of government are, therefore, too partial for theory, and too novel for practice; and under a fair semblance of simplicity, conceal a mass of most dangerous errors."

The intense concern and prominent share which Parr took in party politics, were incongruous with his ministry, and unlucky

for the generations to whom he might have bequeathed more valuable legacies, if his thoughts and exertions had been confined within the proper sphere. His truly Ciceronian latin would have been employed less fantastically, upon materials less perishable, than in the Preface to Bellendenus; and his ethical wisdom and mastery of English style exercised with more comprehensive and lasting influence than they are in his disquisitions on the claims, the measures, and attributes of Whigs and Tories. His fierce zeal carried him to elections, and involved him in every canvass for which effort was possible. He spared neither time, trouble, nor expense, when Fox and his party could be served, or the Corypheus eulogized and flattered. It is mortifying to contemplate the spectacle of such a man as Parr, a colossal critic, moralist, and writer, superior in his means of benefiting mankind and aggrandizing his own name, to any of the politicians except Burke, yet incessantly occupied with the glorification and advancement of Charles James Fox and Richard Brinsley Sheridan; and after all, incapable of altering or affecting the final and general estimate of their characters and achievements. The world will not adopt in any case, the magnifying lens or emblazoning rhetoric of infatuated votaries, when the page of sober history lies open, from which objects are reflected in their strict dimensions and true colours. According to Mr. Field, Parr spent a large portion of his private hours in meditating and commenting on public occurrences, in studying and interpreting the aspects of the political horizon; and he maintained a most extensive correspondence with men of all parties, in order to infuse and diffuse his opinions. The degree of chagrin or disquietude which he idly inflicted on himself, may be judged of by the following sentences of one of his letters to Mr. Roscoe. "My peace of mind has been for some months quite destroyed. There lay before me a choice of evils; and after the partition conspiracy at Vienna, followed up by proclamations worthy of Sylla, I decided for Napoleon. My friend, in these troublous times we look about for consolation; and I have found a small portion of it in the possible suspension of carnage, in the diminution of taxes, and the delay of national bankruptcy." A chivalrous zealot, he threw himself, body and soul, into the vindication of *Queen Caroline*, when as a veteran ecclesiastic of the established church, he should, we think, have cautiously abstained from any public espousal of a question so queasy. He had enjoyed her acquaintance and confidence in 1814, and then frankly expostulated with her on the indiscretion of quitting England. When at the death of George III. her name was ordered to be erased from the Liturgy, he entered a protest in the prayer book of Hatton Church. On her return to England under the gross imputations for which she was tried, a distinguished nobleman (probably Earl Grey) sent him an earnest and truly

reasonable request to abstain from all interference. Instantly, he directed his trunk to be packed, and proceeded to London in the character of her undoubting champion, resolute to set at defiance, in her behalf, "the invectives of party scribblers, the taunts of courtiers, and the frowns of nobles and princes."

He was greeted with much honour and thankfulness by her impeached Majesty, placed at the head of her list of *chaplains*, and admitted into the number of her most favoured advisers. Her answers to addresses, which excited much admiration, were attributed to his pen, though they were written in fact by another clergyman—the Rev. Robert Fellowes—whom he recommended for that function. The famous *Letter to the King*, composed for her by an unknown hand, was censured by Parr, in her presence, so offensively to her spirit, that she significantly inquired whether he was not about to return to his *parochial* duties. He was not so callous or blind a Quixote, as to be insensible to this hint. He withdrew from Her Majesty's "little court," but not from her hallowed cause. Pending the *Bill of Pains and Penalties*, he conned the evidence with intense anxiety, and incessantly supplied her counsellors with topics and arguments for her defence and government. As soon as he was informed that she had resolved to attend the Coronation, he endeavoured to dissuade her, in an eloquent and kind remonstrance. He finally conceded that she had, in some few instances, "turned aside from the sober assiduousness and strict decorums of an English matron," yet he continued to regard her as a victim comparatively innocent, and to extol her personal merits and attractions. In his last will, he bequeathed rings to three individuals,—Lord and Lady Hood, and Lady Hamilton,—for "their discriminating judgment and heroic fidelity in the cause of their most injured queen." The Doctor served, during this extraordinary drama, as a capital mark for the writers and other caricaturists who were enlisted with the king and ministry. That he ought not to have ascended the stage, or even entered the prompter's recess, every reflecting person must admit; but making due allowance for the political stimulus always active in his bosom, we should still award him the credit of honest persuasion and generous enthusiasm.

Parr, as a politician, saw far into futurity, and in respect to the French Revolution, distinctly predicted the ulterior advantages which have been already secured in France and some other parts of the European continent. As he idolized Fox when living, so he attempted to canonize him when dead. His fervid admiration and party spleen generated the two anomalous or strange volumes entitled, "Characters of the late Charles James Fox, by *Philopatris Varvicencis*"—a compilation of extravagant eulogies, with an appendix of notes upon notes thrice as bulky as the text. "*Philopatris*," says Dr. Johnstone, "is not a life of Mr. Fox; it is

the homage of learning to political talent—and also a disquisition on several important topics of jurisprudence and history, and it is full of the best sentiments in the best language of the age. The whole of the great note on criminal law is a body of light." This note occupies more than two hundred pages. The philosophy and the learning of the subject are there—the voice of every authority, every suggestion of policy, and every lesson of experience,—all animated by a glowing spirit of benevolence and enforced with characteristic vigour and dignity of expression. Parr's object was the reformation of the Penal Code upon principles of equity, humanity and security; an object which has not yet been compassed in England. How beautiful the following recommendation of mild rule!

"Lenity, which in private persons may sometimes be imputed to indolence, or to vanity, or to imbecility of character, when found in governments is rarely appreciated below its intrinsic merit. In this land of freedom and civilization, it would not be confounded with that license which good nature, conspiring with policy, induced Julius Cæsar to tolerate among a people 'qui nec totam acribitatem pati poterant, nec totam libertatem,' and which the regni novitas, did not permit his crafty successor to check suddenly and entirely. With the highest advantage to our rulers, it might be compared with those capricious and cruel restraints which some later Roman Emperors imposed upon the speeches and the writings of their subjects. O my friend! this celestial virtue brings with it blessings innumerable and inestimable. It soothes the unquiet, and charms the benevolent,—it is welcomed as an appeal to the good sense and the gratitude of mankind, rather than their fears—it calls forth our admiration, and affection,—it binds our judgments and our hearts to the throne of majesty,—it is ascribed to conscious integrity and substantial worth, and conscious strength, disdaining all foreign succour."

The sermon by which Parr is most widely known, is that which he delivered in 1800, in London, before the Lord Mayor and the governors of the various charitable institutions of the metropolis, and which bears the name of *Hospital or Spital*. It is composed chiefly of the ablest strictures on Godwin's doctrines, which he refutes as a profound metaphysician and practical philanthropist. He published it with notes, showing a thorough, familiar acquaintance with the metaphysical and ethical writers of both ancient and modern times. The notes fill upwards of two hundred closely printed pages, five or six times as many as the sermon; but they are of the most nutritious quality. The 76th and 84th are essays sufficient of themselves to give an enviable reputation. Like several of his other productions, they imply powers and attainments that signify the best condition, perhaps, of which the human understanding is susceptible. Dugald Stewart wrote to him—"Your sermon, luminous as it is in its principles, and pathetic in its practical application, has scarcely instructed and delighted me more than the philosophical erudition and discriminating criticism display-

ed in your notes." Godwin addressed a letter of complaint to Parr, respecting the severity of his strictures; to which the Doctor sent a reply, that the author of the *Enquirer* must have wished he had never provoked. It is inserted in Johnstone's volume of *Memoirs*, and conveys the feelings of one who, though he sided with whigs and lived amicably with unitarians, yet would lend no countenance to the sophists waging war on the whole scheme of Christianity and social order.

Before we accompany the Doctor in one of his excursions to London, and a trip to Edinburgh, after he had reached the pinnacle of fame, we shall collect from the books and magazines before us, some information of his personal habits, and some anecdotes of his social life, which sensibly contributed to his notoriety. He rose early even in his old age, and at once "throwing carelessly round him his clothes, which were not uncommonly of uncouth shape and coarse texture, well worn and well patched," he took his seat in his library, and employed himself in reading or writing. He seldom refused morning visitors, but received them in the midst of his labours, "totally careless, or hardly conscious of his grotesque appearance." As soon as he woke, he filled his pipe, and laid it down only at intervals during the day. He applied himself several, and often many hours in each twenty-four, to severe study, and though he read chiefly the great writers, ancient and modern, he did not disdain the periodical and other publications of the passing times. He dictated or indited letters innumerable, replete with learning, pleasantry, reproof, praise, or counsel, according to circumstances; and all most happily framed. We find that portion of his correspondence, which Dr. Johnstone has selected, uniformly excellent. He used to delight in dosing super-zealous theologians and intolerant controversialists with "intellectual physic, prepared in his shop, and prescribed by reason and scripture." His chief exercise was the equestrian, and he is described as "moving slowly along on his steed, wrapped in an old blue cloak, with coarse worsted stockings, and one rusty spur; his head covered with a huge cauliflower wig, and a small cocked hat overtopping all—his servant preceding him about a dozen yards either on foot or horseback." In the latter years of his life, he kept his coach, in which he journeyed in state, drawn by four horses. He bade defiance to "frost, rain, wind, and heat," but was morbidly apprehensive of *snow*, which he called his "inveterate and invincible enemy."

From his boyhood he was extravagantly fond of *bells*. He took great delight in ringing them, and exploring their history. He traced them from their first introduction into the Christian church, about the sixth century, and investigated the various uses, rational or superstitious, to which they were applied. Per

sons, says Mr. Field, who mentioned the subject in conversation, were surprised to witness the ease and accuracy with which, in answer to a sudden inquiry, he could tell the number, weight, names, and qualities of nearly all the principal bells in Europe. He wrote to Roscoe about his superior knowledge in casting them. When he installed a new set, it was with peculiar rites. He professed great love for ceremonies in general, which are not gaudy nor burdensome; which have no connexion with doubtful or unprofitable controversies; which captivate the senses, and inspire common observers with pious warmth, or at least a sense of decorum.

His nature was social and jovial. He loved to be surrounded by his family and friends in the evening, and to spend some hours every day at the dinner table, after he ceased to keep school. He had a strong relish for good cheer, and ate almost as voraciously or heartily as Johnson. He could seldom be prevailed upon to sit at a board where there was salmon or cheese. When he received company at home, or dined abroad, he put on a well powdered wig, and wore his band and cassock. On extraordinary occasions, he was arrayed in a full dress suit of black velvet, of the antique fashion. He drank wine "copiously but not profusely" at dinner; and then came the pipe, with which he could never dispense. He claimed in all companies his privilege of smoking: "no pipe, no Parr" being his known device or condition. Ladies of the highest station submitted to the office of lighting his tube; he often exacted this service of the youngest and most beautiful, and boasted of their acquiescence as an homage paid by rank and loveliness to learning and religion. The Prince of Wales (the present king) insisted upon his smoking as usual, when he feasted at Carlton house; the Duke of Sussex, whose mansion he frequented, smoked with him to enjoy the more of his magnificent talk. We subjoin one of the anecdotes belonging to this head.

"A lady by whom he had been hospitably entertained, refused to allow him the indulgence of his pipe. In vain he pleaded, that such indulgence had always been granted, even in the mansions of the highest nobility, and even in the presence and in the palace of his sovereign. 'Madam,' said Dr. Parr to the lady, who still remained inexorable, 'you must give me leave to tell you, you are the greatest—' whilst she, fearful of what might follow, earnestly interposed, and begged that he would express no rudeness. 'Madam,' resumed Dr. Parr, speaking loud, and looking stern, 'I must take leave to tell you—you are the greatest—tobacco stopper in England.' This sally produced a loud laugh; and having enjoyed the effects of his wit, he found himself obliged to retire, in order to enjoy the pleasures of his pipe."

He occasionally played cards in the evening—whist in preference—and only for a nominal stake. He entertained a high opinion of his own skill in the game, which rendered him the more impatient of discomfiture, particularly when he ascribed it to the blunders of a partner. Being engaged at a rubber, in which

he was unequally paired, he was asked by a lady how the game went—"Pretty well, madam" he replied, "considering that I have *three* adversaries." Dr. Johnstone cites it as one of his peculiarities of habit, that he opened the windows of the dining room for air in whatever weather, to the great annoyance of females, and other delicate persons; and his biographer honestly adds, that when he was thwarted or attacked, or in company with those he disliked or suspected, "he certainly had the power of being most exquisitely disagreeable." The similar power of Johnson was much more frequently manifested. We should have been willing to concede any terms to either of them, for the chance of hearing the grand roar of the lion—we could have pardoned the *nodosities* of the oak, for the sake of its strength and majesty—the contortions of the sibyl, for the glow of the inspiration. It happened generally, when Parr was harsh, acrimonious, or violent, that he was provoked by impertinence, affectation, or obliquity. We shall proceed to group a few of the scattered instances of his caustic rebukes.

"At a public dinner in Liverpool, a gentleman, more distinguished for his worth than for his courtesy and politeness, cried out to him from one end of the table to the other, 'I hope, Dr. Parr, that you have given up that abominable system of flogging which you were formerly so fond of.' Parr did not choose to hear him; upon which he, in a still louder tone, repeated the remark, and insisted on being informed of his opinion on discipline, and whether he did not think it a good thing. Parr then put down his pipe, and solemnly addressing Dr. C., said, 'Yes, sir, I do think discipline a good thing; for it is discipline that makes the soldier, it is discipline that makes the scholar, it is discipline that makes the gentleman,—and, sir, it is the want of discipline that made you what you are.'"

"To a young man, by whom he had been much annoyed, he said, 'Sir, your tongue goes to work before your brain; and when your brain does work, it generates nothing but error and absurdity.' To another, who was one of bold and forward, but ill-supported pretensions, he said, 'B—, you have read *little*—though *less*—and know *nothing*.'"

"It happened in a large company that the question was proposed to him, and urgently pressed upon him, why he had not published more—or something more worthy of his fame? The expressions of surprise and regret, which went round the company, he bore with perfect good humour; till at length a young scholar, jestingly, perhaps, but somewhat pertly, called to him—"Suppose, Dr. Parr, you and I were to write a book together?"—"Young man," he replied, "if all were to be written in that book which I do know, and which you do not know, it would be a very large book indeed!"

"Even ladies were not spared who incurred his displeasure, either by pertinacious adherence to the wrong in opinion, or by deficiency of attention to the right and the amiable in conduct. To one, who had violated, as he thought, some of the little rules of propriety, he said—"Madam, your father was a gentleman, and I thought that his daughter might have been a lady." To another, who had held out in argument against him, not very powerfully, and rather too perseveringly, and who had closed the debate by saying—"Well! Dr. Parr, I still maintain my opinion." He replied—"Madam, you may, if you please, *return* your opinion, but you cannot *maintain* it." To another, who had also ventured to oppose him, with more warmth of temper than cogency of reasoning, and who afterwards apologized for herself, by saying—"that it is the privilege of women to talk nonsense."—"No, madam," replied Dr. Parr, "it is not their privilege, but their infirmity. Ducks would walk if they could; but nature suffers them only to waddle."

"Once being in company with a young man of noble family, of much kindness of temper, and excellence of general character, but who had suffered himself, in an unguarded moment, to indulge his pleasantry at the expense of his better feelings, and had proposed to him, with an air of levity, the question—'Whether he thought the cross on the back of the ass was really occasioned by our Saviour's riding on that animal into Jerusalem?'—Dr. Parr instantly replied, with knit brow and raised voice—'Mr. S. D., it would be well if you had a little more of the cross, and a little less of the ass!'"

"Some years ago, Dr. Parr was passing a few days with an old pupil, an eminent barrister, at his house in Staffordshire, when it happened that another visiting inmate was the celebrated H. C., Esq. a brother barrister. One day, a large company were invited to dinner, consisting, amongst others, of several neighbouring clergymen; of whom one was fresh from college, just initiated into holy orders, and strangely ignorant, or strangely forgetful of the little proprieties which regulate social intercourse, at least in the higher circles. This young ecclesiastic, whether conceitedly, for the purpose of display, or unseasonably, if with a view of gaining information, proposed to Dr. Parr question after question, on subjects of theology, much to the offence of the great divine, who exceedingly disliked the introduction of such topics in mixed companies, at festival entertainments. Not, however, deterred by the evident displeasure with which his questions were received, or rather repulsed, he still persisted; and among other inquiries, pressed, with peculiar earnestness, for an answer to the following:—'Whether Mahomet had ever seen the Christian Scriptures?' 'Sir,' answered Dr. Parr, coldly and tauntingly, 'I have not the pleasure of Mahomet's acquaintance.'—'But,' resumed the querist, 'Dr. Parr, do you think that Mahomet had seen only a false gospel, and the epistle falsely ascribed to Barnabas?'—'Sir, I have not the honour of knowing Mr. Barnabas either,' replied Dr. Parr, with increased sternness of accent and manner. But, nothing daunted even by this rebuff, the young inquisitive returned once more to the charge:—'Excuse me, Dr. Parr, but let me ask you, do you think that Mahomet had ever seen a true gospel or not?'—'Sir,' answered Dr. Parr, greatly irritated, 'if you *will* draw my teeth, why, then, to save my dinner, I must say that I think Mahomet had never seen a *true* gospel.'—'And, pray,' said Mr. C., who had been looking on, watching, perhaps, with a little spiteful pleasure, the old lion vexed and chafed by the teasing buzz of the insect, calling out from the corner of the table where he sat—'And, pray, Dr. Parr, did *you* ever see a *true* gospel?' Unprepared for this new and sudden attack, Dr. Parr seemed for a moment confounded; and the attention of the whole company was anxiously directed towards him. But soon recovering himself, and rising from his seat, with an imposing air of dignity, and with a commanding voice of authority, he spoke thus:—'H. C., if *you* had ever seen a *true* gospel, you could not have understood the learned language in which it was written; and if *you* had seen that true gospel, and could have understood that learned language, *you* could not have comprehended the sublime character it delineates, or the pure morals it inculcates; and if you could have read that true gospel, and comprehended that sublime character, and those pure morals, yet, to shelter your own bad propensities and habits, *you* would have struggled hard to prove the character a fiction, and the morals a falsehood.'"

"Dr. Parr, who respected the patriotism, and pitied the fate of the unfortunate O'Coighey, was, soon after his execution, in company with a young barrister, a native of Scotland, who had greatly distinguished himself by his powerful writings in favour of civil and religious liberty. At that time, however, he was suspected of the intention of immolating his principles on the shrine of his ambition; though whatever may have been his temporary errors and inconsistencies, an admiring and grateful nation will acknowledge, that, by a splendid course of public services, he has since nobly redeemed them. In the course of conversation, this gentleman had observed, that O'Coighey richly deserved his fate, since it was impossible to conceive of a greater scoundrel. 'By no means, sir,' said Dr. Parr; 'for it is very possible to conceive of a greater scoundrel. He was an Irishman—he might have been a Scotchman; he was a priest—he might have been a lawyer; he was a traitor—he might have been an apostate!'"

Parr was a welcome guest in the palaces of dukes and at the

seats of most of the ancient whig families. He passed frequently from Arundel Castle to Holkham, to banquet, smoke and declaim in the midst of brilliant circles. On his visits to London he resided in lodgings. He dined out every day with some public or private party, but usually remained within, until a late hour in the afternoon, receiving a constant succession of distinguished visitors—holding a levee, which a stranger might have supposed to be that of a minister of state, or a foreign prince. “I am overwhelmed,” he says in one of his letters, dated London 1813, “with dukes, bishops, lords, ladies, baronets, and scholars.” His morning dishabille was nearly as negligent and linsy-wolsey as in his library at Hatton; but, on going into company in the evening, he carefully exchanged it for all the pomp of the clerical dress. Artists taxed his time and patience for his picture or bust, so that his image is sufficiently multiplied. Each of his biographers has furnished two engraved portraits of him, differing in expression only according to the difference of mood and attire. His face corresponds to the effigies in our minds, adumbrated from his life and works; it is keener and milder than that of Johnson. An admirable likeness was sent to Dugald Stewart, who observed—“To myself it recalls the original so very strongly, that I never look at it without being somewhat provoked that it cannot answer the questions I would wish to put to Dr. Parr, were he sitting beside me.” We shall not enumerate the Royal and other Dukes, the Marquesses, Barons, and Honourables who emulously loaded the country parson with civilities. He seems to have been more struck with Lord Byron, Mr. Grattan, and Mrs. Opie, than the other ethereal spirits whom he encountered in his rounds. Though he employed the ladies to light his pipe, his tone and feeling respecting them were of the old school of lofty gallantry, accompanied by the modern enlargement of theory, as to their aptitudes and performances.

“‘They are no longer,’ he said, ‘considered as being what the God of heaven and earth never intended they should be—a useless incumbrance, or a glittering but empty ornament. They are found to be capable both of contributing to our convenience, and of refining our pleasures. Their weakness is, therefore, protected; their fine sensibilities become the object of a regard, which is founded on principle as well as on affection, and their talents are called forth into public notice. Hence the excellence which some of them have displayed in the elegant accomplishments of painting, music, and poetry, in the nice discriminations of biography, in the broader researches of history, and in moral compositions, where the subject is illuminated by the graces of an unaffected and natural eloquence. The truth of this assertion will be readily admitted in an age like our own, which may boast of an Aikin and a More, a Sheridan and a Stewart, a Brooke and a Burney, a Carter and a Montague.’”

We must be permitted to copy the record of a conversation with the Prince of Wales, which took place at the Duke of Norfolk's table in St. James's Square, in presence of Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Lord Erskine, and a large party of imposing person-

ages. It exemplifies the fulness and promptitude of Parr, his manly independence of spirit and speech, and his liberality in relation to *Hurd*, whom he had handled so roughly in the Dedication and Preface which we have mentioned above.

“The name of the Archbishop of York (Markham), who was then in ill health, having been alluded to, the Prince of Wales observed, ‘I esteem Markham a much greater, wiser, and more learned man than Hurd, and a better teacher, and you will allow me to be a judge, for they were both my preceptors.’—‘Sir,’ said Dr. Parr, ‘is it your Royal Highness’s pleasure that I should enter upon the topic of their comparative merits as a subject of discussion?’ ‘Yes,’ said the Prince.—‘Then, sir,’ said Dr. Parr, ‘I differ entirely from your Royal Highness in opinion.’—‘As I knew them both so intimately,’ replied the Prince, ‘you will not deny that I had the power of more accurately appreciating their respective merits than you can have had. In their manner of teaching you may judge of my estimation of Markham’s superiority,—his natural dignity and authority, compared with the Bishop of Worcester’s smoothness and softness, and I now add, with proper submission to your authority on such a subject, his experience as a schoolmaster, and his better scholarship.’—‘Sir,’ said Parr, ‘your Royal Highness began this conversation, and if you permit it to go on, must tolerate a very different inference.’—‘Go on,’ said the Prince, ‘I declare that Markham understood Greek better than Hurd; for when I read Homer, and hesitated about a word, Markham immediately explained it, and then we went on; but when I hesitated with Hurd, he always referred me to the Dictionary; I therefore conclude, he wanted to be informed himself.’—‘Sir,’ replied Parr, ‘I venture to differ from your Royal Highness’s conclusion. I am myself a schoolmaster, and I think that Dr. Hurd pursued the right method, and that Dr. Markham failed in his duty. Hurd desired your Royal Highness to find the word in the Lexicon, not because he did not know it, but because he wished you to find by search, and learn it thoroughly. Dr. Hurd was not eminent as a scholar, but it is not likely that he would have presumed to teach your Royal Highness without knowing the lesson himself.’—‘Have you not changed your opinion of Dr. Hurd,’ exclaimed the Prince, ‘I have read a work in which you attacked him fiercely.’—‘Yes, sir, I attacked him on one point, which I thought important to letters, and I summoned the whole force of my mind, and took every possible pains to do it well, for I consider Hurd to be a great man. He is celebrated as such by foreign critics, who appreciate justly his wonderful acuteness, sagacity, and dexterity in doing what he has done with so small a stock of learning. There is no comparison, in my opinion, between Markham and Hurd as men of talents. Markham was a pompous schoolmaster.—Hurd was a stiff and cold, but correct gentleman. Markham was at the head of a great school, then of a great college, and finally became an Archbishop. In all these stations he had trumpeters of his fame, who called him great, though he published one *Concio* only, which has already sunk into oblivion. From a farm-house and a village school, Hurd emerged the friend of Gray, and a circle of distinguished men. While Fellow of a small college, he sent out works praised by foreign critics, and not despised by our own scholars. He enriched his understanding by study, and sent from the obscurity of a country village, a book, sir, which your royal father is said to have declared made him a Bishop. He made himself unpopular in his own profession, by the defence of a fantastical system. He has decriers—he had no trumpeters, he was great in and by himself; and perhaps, sir, a portion of that power and adroitness you have manifested in this debate, might have been owing to him.’”

In 1819, Doctor Parr paid his visit to Scotland, without a Boswell, and both went and returned with different dispositions and impressions from those of his predecessor, Johnson. The *optimates* of Edinburgh welcomed him as became his deserts and their reputation. “It was ever delightful to him,” says Mr. Field, “to talk of the days of intense intellectual gratifica-

tion which he passed at Edinburgh, and he seemed to entertain a higher opinion, if possible, than before, of the literary men who so well supported in their time, the honour reflected on their country by the fame of Hume, Robertson, Smith, Blair, and others. He often spoke with admiration of their great intellectual powers; or as he expressed it, *their confounded strong heads.*" The chief of his literary friends at Edinburgh was Dugald Stewart, and with him he passed some time as his guest at *Kinneil House*. To judge from Stewart's letters, Parr not only won the homage of the fine understandings of the philosopher and his accomplished wife, but ingratiated himself with their hearts. According to Mr. Field, he did not admit or approve the system of mental philosophy which Stewart had embraced—he admired the researches of Hartley, and held the "Observations on Man" in the highest estimation. He designated, too, as invaluable, Brown's "Lectures on the Philosophy of the Mind." Professor *Dalzel* became one of his chief favourites. He ascribed superlative merit to the professor's *Collectanea*, and passed encomiums on his latinity. He was only once or twice in the company of Sir Walter Scott, whom he rather avoided, because he conceived him to be a political Proteus. We presume that this conception or prejudice had its influence on his literary judgment, for he much undervalued both the poetry and prose of the Author of *Waverley*, and pronounced sentence upon his fame as more brilliant than solid, in fact, a mere meteor. To Dugald Stewart, Parr transmitted a tract of more than one hundred pages, with thirty or forty notes, on the *Sublime*, to be introduced into the Professor's work on the *Philosophy of the Mind*. Stewart wished to publish it separately, on account of its magnitude and value; but it remains in manuscript for some enlarged edition of the Doctor's works. His executors consider it as a treasure of metaphysical thought and erudition.

Several chapters of the *Memoirs* are allotted to the domestic affairs of the Scholar. We shall speak of them as succinctly as possible. He had two daughters, of whom he lost the youngest in 1805. The other died in 1810, and left several children. Both were women of the most estimable qualities, and fondly beloved by the father. Within the space of three months, he followed to the grave his wife, a daughter, and a grandchild. In regard to his wife, she could not have been very bitterly regretted. The Reverend Mr. Field confesses that his friend suffered the same domestic evils as Socrates, but did not meet them with the same command of temper or perfection of patience. In one of the *Parriana*, it is related that the close economy of the lady was offensive to the school-boys, and her provincial dialect too grating to the ear of the Doctor—that he lamented that he had

not paid his addresses to the celebrated Miss Carter, whom he might have courted in Greek ; while she did not deign to conceal her vexation at having accepted as a partner a queer pedant, instead of an East-India captain, who might have brought muslins and chintzes. The marriage of his eldest daughter was accompanied by contentions sorely painful, and led to a separation which debarred him, for several years, from the society of his grandchildren.

He had nearly completed his seventieth year, when he announced his intention of entering a second time into the conjugal state. His new spouse was a maiden lady "of suitable age," who proved in all respects such a helpmate as he wanted. Dr. Middleton, who was his family physician for twenty years, states, that during this whole period, until 1820, he was never called to Parr himself but twice, and then merely in cases of slight indisposition. He adds that his patient's distemperature, whether of body or mind, always gave way to the influence of his pipe, "which operated like a charm." Early in the year 1820, however, he was attacked by violent erysipelas, with obstinate fever. When recovered from this serious malady, he returned too incautiously to the luxuries of his table, which his patrician admirers, of both sexes, persisted in supplying with game and titbits. To the remonstrances of his physician, he always replied—"For seventy-three years my stomach has never complained: it knows nothing of your modern doctrine of *dyspepsia*." His last illness began on the 17th January 1825, and he expired on the 6th March following. His sufferings in this interval were excessive, but he bore them with the most edifying fortitude and Christian resignation. Shortly before his death, he dictated a letter to the Reverend Samuel Butler, in which he informed the Archdeacon that he had given "minute and plenary directions for his funeral," and requested him to preach "a short, unadorned funeral sermon;" adding—"say little of me, but be sure to say it *well*." He wrote a brief inscription for his tomb, ending thus—

"Christian Reader!

"What doth the Lord require of you but to do justice, to love mercy, to be in charity with your neighbours, to reverence your holy Redeemer,
and to walk humbly with your God?"

Neither of Parr's biographers deserves credit for skill in the preparation of Memoirs. Their books are most awkwardly compounded; stuffed with sketches and panegyries of others who have no title to the reader's attention; and swollen too with repetitions and contrarieties. From such a jumble it has not been easy to draw out even the imperfect outline or abstract which we have presented. We should have committed, in an unpardonable measure, the sin of prolixity, if we had included all the topics gustful for ourselves—Parr's interesting relations with Gerrald.

Wakefield, Roscoe, Porson, Romilly, Copleston, Lord Holland, and Dr. Magee; his peculiar theological opinions and clerical merits; the complicated and strange affair of the Bampton Lectures; his profound critical reviews and controversies, and his discriminative survey of the three learned professions. Dr. Johnstone has interspersed with his Memoirs, letters from Jones, Fox, Tweddell, Bennet, Copleston, Stewart, Adair, the Duke of Sussex, and others, which comprise much curious matter. There are two particularly, 'from Parr himself—one to Lord Holland, on the treatment of the Catholics; and the other to the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Magee, on his sweeping charge of illiteracy against the Unitarians—which have a potent raciness in every line. Wherever learning and dialectics could be auxiliary to freedom and liberality, the thrice armed divine, historian and philosopher, leaped into the arena. He contended as a stalworth knight, equipped *cap à pié*, for American rights, the abolition of the slave trade, Catholic emancipation, full enfranchisement of the Dissenters, the education of the lower classes, and the *legitimacy* of the *constitutionalists* on the continent. He congratulated himself that he had lived to behold "the spirit of inquiry, of liberty, and improvement, pressing forward into action, in almost every part of the old and new world, and producing a vast accumulation of knowledge, virtue, and happiness among mankind." His memory was well said to be almost miraculous; it lost nothing that was ever committed to it:—he devoured, weekly, "shelves of books," without seeming to overload his faculties:—every thing that he read and heard incorporated itself with the mass of his intellectual forces, which he could bring immediately to bear on every occasion.

Dr. Johnstone, as one of his executors, promises to send forth more of his productions, and especially of his vast correspondence, and his "classical morsels," in case the present volumes be received with favour. We shall rejoice to see a selection made from his works, for publication in the United States. If people must eat paper and drink ink, (to employ one of his favourite figures), in order to replenish their intellects, we should much prefer such fare,—the substantials and the dainties which he has provided,—to the crudities or the corruptions which come to us in most of the novels and memoirs that are bred in the London hot-beds. What with the fashionable offspring of the prolific military pens, the smattering of newfangled physical science which every writer of the day must cast into his pages, the emulous rapidity and indifference in composing for the press, the indefinite increase of loose periodical writing, the acceptance of ponderous dictionaries ratifying and perpetuating the adulteration of our language by the worst provincial idioms, we do not know, or rather we fear that we know too well, how soon we shall lose the good

old English sterling style, unless an antidote to these banes, like the highly finished performances of Parr, be furnished from time to time in the shape of a *novelty*. That towering observer often intimated his dread of the mischiefs, which he believed to be threatened by the prevalent habit of superficial and desultory reading under the imposing name of general knowledge. For real sustenance, he looked to the old masters, and to those of his contemporaries who appeared as authors, only when matured as scholars, and who then composed, as Apelles painted, for posterity.

Not the least curious part of his correspondence, is that which relates to his exquisite nicety in his literary labours, and his minute emendations of his text. He destroyed sheets because he perceived that "three succeeding paragraphs began with infinitive moods," and the word task occurred twice in two pages. He observes in one of his "fidgetty letters about stops and syllables"—as Dr. Johnstone denominates them—"I feel the anxiety of Addison, who would cancel a sheet to alter a common particle; and it was by this particular care of his words that they put forth such beautiful blossoms and such delicious fruits." His friend Homer, under whose supervision his Preface to *Belindenus* was printed in London, incurred trouble sufficient to craze any common brain. Commas, colons, and semicolons, were the subjects of many angry epistles. Parr, sensible of his tormenting exactions, wrote to his worthy corrector of the press.—"Now, Homer, your patience will be so much exercised, that you will be fitted for married life; and if you have not your reward in this life by *matrimony*, you will, after bearing all the trials I put in your way, be qualified to contend with Job himself for half the share of his reward in another." He had composed many monumental inscriptions, yet after he was elected to write that of Johnson, he read nearly *two thousand*, not, as he says in one of his letters, for the petty drudgery of gleanings scattered phrases, but for the nobler end of familiarizing his ear, eye, and mind, to the general structure of the composition, and the proper selection of topics. The tribute to Johnson does not exceed fourteen or fifteen lines in the lapidary arrangement. Exception having been taken to the phrase *probabili poetæ* in that inscription, he consulted so many scholars, to justify its propriety, that a volume might be made of his letters on the point. We are reminded by this question, of the account in *Aulus Gellius*, of Pompey's application to the principal critics of Rome concerning the phrases *Consul Tertium* or *Tertio*, and the decision of Cicero—to whom, as umpire, the choice between *Tertium* and *Tertio* was finally left—that Pompey should use the abbreviation *Tert.*, to avoid the possibility of incorrectness in a public inscription. In printing his speeches, the

late Mr. Canning indulged a solicitude akin to that of Parr; yet the stupendous scholar and the academic orator were the two persons of their era who might have trusted with most composure or least hesitation, in the accuracy and sufficiency of their first effusions. But they knew the secret of durability and the efficacy of full-wrought excellence. If a contrast were wanted on this head, we should adduce some pages of Parr's Dedication to the Tracts, or Preface to the Sequel, or of any one of Canning's Speeches as revised by himself for the last London edition, and place by them extracts from *Pelham* or the *Disowned*—books which are so much lauded in the daily papers. The extravagancies, blunders, and improprieties of diction in the latter, are matched only by the dissoluteness of the morals which are painted, and the depravity of the sentiments and doctrines constituting that which, by a wretched perversion of language, is called the philosophy of this lawless scribble. We do not require it of ephemeral novelists to flounder in the sentences of Johnson or Parr,—to mimic the mannerism of lofty and lavish erudition; but some correctness of structure, some chasteness of style as well as purity of description, may be held indispensable in every work designed for the public eye.

We should be disposed to apologize to our readers for the space which we have devoted to Parr, if he had been a merely learned and skilful pedagogue, an erudite oddity, an ordinary divine, or a simple emendator of Greek and Latin texts. The man whose character and career we have attempted to exhibit in profile, was a luminary in moral science; a writer who has left masterpieces of English as well as Latin and Greek prose; a profound theologian, who set the example of the most comprehensive and benevolent toleration; a scholar, to whom such a scholar and metaphysician as Dr. Copleston wrote, "if there is a person living, qualified to throw light on the structure of the Greek and Latin languages, by the aid of philosophical investigation, that is yourself;" a personage so distinguished and connected, that the list of his eminent correspondents spreads over twenty pages in print, and the number of letters on the most important topics of literature, which he could collect several years before his death, considerably exceeded eight thousand; a phenomenon looming from an humble sphere, with eccentricities or foibles to provoke ridicule, virtues to command reverence, and abilities to excite wonder. He shed additional lustre on the calling which Milton and Johnson exercised,—the instruction of youth: a calling that should be equal in consideration to any other, as it is second to none in refined utility; and which the American people particularly may honour, since it has been pursued originally by so large a portion of their ablest public men

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ART. I.--*Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, by the late CAPTAIN CLAPPERTON: to which is added the Journal of his own return to the Coast, by RICHARD LANDER, his faithful Servant.* London: 1829.

THE continent of Africa affords a remarkable instance of human knowledge and human ignorance. Of a surface extending over nearly one fourth of the terrestrial portion of the globe, we know scarcely more than the outlines, and yet much of what we do know is derived from the very traditions and records of the most remote antiquity. When history first shines upon the world, it displays the land of Egypt, bright with the glories of civilization, of learning, and of science. While Europe was a desert, inhabited by naked savages, and the empires of Asia, vast and venerable as they are, were in the rudeness of infancy, that country was governed by mighty kings, and displayed a refinement only to have been obtained in the progress of time. With the history of Egypt, of Carthage, and of Numidia, we are better acquainted than with the early annals of most European and Asiatic nations; and the fathers of poetry have conferred on this continent the fame of being the favourite seat of the gods, and the ultimate resort of the blest. Yet while centuries rolled onward, each, in its course, presenting fresh information of the contiguous quarters of the globe, and at last opening to the boldness of enterprise and science, a new hemisphere, they scarcely increased our knowledge of Africa, and enabled us to add to the information derived from antiquity, little more than the surveys of its eastern and western shores, and the small territory which commerce explored around its southern promontory.

It was not to be supposed that a field, apparently so fruitful of adventure, could long escape the notice of modern enterprise; or that a region so vast, and full as it was known to be of populous kingdoms and cities, would be long neglected by the all-searching eye of modern commerce. Restless curiosity, inquiring science, the grasping speculation of trade, and perhaps we may add the charity of the pious and humane to extend to benighted nations the lights of religion and knowledge, have each in turn endeavoured to raise the veil, and have each in turn given to that fatal sepulchre lives of inestimable value. Yet the sacrifice has not been altogether abortive, if all is not accomplished, much has been attained, and by scarcely perceptible degrees, the map of central Africa ceases to present the blank which it did half a century ago.

To trace these degrees, will, we think, be a useful and agreeable task; and it will better prepare our readers to understand and appreciate the discoveries of the last few years, to which it is our intention more especially to call their notice.

Our first geographical knowledge of Africa, if we except the incidental notices of it met with in the Scriptures, is derived from the charming narrative of the father of history. He who had extended his personal observation over so many, and his careful inquiries to all the known regions of the earth; who delighted in collecting and relating the wonders of nature, and the peculiarities of mankind; and who combined in his delightful pages, all that was calculated to attract, to instruct, and to please, the curious and intelligent multitude, before whom he intended to recite them: could not pass over, could not dwell without more than usual interest, on a land remarkable, beyond every other, for what was wonderful in the productions of nature and of art. Its mountains buried in the clouds, its rivers whose sources were unseen by human eyes, its islands of the desert blooming with perpetual spring, its enormous serpents, its ferocious wild beasts, were scarcely more attractive to his eager imagination, than the antiquity of its kings, the mysterious learning of its priests, the strange customs of its religion, the vast grandeur of its monuments, and the inscrutable records of past ages, which adorned the sides of its obelisks and temples. On the geography and the history therefore of this country, he has dwelt with more than usual fulness: and from his narrative we are able to fix, with considerable accuracy, the portion of Africa which was really known to the Greeks.

In the time of Herodotus, then, a pretty correct knowledge existed of the northern coast, and the several nations which succeeded one another from Egypt to the pillars of Hercules. It was known that these countries extended to the south, as far as a wild and mountainous region inhabited by wild beast.

beyond which lay a vast sandy desert. Of the other coasts, the information was less accurate; it was indeed asserted to be surrounded on all sides by the sea, except at the isthmus of Suez; and a band of Phœnician navigators are reported to have sailed from the Red Sea round the cape of Good Hope, and to have returned through the Atlantic and Mediterranean. Little information of course was obtained from this voyage, and its very accomplishment has been doubted, though we think on insufficient grounds; yet it proves that an accurate belief as to the general shape of Africa then existed; a belief which is confirmed by the circumstance, that Xerxes sentenced Sataspes, a nobleman of Persia, to a voyage round Africa, as the punishment of some crime. It is evident, however, that beyond these vague and general ideas, an acquaintance with the African coasts, in the time of Herodotus, was limited to those which border on the Mediterranean and Red Seas. Of the interior, more was known at that period than might at first be expected. Along the Nile, the great guide into the desert, nations, towns, and people, are mentioned with the appearance of considerable certainty; and the most southern point, in the country of the Autochthones, is fixed as far as a hundred and four days' journey from Elephantina, the modern Assuan, and the boundary of Upper Egypt. But of central Africa, or that portion of the desert lying to the westward of Egypt, nothing was known, except what was gathered from the rash enterprises of Cambyses, which probably extended to a very short distance; and from the bold exploits of five young *Nassamonians*, who seem to have been led by much the same spirit of romantic adventure, that characterises the travellers of the present day. These young men, living on the coast of the Mediterranean, near the present town of Tripoli, sons of the principal citizens, and actuated solely by the desire of exploring the vast and unknown country to the south, which had always been regarded with so much mystery and wonder, penetrated beyond the cultivated coast, and after passing the mountainous region, pursued their journey through the sandy desert; being taken prisoners by a body of black men, they were carried to a city inhabited also by negroes, and traversed by a river flowing from west to east, in which they beheld crocodiles; they afterwards safely effected their return home. The river Herodotus believed to be the Nile, and modern geographers have also supposed it to be the Niger.

In the century succeeding that when Herodotus flourished, the only expedition into the interior of Africa of which we have any account, is the march of *Alexander* with his victorious army, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. This great prince, not more remarkable for his skill in battle and the extent and splendour of his conquests, than for the penetrating and prudent zeal with

which he examined and regarded the institutions and resources of the countries he overran, and the ardour with which he visited and viewed every spot immortalized by poetry, history, or tradition, after marching through the country on both sides of the Nile, from Memphis to Heliopolis, undertook this expedition, one of the most famous in history, apparently from blended motives of ambition, curiosity, and public utility. He desired the auspices of the same mysterious oracle, whose responses had been given to Perseus, Hercules, and Croesus; he was anxious to view the far-famed island of the desert, where the father of the gods had fixed his seat, at the same time as at Dodona the oldest oracle of Greece, and he sought to open new paths for commerce and adventure, into lands which were reported to be populous and rich. His march, though not extending far into the interior, certainly gave additional and more certain information relative to those regions, and added considerably to the accuracy of geographical knowledge.

In the following century, the third before the Christian era, ought to be placed the observations of Eratosthenes, Eudoxus, and probably Hanno the Carthaginian; though of the latter, the period is uncertain. *Eratosthenes*, the librarian of Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria, though evidently ignorant of the extent of the African continent to the south and its true shape, was well acquainted with the course of the Nile to a very high point; for he describes its two branches flowing from the east, under the names of the Astabaras and Astapus—the Bahr el Abiad and the Tacazze of the moderns—and the great bend which it makes in passing through Nubia and Dongola. *Eudoxus*, an enterprising native of Cyzicus, on an accidental visit to the library of Alexandria, was fired with the desire of exploring the remote course of the same noble river; this plan he afterwards changed to a voyage along the eastern coast, though the point he reached is uncertain, and subsequently to an expedition westward, with the hope of making the circuit of the continent, in which, however, after proceeding some distance southward along the Atlantic shore, he lost his vessels on a shoal, and was obliged to return in a small one constructed from their timbers. *Hanno the Carthaginian* was more successful, if the narrative which has come down to us is to be considered as authentic; with an incredible armament of sixty vessels, and thirty thousand persons, he sailed from the pillars of Hercules, founded several cities on the coast as he proceeded southward, passed by regions where the land appeared to be in a blaze, and where at night tumultuous shouts and wild music were heard, and where the inhabitants, though of human form, were covered with hair; and then visited the river Lixus, and the islands of Cerne and Gorillæ. The extent of this voyage has been of course a

subject of dispute among geographers, who, though they seem to have agreed in considering the wonders we have mentioned as the burning of grass and shrubs, the nightly revels of the negroes natural in a warm climate, and the herds of the ourang-outang, differ as to its southern termination by a distance of fourteen hundred miles. M. Gosselin, in the '*Geographie des Anciens*,' would limit the Lixus to the modern river Lucos, Cerne to the present Fidala, and Gorilla to the country around Cape Nun; while, according to Rennell, the river mentioned by Hanno is the Senegal, Cerne is the present island of Arguin, and the whole voyage reached a little beyond Sierra Leone.

Of the discoveries of the three succeeding centuries, we have no record: but about one hundred years after the Christian era, the '*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*' points out the progress which had been made in exploring the eastern coast. This is traced regularly from the Red Sea, through the straits, to cape Aromata, the present Guardafui; thence southward, along the shores of Azania or Ajan, to the island of *Ερυθριουμμενουθηνιας*. From this place, whose unpronounceable name it is impossible to recognise even in the extraordinary nomenclature of African or Arabian geography, two days' sail brought the navigator to Rhapta, a flourishing seaport, supposed by Dr. Vincent to be the modern Quiloa. Though the author of the *Periplus* made this the southern termination of the coast, and supposed it to run thence westward to the Atlantic, Marinus a Tyrian geographer, extends it southward to Prasum, probably the present cape Delgado.

In the second century, the geography of the ancient world was illustrated by the labours and research of the enlightened *Ptolemy*. He gives up the idea, which appears to have existed from the time of Herodotus, that the main stream of the Nile flowed from a great river running westward through central Africa, and fixes its origin in the Mountains of the Moon. He speaks of the Niger and Gir, two very large rivers (*μεγαλοι ποταμοι*) which water the great region of Libya Interior, and has been supposed by these to mean the modern Niger, and some river in the kingdom of Bornou. This has indeed been doubted, and it has been asserted that Ptolemy was acquainted only with those streams which are north of the great sandy desert; it must be confessed that his descriptions are vague, and his knowledge of distances and positions very inaccurate, yet we are inclined to think, after weighing all circumstances, that it is most probable the rivers alluded to, were really those of central Africa, of which he had obtained information from the gold traders, and other merchants, who must have penetrated thither either from Egypt or Numidia; or from adventurers, as bold as the young

Nassamonians, who in all probability were found in the lapse of four or five centuries.

The knowledge or conjectures of Ptolemy satisfied his successors for five hundred years. The records of the lower empire contain no new information relative to Africa. In that long interval, indeed, insurrection and tyranny, from time to time, made its provinces the theatre of wars; an ambassador from the great Justinian sought a commercial alliance with the remote tribes along the Nile; the holy zeal of Christianity gave to the northern cities some of the most famous fathers of its church; and vestiges of the true faith, planted at that early age, are said to be still visible in the savage towns of Senaar and Dongola; yet at no period does the ardour of war, commerce, or religion, seem to have led the subjects of the empire beyond the fastnesses of Mount Atlas, and the wild tribes and barren deserts of Nubia, or to have extended the limits of geographical knowledge, beyond those known in the age of the Antonines.

In the seventh century, the victorious Amrou planted the standard of Mahomet on the borders of the Nile; and the vast valley of that river, which he viewed with wonder and delight, became, as far as Nubia, the seat of the conquerors, who soon introduced those modes of intercourse and traffic which had long been familiar in the extensive steppes and deserts of Asia. New routes into the interior were explored; caravans were established; the camel, which the Arab looked on as the peculiar gift of heaven to his race, was transported with him to a congenial climate; and the interior of Africa, losing by degrees the mysterious and savage character which had been so long attached to it, became the dwelling of many Moorish tribes, who introduced the religion of Mahomet, and substituted their own crafty commerce and treacherous depredations, for the pagan ignorance and barbarism they found there. Yet, after all, the stock of correct geographical information derived from this intercourse, has been less than might be supposed; few Arabians of much knowledge seem to have visited it, or at least to have recorded their observations; and we have chiefly to rely on the inaccurate accounts of travelling traders. From the writings of the Arabian geographers, however, who thus obtained their information, we are alone enabled to delineate the discoveries of seven hundred succeeding years. These may be divided into two classes, facts and hypotheses. The former consist in the statements that there is a large river in central Africa, which they call the Nile of the Negroes, running from east to west; that it flows into the Atlantic ocean; that at its mouth is an island called Ulil or Oulili, from which great quantities of salt are obtained; that proceeding up it towards the east, we arrive in forty days at Gano, (Kano) on the northern bank, a large and famous city, where the king's

palace was adorned with glass windows, and works of sculpture and painting, and his throne ornamented by a piece of pure gold weighing thirty pounds; that eight days' journey east of Kano, is Wangara, an island three hundred miles in length, formed by branches of the Nile, which overflow it during the rainy season, depositing at those times large quantities of gold dust, which are afterwards collected by the people, and become the principal article of exchange with foreign traders; that passing this island or swamp, and still pursuing a course eastward up the river, we reach, in a journey of forty-five days from Kano, the city of Canga, (Kouka) where the river widens into a large freshwater lake; that north of this, extended the kingdom of Koku, one of the most powerful and splendid in Africa, and which appears to be the modern empire of Bornou. In proceeding eastward from Kouka, the route towards Egypt seems to have left the banks of the river, and diverged towards the north-east, reaching the Nile at Dancalia, (Dongola) in about sixty days. The Arabian geographers have evidently endeavoured to connect these facts, with the opinion long current, that this river and the Nile of Egypt were the same; but as this had been founded on the belief, that the former flowed in an easterly direction, they were obliged to do so by a new hypothesis—namely, that the Nile had its source considerably to the south in the Mountains of the Moon, as, indeed, Ptolemy had asserted, and that then flowing northerly it reached a point in Abyssinia, where it separated, one stream continuing north, through Egypt, to the Mediterranean; the other flowing west, through the land of the Negroes, to the Atlantic. The facts and opinions we have thus noticed, are important, as showing the progress of information; but it should be recollected that the former appear to be nothing more than scattered and uncertain memoranda obtained from merchants, and the latter are mere conjectures founded on them, and on systems previously formed.

The fifteenth century is marked by the most extraordinary discoveries which have ever occurred, those of the new world, and of a passage by sea to India. These were not the result of accidental information or visionary theories, but the reward of scientific enterprise. The latter, which was accomplished by the Portuguese, was necessarily preceded by an examination of the western coast of Africa, as far as the cape of Good Hope. To this they had been first led by their voyages to the cape de Verd islands, and prosecuting it, step by step, in 1482 they reached the line: in 1484, discovered and took possession of the coasts of Guinea, Benin, and Congo; and in 1488 doubled the cape. Nor were their inquiries confined merely to the coast; they early began to cast their eyes towards the interior, or at least to secure to themselves a permanent footing

with the nations on whose shores they had settled. Taking advantage of an application for assistance, made to them by Bemoy, a prince of the Jalofs, a tribe inhabiting the southern bank of the Senegal, who complained of having been unjustly driven from his throne, they fitted out a large armament, baptized the fallen monarch, and with a large host of soldiers, and priests, under the direction of *Pero Vaz d'Acunha*, landed on the shore of the river; there they erected a fort, and prepared to invade the rebellious kingdom. Bemoy, however, being slain, either by accident or design, before he left the fleet, the hostile march was given up, and alliances were formed with some of the most powerful princes; those particularly mentioned are the kings of Tongubutu, Mandi Mansa, and Foulahs, the former being probably the present Tombuctoo and Manding, and the latter, a tribe still known by the same name. The Portuguese certainly did not penetrate into these countries themselves; but the information they obtained in their intercourse with the natives is interesting. They were told that the Senegal was the outlet of the great river of central Africa, which derived its source in the lakes far to the east, and of course flowed in a westerly direction, thus confirming the opinions of the Arabian geographers, that its banks were fertile, and covered with populous countries and large cities, the most famous of which were Tombuctoo and Gambia, (probably Kano;) and that the great sandy desert extended from the Atlantic to the Nile, bounded to the south by the river Senegal. Nor were these inquiries confined to the colonies north of the equator; those settled on the river Congo, or Zaire as it was called by the natives, pursued them with equal zeal. They converted the king of that country, with all his nobles, and a hundred thousand of his subjects, to Christianity, after the pious labours of a month; but as a faith so suddenly adopted sat rather lightly on the wearers, it was thrown off with prompt indignation, on an intimation of the missionaries that the monarch should dismiss all but one of his numerous wives. The narrative of *Barros* is filled with amusing accounts of the miracles which were, from time to time, wrought among this favoured people, and the various vicissitudes of success and failure, which attended the labours of the Portuguese, in the efforts to effect their two great objects, the establishment of the true faith, and the discovery of the kingdom of Prester John: in both, notwithstanding successive missions of priests and ambassadors, they unfortunately failed: so that referring our readers to the narratives themselves, for the interesting particulars, we shall merely note down what was learnt of the interior. This does not seem to be much, for it extended no farther than the information, that twenty moons, or seven hundred miles from the coast of Congo, was a very

large kingdom, whose prince was called the Ogané; that the kings of Benin were a sort of feudatories to him; and that on the death of any one of them, he confirmed the territory to his successor, by a staff or sceptre, a brazen helmet, and a brazen cross to be worn round his neck. The monarch was himself hid from sight behind a silk curtain, exhibiting only his foot. From the similarity of name, the Ogané has been supposed to be the king of Kano.

To the result, such as it is, of these discoveries of the Portuguese, which embrace the whole of the sixteenth century, we have to add the information, much more important, of another traveller in the same interval. It is indeed the first narrative on record, made by any European who had himself penetrated into central Africa. When the cruelty and impolicy of Ferdinand drove from Spain the best portion of his subjects, *Leo*, a celebrated philosopher of Granada, sought and found a refuge in the court of Fez, employed by his new sovereign as an ambassador, he visited many lands, and among others the remote regions of the same continent, and being at last captured by pirates and carried to Rome, he occupied the evening of his days, in recording his adventures. Blending, like Herodotus, what he had himself seen, with what he had **only** heard, the credit of his whole narrative was impaired, but, as in the case of the historian, posterity seems to have acknowledged, in some degree, the veracity of the former, while it has classed the latter with the many similar tales, that adorn the long history of African research. The points of information obtained from Leo, are principally the following: that the Niger flowed from east to west, as he knew from having himself navigated it; that it was not united with the Nile of Egypt, but rose in a lake south of Bornou, whose position agrees with the the Cauga or Kouka of the Arabians; that Kano had lost its supremacy, and Tombuto (Tombuctoo) become the principal city, and capital of a kingdom of the same name, that at Kabra, a town on the Niger, a few miles from it, merchants sailed with their commodities westward to Guinea, a country extending along the Niger to the ocean; that Tombuctoo was large and rich; and that great quantities of gold were found in the mountains to the south.

The seventeenth century brought new adventurers into the field. The Portuguese extended their observations more into the interior; and the French and English, actuated by a spirit of commercial enterprise, determined to penetrate those regions which the tradition of antiquity had represented as the seat of spontaneous wealth, and the more credible narrative of Leo had described as abounding in gold. Noticing the discoveries of these nations, during this century, in turn, we find the Portuguese

missionaries gradually proceeding up the Congo, easily converting the natives to Christianity, until they touch the fatal point of dismissing their wives, or abstaining from their favourite banquets on human flesh, when they immediately rebel. The history of these pious labourers, and the dangers they encountered, form as hitherto, the engrossing subject of their narratives, and are full of interest: we could dwell on them with pleasure, but we are already admonished, by the number of pages we have occupied, that our remarks should be confined to the progress they made in geographical discovery. Towards the north-east, they pursued the shores of the river Congo, or Zaire, passing the nations of Pango and Sundi, tributaries of the king of Congo; three hundred and thirty miles from the ocean, they reached the cataract of the river, seventy miles beyond this, they found the city of *Concabella*, a large and powerful place, the capital of a kingdom of the same name; it was tributary to the larger kingdom of *Mucoco*, which extended far to the north-east, inhabited by ferocious savages, who were the terror of surrounding tribes; this circumstance seems to have restrained the zeal of the missionaries, ardent and fearless as they undoubtedly were, for their excursions never appear to have reached beyond *Concabella*. In addition to these discoveries, should be added two important facts, which are to be collected from the narratives in general: first, the immense velocity and size of the river Congo, the former of which is so great as only to be overcome by keeping close along the shore, while it is perceived to freshen the waters of the ocean to the distance of many leagues, and the latter is said not to be less than twenty-eight miles at its mouth; secondly, the existence of a point not very far above *Concabella*, where there is a union of two large streams, forming the Congo, one from the north called the *Bancaro*, whose source is unknown, and one from the south-east, called the *Barbela*, or *Zaire* proper.

The discoveries of the French, in the seventeenth century, arose, as we have mentioned, from commercial enterprise. Four companies were created one after the other, according to the custom of the times, with a grant of monopoly of the trade; and though as might be expected they failed, through bad management and the fraud of agents, in the expected success, they were the means of affording some information. The persons sent out to Africa, ascended the river Senegal, and carried on a profitable traffic with the natives on its banks. They passed through the kingdoms of the *Foulas*, and the *Jalofs*, as far as *Gadam*. Beyond the latter, about six hundred miles from the ocean, they penetrated but a short distance, and their knowledge of the country east of it was obtained from the natives. From then

they learned that beyond Galam were the kingdoms of Bambarra, and Tombuctoo; they differed as to the course of the Niger; some asserting that it flowed to the east, while the more general statements were, that its course was westerly, through the kingdom of Gungala, (Jimbala,) spreading into the lake Maberia, (Dibbie) and after resuming its course, dividing at a place called Barakota into two branches, one of which formed the Gambia; and the other, and principal one, the Senegal; by these outlets it discharged itself into the Atlantic.

In England, an unbounded zeal was excited to explore the interior of western Africa in search of gold. In 1618, a company was formed for the purpose. In 1621, one of their agents, of the name of *Jobson*, ascended the Gambia as far as Tenda. Beyond this, no British traders penetrated, and they appear to have confined their operations merely to a small traffic with the natives, and interminable inquiries for mines of gold.

The succeeding century is more fruitful of adventure, and contains much to be recorded both of French and English travellers. In 1713, the French succeeded in erecting a fort and making a permanent settlement at Diamanet, and penetrated into the kingdom of Bambock, situated still higher up on the south shore of the Senegal, and abounding in gold. They opened an intercourse with the natives, much more intimate than had previously existed; and the works published by those who visited the country, contain many interesting notices of its natural productions, and the habits and manners of the negroes. They made no further progress, however, in discovery, than that which we have mentioned, unless, indeed, we include the valuable information derived from the narratives of *Sauvignier* and *De Brisson*, two French gentlemen who were wrecked on the coast opposite the Sahara or great desert. They have described the country, and the manners and customs of the tribes, from Morocco to the Senegal, with much accuracy; but their observations did not extend far from the Atlantic shore.

The English were more successful; and the travellers of that nation added more during the eighteenth century to the accurate geographical knowledge of the interior Africa, than had been given at any preceding period. The trading speculations which had been carried on by them, as we have already seen, for a hundred years, were still pursued, and reached, in several instances, as far as Tenda, the place where Jobson stopped; and the intercourse thus created, added greatly to the correct information previously obtained. Yet, this very circumstance, in truth, displayed more clearly to men of science, within what narrow limits that information was confined, how profound was the ignorance which still existed of a large portion of the world, and how necessary it was to employ other means, than mere commercial expedi-

tions, to dispel it. In addition to these motives, perhaps another scarcely less powerful, tended, towards the latter part of the eighteenth century, to attract the observation of the enlightened men of England towards central Africa—we allude to the new views which began to be taken of slavery and the slave-trade. Africa, from this circumstance became more a subject of wonder and curiosity: its examination was thought to belong to men of enterprise and intelligence deputed for the purpose; and the results, it was believed, would gratify at once the philanthropist and philosopher, and justify the expenditure of money exclusively for that purpose, unconnected with the less liberal objects of commercial speculation and profit. This led in 1788 to the formation of a voluntary association, founded solely with such views, under the patronage of that distinguished friend of science and excellent man, *Sir Joseph Banks*, with others scarcely less eminent for their public and private excellence.

As the establishment of this society forms a new era, we cannot forbear pausing a moment, and begging our readers to reflect on the narrative we have thus given of the discoveries of more than two thousand years; they will then be sensible how little had been added, in that long interval, to human knowledge, as regards the continent of Africa; that with the exception of the western outline, little more was really known to the most learned moderns than to Herodotus; and even that one great feature in its geography, the true course of the Niger, was more a subject of doubt to them than to him.

Our own country had the honour to give to the world the first voluntary and disinterested traveller, since the Nassamonians of Herodotus, who undertook to penetrate the sickly deserts of Africa, led merely by the spirit of adventure and science. *Ledyard* was the first missionary of the African Association; he was, also, alas! the first victim in a career of honourable zeal, where so many successors have met the same fate. We have, in a former number of this journal,* recorded the circumstances which produced and attended his death at Cairo, when on the very eve of leaving it with a caravan for the desert, after having obtained, by three months of incessant application and inquiry, a vast stock of useful preparatory knowledge.

The second missionary of the Association, was Mr. *Lucas*, who had been sixteen years minister at Morocco. He set out from Tripoli with some Mahometan merchants, intending to proceed southward through Fezzan to the coast of Guinea. At Mesurata, five days' journey, he was unfortunately obliged, on account of a war among the Arab tribes, to return. He collected, however, much valuable information relative to his ne-

tended journey. Fezzan, the first country south of Tripoli, was a fertile oasis of great extent; its capital, Mourzouk, was 380 miles south of Tripoli, 770 west of Cairo, and 1040 north-east of Tombuctoo. To the south of Fezzan, lay the extensive empire of Bornou, classed by the Mahometans among the most powerful of the world; its capital, bearing the same name, was said to be 660 miles south of Mourzouk, and 524 west of Dongola, on the Nile. South-west of Bornou, and reaching to the Niger, was the Kingdom of Cashna, whose capital was 730 miles south of Mourzouk, and 100 miles south of which flowed the Niger, in a direction, it was said, from east to west.

In the year 1791, Major *Houghton*, the third missionary of the Association, set out from the settlements on the Gambia, to explore the interior. He was destined to become another victim. After ascending the Gambia for some distance, he turned towards the north-east, and crossing the Senegal, reached Jarra, on the borders of the desert. At this place, he was either murdered, or suffered to perish by hunger, and every effort to recover his papers proved unavailing. His discoveries were not important, as the country through which he passed, lay but a short distance beyond the European posts, and Jarra itself was not far from the old Portuguese fort at Galam.

The next traveller sent out by the Association, was one whose name is inseparably connected with Africa, and who may be ranked among the most remarkable men of his age; this was *Mungo Park*. Adding to an ardent love of adventure, which no sufferings or danger could depress, a mind well imbued with literature and considerable scientific knowledge, a temper remarkable equable, patient and forbearing, and a facility in acquiring languages, in conciliating hostile savages, and in finding resources in desperate emergency; he was a man above all others calculated for this fatal task. After spending several months at Pisania, the British factory on the Gambia, two hundred miles from the ocean, in collecting information and studying the native languages, he set out upon his expedition towards the Niger, on the 2d December 1795. He was obliged, on account of the wars existing among the savages, to deviate from the easterly course he had proposed, and striking towards the north-east, to cross the head waters of the Senegal, as Houghton had done. From this circumstance, he was driven among the Moors who inhabit the kingdoms along the southern border of the desert. The treachery, cruelty, and intolerance of these people, formed a striking contrast to the kinder dispositions of the negroes. At Jarra, where he was shown the tree beneath which the body of Houghton had been left to waste unburied, he was seized by order of Ali, the Moorish prince, robbed of nearly all his clothes, assaulted in the grossest and most cruel manner, and frequently

threatened with death. A war having arisen with a neighbouring prince, he was dragged with the wandering camp of Ali, from place to place, deprived of a faithful negro boy, who had hitherto been his constant and affectionate servant, and his horse was not taken away, only because it appeared impossible to escape on so miserable an animal. At last, after a captivity of four months, he effected his flight alone into the wilderness, and after wandering through it for three weeks, reached the Niger. His narrative is probably so familiar to our readers, that we should scarcely be pardoned for dwelling too minutely on it, but they will agree with us in considering it, from the excellence of its style and manner, as well as from the touching incidents it relates, a book of the deepest interest: nor do we know in the innumerable records of adventures, scenes that dwell more deeply on the memory than his captivity, his solitary wanderings in a wilderness, where the croaking of frogs around a muddy pool was welcomed as heavenly music, his patient supplication for a little food, and his joy at beholding the waters of the majestic Niger glittering in the morning sun, and slowly flowing from west to east. He found the town of Sego, the capital of Bambarra, a large place, containing thirty thousand inhabitants, situated on both banks of the river, and about six hundred and fifty miles from Pisania. The cruelty of the Moors had preceded him hither; they had spoken of a white man being in the country, and so strongly prejudiced the king of Bambarra against him, that he was forbidden to enter the city, and compelled to seek refuge in a distant village: but there, too, he was viewed with fear and wonder, and food and admission were refused him. It was at this place, when weary, dejected, and forsaken, he sat down beneath a tree to protect himself from an approaching storm, that he was seen by a woman returning from the field, who, learning his situation, with looks of compassion took him to her hut. She gave him food, and a mat to sleep upon; and as he lay there, he discovered that the song with which his hostess and some young woman amused themselves, as they spun cotton, alluded to the situation and sufferings of the poor stranger whom they were sheltering. "The winds roared, and the rains fell. The poor white man faint and weary came and sat under our tree. He has no mother to bring him milk, no wife to grind him corn. *Chorus.* Let us pity the white man—no mother has he," &c. In the morning, all he had with which to repay the benevolence of his hostess, were two of the four brass buttons remaining on his waistcoat. Undaunted by his sufferings, he determined to continue along the Niger, which he had now reached. The negroes, to whom he mentioned his intentions, endeavoured to dissuade him; they asked him whether there were no rivers in his own country, and whether rivers were not alike all

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over the world; they told him that though the Bambarans would be kind, the Moors, who lived beyond them, were not so—but all was in vain; he left Sego on the 23d of July. Pursuing his course along the north bank of the Niger, he passed Sansanding, and in about seventy or eighty miles reached Silla. He was here only two or three hundred miles from Tombuctoo; but he now found himself half naked, without money or any valuable article to procure provision, without a horse, the country beyond inundated by the tropical rains which had set in, and, indeed, surrounded with obstacles to a farther progress, which even his undaunted spirit was forced to consider insurmountable. He therefore left Silla on his return, on the 3d of August 1796, and passing Sansanding and Sego, continued his course up the Niger as far as Baniakoo, the western frontier of Bambarra, where it ceases to be navigable. From this place, striking to the north-west, he passed the mountainous ridge which divides the head waters of the Niger from those of the Senegal and Gambia; and after a perilous journey, unnumbered delays, and a severe fit of sickness, was fortunate enough to fall in with a caravan of slaves going to the coast. He joined this, and on the 10th of June, 1797, arrived at Pisania, whence he had departed eighteen months before, and was received by his friends “as one risen from the grave.”

Undoubtedly this journey of Park's is the most important step ever made in the discovery of central Africa. The actual information obtained from personal observation was very valuable. An extent of country more than a thousand miles from the Atlantic was examined. A great number of towns and geographical positions were laid down. The sources of the Gambia and Senegal rivers were found to be on the western side of a mountainous range, running parallel to, and at a distance of six or seven hundred miles from the coast. And, above all, the vast unknown river of the interior, the Niger, was found to have its sources on the eastern side of the same range of mountains, and was traced until it became a stream as large as the Thames at London, flowing to the east. These are geographical points of invaluable interest; and if it were consistent with the nature or limits of this article, others scarcely less important, relating to the history, productions, and inhabitants, might be mentioned. Nor was this all; Park satisfied himself from information obtained in his long journey, that two days, (about forty miles) below Silla, was a large town, called Jenné; that two days farther, the Niger expanded into a very large lake, called Dibbie, in crossing which, canoes lost sight of land; that a hundred miles beyond the point where the river debouched on the eastern side of this lake, was the town of Kabra, mentioned, it may be recollected, by Leo, which was the port of Tombuctoo.

that this city was a short distance north of the Niger, under the dominion of the Moors, and the principal seat of their commerce; that beyond the kingdom of Tombuctoo, was that of Houssa, the capital of which, (probably Soccatoo,) two days north of the Niger, was more populous, extensive, and rich, than Tombuctoo; and that beyond this, although the exact course of the river could not be learnt, it was invariably reported by the traders "to flow towards the rising sun, to the end of the world."

While Park was thus pursuing his discoveries from the west, and while his success was still unknown, other researches were making towards the interior, from the south, the east, and the north.

We have already mentioned, that as early as the seventeenth century, the Portuguese had discovered and explored the river Zaire, or Congo, and found it to be a stream of immense depth, velocity, and expanse. When the opinion became more general in the eighteenth century, that the Niger, notwithstanding the assertions of the Arabian geographers and Leo Africanus, might flow towards the east; and at the same time that the apparently higher elevation of the Nile rendered it improbable that it united with that river; a debouche on the shores of Africa, was looked for, and the Zaire selected by some geographers as the most probable. About the year 1794, a survey of the river was made by Mr. *Murcell*, and one or two British frigates sailed for some distance up it. The result of these proceedings was, that the name of the river was neither Zaire nor Congo, but the Fuzaddi, that its floods are nearly perpetual, rising comparatively but little, and then periodically twice a year, in March and September; that this circumstance of two floods, exists in no other large river, and probably arises from its crossing the equator, and a flood occurring with each of the periodical rains that attend the sun's approach to the tropics: that the old accounts of its velocity and size were not exaggerated, floating islands, with trees still erect, being seen out at sea, which had been washed down by its current, and a depth of fifty fathoms being found ninety miles above the ocean; and that from all accounts of traders, it was as large five hundred miles above, as it was at its mouth.

To penetrate Africa in the direction of the Niger, from the east, though a course very common among the Arabian traders, had never yet been attempted by a European. It was, indeed, the plan of *Ledyard* to do so, but we have already mentioned his death at Cairo, while waiting for the caravan which was to conduct him through Upper Egypt as far as Senaar, from which place he intended to turn directly west. In the year 1793, Mr. *W. G. Browne*, a private gentleman, urged by a spirit of curiosity and adventure, undertook to pursue the route which had

been selected by our unfortunate countryman. Instead, however, of proceeding as far south as Senaar, he set out on the 28th of May from Siout, in Upper Egypt, with a large caravan of native merchants; striking to the south-west, he reached, in two days, El Wah, or the Great Oasis, and thence pursuing a course, a little to the west of south, arrived at Darfûr on the 23d of July. Here he was attacked and confined by a violent illness, and the caravan being broken up, found himself in a most lonely and desolate situation; he was accused as an infidel, the property he brought for presents and commerce was seized, he was forbidden to proceed not only towards the west but even towards the east in the direction of the Nile, which he hoped to regain, and at last, after an absence of three years, only effected his return to Egypt, by alarming the fears of those who detained him. Kobbe, the capital of Darfûr, was nearly due west from Senaar, on the Nile, at the distance of about three hundred and fifty miles. It is the nearest approach to the Niger from the east which has yet been made.

The next expedition had, for its object, to penetrate from the north, through Fezzan, in the direction Mr. Lucas had done, and was undertaken by Mr. *Horneman*, a German gentleman, who offered his services to the African Association, in 1795. After employing the following year in preliminary studies, he repaired to Egypt, and assumed the dress, manners, and language of the Mahometans. The invasion of the French detained him some time at Cairo, but on the 5th of September 1799, he left it in a caravan for Mourzouk, the capital of Fezzan, which might strictly be termed the commencement of his expedition. On the 17th, he reached the oasis of Siwah, famous for its extensive ruins, which, there is little doubt, are those of the famous temple of Jupiter Ammon: a conjecture confirmed by the fertility of the oasis, and the catacombs in the neighbouring mountains. The inhabitants of Siwah, having discovered he was a Christian, demanded that he should be put to death. Horneman, however, acted with great courage: he marched boldly up to the tumultuous and armed crowd, denied their accusation, drew a copy of the Koran from his pocket, and by his skill in reading and explaining it, saved himself from their vengeance. From Siwah, he continued his journey west, through Augila, an ancient town mentioned under the same name by Herodotus, and arrived at Mourzouk, in seventy-four days from Cairo. From Mourzouk, Horneman made a rapid excursion to Tripoli, whence he returned in January 1800. In April following, having obtained the protection of two great shereefs, (descendants of Mahomet,) he set out for the south. Since that time, no certain information of his fate has been received; one report states that he had reached Gashna, where, as late as 1803, he was much respected as a Ma-

rabout or Mussulman saint; another, however, leads to the belief, that he died of a fever in his journey southward, and was buried near Aucas. Horneman collected much useful information. He learned, among other things, that a tribe who dwelt on the Niger, were Nazari or Christians, not black, and without negro features, a fact which has been mentioned in the reports of many travellers; that in the kingdom of Bornou, and west of Darfûr, was a lake known, among other names, by that of Kouka, evidently the Canga of the Arabians; and that the Niger flowed eastward, as Park had described it, through Houssa, then through Bornou, then turning south, passed along the southern frontier of Darfûr to Senaar, being the Bahr el Abiad, or White River, the large western branch of the Egyptian Nile.

While the fate of Horneman was yet doubtful, *Park* again offered himself as a volunteer, in the cause from which he had already acquired such deserved celebrity. The repose of two or three years, while it lulled the recollection of his sufferings, seems to have increased his enthusiastic desire to finish the solution of a problem he had so successfully commenced. Having formed an acquaintance with Mr. Maxwell, whose examination of the Congo we have mentioned, and compared with him the various observations they had made on the two streams, they both became strongly convinced that they were the same river, and that the Niger, after a circuitous course through central Africa, discharged its waters through the Bancaro, or northern branch of the Congo, into the Atlantic. The more Park reflected on this, the more he became confirmed in the idea, and he eagerly accepted an offer of the British government to renew his journey into Africa. If this patronage was beneficial in the extensive outfit it afforded, and the liberal remuneration it offered; it was more than counterbalanced by the unfortunate delay which so frequently attends arrangements, considered of minor importance, in the offices of government. Notwithstanding all his own exertions, he was unable to effect his departure so as to avoid the rainy season, and it was not until the 4th of May 1805, that he left Pisania. He pursued very nearly the same course which he had adopted on his return from the Niger, in 1796; and after crossing the mountains, between the head waters of the Senegal and that river, arrived again at Bamakoo, on the 19th of August. The sufferings of the expedition from the climate, during this journey, were terrible; and even the undaunted leader himself acknowledged that "the prospect appeared somewhat gloomy;" of thirty-eight men who had set out with him, seven only remained, all sick, and several in such extremity as scarcely to afford hopes of recovery. To return, however, would now have been as dangerous as to go on, even if the spirit of Park could have submitted to such an alternative

With his diminished party, he descended the river as far as Sansanding, a town below Sego, mentioned in his previous journey, and there immediately commenced the construction of a boat, which was finished by the 16th of November, and named the schooner Joliba. On that day, he completed all his preparations for a voyage down the Niger, as he hoped, to the Atlantic. His party was indeed reduced to five Europeans, of whom one was deranged, but his enthusiastic determination remained unchanged and unabated; and in a letter written to accompany his journal so far, which he now sent home, he says, "I shall set sail to the east, with a fixed resolution to discover the termination of the Niger, or perish in the attempt. Though all the Europeans who were with me should die, and though I were myself half dead, I would still persevere." On the 17th of November, he left Sansanding in the Joliba, and since that period nothing has ever been received from him or his companions. His fate was for many years a matter of mystery and doubt; accounts of his voyage a long way down the river were collected, at different times, from the reports of natives and merchants; a belief more than once arose, that he might still be living a prisoner in the interior; but as years passed on, such hopes gradually expired, and subsequent expeditions have established the certainty of his death, in a rencounter with the natives at Boussa, a town on the Niger, about eight hundred miles beyond Sansanding, which he had reached in his boat, after many perils. As the distance penetrated in this journey, so far as it has been recorded by Park, is less than during the first, and through the same nations, little additional information was gained. It may be noted, however, that Horneman's account of the existence of a large lake, evidently that of Kouka, far to the east of the Dibble, was confirmed.

As it is not our plan so much to record the names of the various travellers who have engaged in these expeditions, as the gradual progress of discovery itself, we have been obliged to pass by many adventurous men, who have enlisted in the same bold pursuit, and confine our notice more particularly to such as have extended the boundaries of geographical knowledge. We cannot, however, avoid noticing the fate of an enterprising young man, of the name of *Roentzen*, who, in the year 1811, endeavoured to penetrate from the north-west, by the way of Morocco, into the desert. He was murdered the day after he left Mogadore, and, though no certain account was ever obtained, there is every reason to believe, through the treachery of a renegade Christian whom he trusted as a guide. His loss was particularly to be lamented, on account of the promise he gave of future usefulness. Though only twenty-one years of age, he possessed excellent talents, a strong constitution, hardy habits,

undaunted courage, and a zeal in the cause of knowledge generally, and of African discovery especially, ardent beyond belief. He bestowed incredible pains in fitting himself for such an expedition. He cultivated botany, entomology, and other branches of natural science. He inured himself to every species of hardship and bodily fatigue. He learned to live upon food of the most wretched kind, and such as to a European must have been loathsome and disgusting. Indeed, he so gave up all his thoughts and feelings to the task, as to persuade himself that he was destined by Providence to complete the discovery of central Africa.

The next account we have, was obtained from the narrative of an American sailor, of the name of *Adams*, who, on the 11th of October 1810, was shipwrecked on the coast, a little south of cape Blanco. The crew were taken prisoners by the Moors; being separated into different parties, he and a Portuguese boy, were carried by their captors into the desert; and were in turn all taken prisoners by the negroes, who carried them to Tombuctoo. Here they remained six months, Adams and his companion being suffered to walk about the town, and as far as two miles south of it: treated, indeed, with kindness, and exciting so much curiosity, that they thought a white man had never before been seen there. The whole party were ransomed at length by some Moors, who came to Tombuctoo. Adams was carried by them in a north-west direction, across the desert, and at last reached Wednoon, a town near the Atlantic coast, in the neighbourhood of cape Noon. Here he met some of the crew who had been shipwrecked with him, and, at last, after many sufferings, from the brutal cruelty of the Moors, his long travels, and the abject slavery to which he had been reduced, he and his companions were ransomed by the British consul at Mogadore, in the autumn of 1813. Two years after, he was met with, accidentally, in London, while wandering half naked and famished through the streets; and Mr. S. Cock, of the African Trading Company, collected from him, by degrees and after many interviews, the narrative of his adventures. Though this was at first considered by some persons as unworthy of credit, its truth has been indisputably confirmed in so many particulars, that, after allowing for the ignorance of a poor illiterate sailor, and the sufferings he endured, there appears no good reason for doubting its general authenticity. The main facts relative to central Africa are these; that Tombuctoo is a town about the size of Lisbon, its inhabitants neither under the dominion of the Moors, as Park heard, nor possessing the Mahometan faith, but negroes, and apparently without any form of worship; that a large river from the north-east, called La Mar Zarrah, passes it, but he did not know whether it joined the Niger, nor

did he even hear of that river; that trade was carried on with the tribes to the eastward; but beyond this, he acquired little knowledge of the people around the place of his captivity.

Our next account of the interior is derived from the narrative of *Sidi Hamet*, a benevolent and intelligent Arab merchant, which was communicated to our countryman Captain Riley, while at Mogadore, in the year 1815. To be sure, this, like the statements of all other native merchants, contains facts somewhat at variance with previously received accounts, and the inconsistency of them all, in many points, has led to considerable hesitation in trusting to the stories of the natives; yet when it is recollected that from this source only we have any account of by far the larger portion of the interior, they become of comparatively greater value, and at all events afford additional means of comparing them one with another. *Sidi Hamet* stated, that he left Wedneoon with the great caravan, consisting of more than one thousand men, and four thousand camels; in the desert, he separated from it, with some of his friends, and eventually reached Tombuctoo in forty-six days; they waited here for the rest of the caravan, but, meeting with a doom by no means unparalleled in that fatal country, the whole had perished for want of water. After remaining two months, *Sidi* consented, at the request of the king, to accompany a large caravan which he was about to send, loaded with iron, salt, tobacco, &c., to trade with the king of a large city to the south, called Wassanah. On leaving Tombuctoo, they reached, in two hours, the Niger; they then travelled east for six days, to a place called Bambinak, when the river was turned by a range of mountains running south-east; here they left the bank of the stream, but continuing in a south-east course, reached it again in fifteen days, and keeping generally near its right bank, arrived at Wassanah, in sixty days, from Tombuctoo. The river passes Wassanah in a southern direction, and is there called the Zadi: it is so wide, that a man can scarcely be seen on the opposite bank, and they were told by the inhabitants, that they frequently went down in canoes, first to the southward, and then to the westward, when they came to the great water, where they met the pale people who bought their slaves. This narrative also confirms the statement of Adams in a number of particulars, and if it is to be depended on, certainly supports the general theory of the Niger taking a southerly course, and entering the Atlantic; indeed, the distances stated, agree sufficiently well with the Congo or Zaire, to say nothing of the similarity of the name Zadi, given to it at Wassanah, and the Enzaddi of Maxwell.

The next adventurer whose fate we have to record, may be considered, in regard to his qualifications, decidedly the most distinguished among the victims of African discovery. To the

ardour of Park, and the patient, long-suffering zeal of Ledyard, *Burckhardt* added a skill in assuming foreign manners and language, a knowledge of foreign customs, religion, and character, a patient research, turned to every collateral branch of history, philology, and science, and that most useful of all qualities, a minute, full, and careful system of recording his observations, such, perhaps, as have never been found united in any individual. Being of a very good Swiss family, and possessed of some fortune, he selected, at an early age, research in Africa, as the object of his ambition and the business of his life. He devoted himself to this, as men devote themselves to their future professions; he pursued, in the universities of Germany and England, those studies which would be useful to him in such an undertaking; he inured himself to habits which would render less painful the course of life he might be forced to lead; he travelled for years in those countries where he could gradually acquire a perfect and natural familiarity with Arabian manners; and he entirely succeeded in rendering himself the person that he desired to appear. Sheik Ibrahim Abdallah, the name by which he was known, was declared at the holy city of Mecca, the profanation of which, by his presence, an infidel must expiate by death, to be a very learned Mussulman; in the streets of Cairo, he was known and sincerely respected by the faithful; and when he occasionally declared himself to be a Frank, he was scarcely believed. We have not here space to dwell upon his personal history, character, and adventures, as fully as they deserve, but we perceive that some of his valuable manuscripts on Arabia and Syria, have been given to the press, and we trust that they will enable us, at no distant period, to make our readers better acquainted with Sheik Ibrahim. After eight years spent in the East, in the manner we have mentioned, he had made every arrangement to leave Cairo, in the autumn of 1817, with a party of Moggrebys, or western Africans, who were going to Fezzan, and he intended thence to pursue Horneman's route southward to the Niger. But his plan was not accomplished—on the 15th of October, before the caravan was ready to depart, *Burckhardt* was dead. The rich reward which he and the world expected, as the result of his labours and sufferings, was thus lost, and we have only to lay before our readers a brief notice of the information relative to central Africa, which may be gathered from such of his journals and letters as have been already published. Although deprived of the opportunity of himself visiting the interior, his long journeys as a native, with caravans in which he met merchants from various parts, his continued residence in the east and association with the different people, and, above all, his pilgrimage to Mecca, where he was one of eighty thousand pilgrims, collected from every spot where the creed of Mahomet was believ-

ed—these circumstances, when taken in connexion with his two journeys up the Nile to Nubia, must certainly give to all the information he collected and the opinions he formed, unusual weight. Of these, the principal is undoubtedly that relative to the course of the Niger, which, though cautious in adopting positively any opinion not confirmed by his own observation, he certainly seems to have considered, with the old authorities, as a branch of the Nile of Egypt, uniting with the Bahr el Abiad. About central Africa, he obtained some important geographical facts. The commercial intercourse between that country and Egypt or Barbary, is carried on to comparatively little distance from the eastward,* but chiefly to the north, through Fezzan; pilgrims to Mecca, and students or fakys to Damer, sometimes come to Nubia, through Darfûr; but caravans very seldom from a greater distance than the latter place, or the kingdoms immediately beyond. The country proceeding westward from the Nile, about the fifteenth degree of north latitude, is divided into many kingdoms; the first is Kordofan, which is tributary to Darfûr, and extends to the boundary of that kingdom; next to Darfûr, which is populous and powerful, is a fertile country, whose prince is potent, and in which are many schools; it is known by the several names of Borgo, Wadey, and Dar Saley; south of Darfûr is the country of Fertit, extending to the base of the Gebel el Kumri, or Mountains of the Moon, whence copper and slaves are obtained. Beyond Dar Saley, a little to the north of west, lie in succession, Bagerme, Bahar el Ghazal, and Dar Katokou, and next to them the great kingdom of Bornou. A large river, called the Shary, runs from north-east to south-west, between Bahar el Ghazal and Dar Katokou, at the distance of fifteen days from the borders of Bornou. In the interior of the latter kingdom is a very large fresh water lake. Over all this country, the great negro tribe of Fellata, who are partly Musulmans and partly pagans, have of late years made great ravages; they appear to have supplanted the Tuaricks, having plundered the cities of Bornou and Cashna, and advanced as far west as Tombuctoo.

While the observations of Burckhardt were in some degree contradicting the hypothesis of Park, as to the termination of the Niger, it received a partial, though certainly very imperfect confirmation, from a new examination of the Congo upwards from its mouth. This was undertaken by captain *Tuckey*, of the British navy, who, after very careful and adequate preparation, ascended the river in the summer of 1816. After stemming the current with great difficulty in their boats for four days, the party determined to quit them and proceed by land; this they did with great suffering, from fatigue, privations, and sickness, for a month, until they were compelled by it to aban-

don the undertaking at a point about two hundred and eighty miles from the ocean. Though this voyage did not add much actual information on the question of the identity of the Niger and Congo, it fully confirmed the plausible grounds before known. Its depth was greater than had been reported: at the place where captain Tuckey turned back, it was three or four miles wide, flowing, with a gentle current, from two to three miles an hour; according to the uniform statement of the natives, the continued navigation upwards was uninterrupted, and it had a large branch to the north-east; the period and nature of its floods, carefully and scientifically examined, confirmed the belief of its rise north of the equator: it bore the name of Moienzi Enzaddi, agreeing with the Zadi of Sidi Hamet, and the Enzaddi of Maxwell: and slaves were brought from the interior, and sold to the Spanish and Portuguese, some of whom captain Tuckey detected in the river. This expedition, beyond all others, was fatal to those engaged in it; eighteen of the party died: in this number were included the commander, his lieutenant and purser, the botanist, naturalist, comparative anatomist, geologist, and nearly every officer and scientific gentleman attached to the mission. Knowledge, indeed, may well be worshipped: but should we not pause ere we thus heap her altar with human sacrifice?

In May 1819, Mr. *Ritchie*, a young gentleman attached to the British embassy at Paris, accepted an offer of his government to explore the interior of Africa, from the north, by way of Tripoli and Fezzan. To this end, he received the appointment of vice-consul at Mourzouk, the capital of the latter kingdom: he was received there with the utmost cordiality by the native sovereign and merchants, and every assistance was promised by them, the Bashaw of Tripoli, and even by the prince of Bornou, whom he had found means to apprize of his intention of visiting him; but all his preparations were in vain, he expired of a fever at Mourzouk, a few months after his arrival. By his inquiries among the native merchants who had been in the interior, he was led to the belief, that the Niger and the Nile of Egypt were the same river. He saw persons who had seen it at Tombuctoo, at Kano where it is called Tsadi, and at Cashna, where it is only the third of a mile broad, and called Gulbi; they all said that it flowed into the Nile, but no one had traced it himself regularly down even so far, nor, as it appears, actually seen it beyond. He was, like Burekhardt, convinced that Bornou had been placed too far to the east: and that much greater space should be allowed between it and the Nile, than had hitherto been done.

In the year 1822, Major *Laing* was sent from Sierra Leone, by Sir Charles M'Carthy, to ascertain the state of the country east, or rather north-east, of that place, the disposition of the in-

habitants for trade and industry, and their sentiments and conduct as to the abolition of the slave trade. With these laudable objects, he penetrated into the interior two hundred miles, as far as Falaba, the capital of Soolimana. He found no difficulty in prosecuting his journey, was received every where with the greatest kindness, and, in addition to much useful information on the peculiar objects of his mission, made some observations which will throw light on our present inquiries. He partially ascended the range of mountains crossed by Park, which form the dividing ridge between the Senegal, Gambia, and other streams that run westward into the Atlantic, and the Niger, flowing to the east. From the sources of the latter, he was distant but three or four days' journey, though, unfortunately, unable to gratify his anxious solicitude to visit them. He relates, however, an important fact, or assertion, that "their elevation is between fifteen and sixteen hundred feet above the level of the ocean." Though severely attacked by fever, he effected his return, and was reserved, as we shall see, for future labours in the same cause, though unhappily with a different result.

While Major Laing was engaged in this mission, the British government, encouraged by the favourable disposition of the pasha of Tripoli, and believing, from the opinions of Horneman, Burekhardt, and other travellers, that a route from the north was the most advisable, fitted out an expedition on a scale much more extensive than any of those that had preceded it. It consisted of Dr. *Oudeny*, Captain *Clapperton*, Major *Denham*, and a shipwright named *Hillman*, who volunteered his services, and to the party afterwards were added lieutenant *Toole*, a fine and enterprising officer, scarcely of age, and Mr. *Tyriohitt*. They reached Mourzouk with as little difficulty as Horneman and Ritchie had done, and after remaining there several months, set out for Bornou on the 29th of November 1822, accompanied by a little army of more than two hundred Moors, sent by the king of Fezzan, nominally as an escort, but, as they afterwards found, for the additional purpose of seizing a few slaves for his Highness. Leaving the fertile oasis of Fezzan, they passed eight hundred miles across the great sandy desert, and had the delight, on the 4th of February 1823, to behold the great lake Tchad, glowing with the golden rays of the sun, to all appearance within a mile of the spot where they stood. They found this to be the north-west corner of the vast inland sea of fresh water, so long reported to exist in the kingdom of Bornou, and the same which the Arabian geographers have mentioned as the lake of *Cauga* or *Kouka*. They coasted along its western shore, and on the 11th crossed a river called the *Yeou*, coming from the westward and running into the lake; it was then fifty yards wide, and was said at times to be double the width and considerably deeper; and the

Moors all declared it to be the Nile. Six days after they entered Kouka, the capital of Bornou, being conducted in great state by Barca Gana, the principal general, with a body of several thousand cavalry, a portion of whom were habited in coats of mail composed of iron chain, which covered them from the throat to the knees, and with helmets of the same metal, all sufficiently strong to ward off the shock of a spear. The sheik himself, a sort of mayor of the palace or sovereign *de facto*, the sultan being merely superior in name, received them with a great deal of barbaric splendour, as the ambassadors of "the sultan of Great Britain:" he was delighted at the assurance that the king of England had heard of Bornou and himself, and immediately turning to his kaganawha (counsellor), said, "this is in consequence of our defeating the Begharmis," upon which Bagah Furby (gatherer of horses), the chief who had been most distinguished in the memorable battles against that people, seating himself in front of the strangers, demanded, "did he ever hear of me?" the immediate reply of "certainly!" was received with shouts of applause, and, "ah! then your king must be a great man!" was repeated from every side. Ten or fifteen miles south of Kouka, on the shore of the lake, they found a large city, called Angornou, containing thirty, and on market days, eighty to one hundred thousand people: though not the capital, it was the place of trade and largest town in Bornou. They were, however, though treated with extreme kindness, pretty closely watched, and an evident intention shown, that they should travel as little as possible. It was not until after two months' residence at Kouka, and a great deal of management and intreaty, that Major Denham obtained leave to accompany his friend Boo Khaloom, the spirited commander of the escort from Mourzouk, on a marauding expedition which he was appointed, with Barca Gana, to command. It seemed, indeed, to be the only means of seeing any thing more of the country, and this it enabled the gallant officer to examine, for a distance of two hundred and seventy miles directly south of Kouka. The interesting story of the battle with the Fellatahs, the defeat, the terrible sufferings of Denham, the death of Boo Khaloom, and the touching songs of the Moors over the body of their leader, are too fully in the recollection of our readers to need repetition. The rainy season was passed quietly at Kouka, where the whole party became very great favourites with the sheik and people generally, the only subject of dislike being their Kafir religion. "They seem kind," said a Bornouese one day to a cadî; "and if they are so very bad, why does God suffer them to be so rich, and to know things so much better than we do?" "Don't talk about them," replied the cadî, "don't talk about them; please God, those who are here will die Moslem; as

to their riches let them enjoy them. God allows them the good things of this world, but to Moslem he has given Paradise and eternity." "Geree! geree!" (true! true!) was reechoed from all the by-standers. Hillman, the carpenter, was a prodigious favourite: he made chairs and boxes for the sheik, and succeeded in the more important matter of fixing a carriage to an old field-piece which had been formerly sent as a present from Fezzan; nothing could exceed the sheik's delight when this was perfected, and a trial made with a load of musket bullets put into a tin canister. The distance to which the balls were thrown, and the rapidness of the report, created the greatest astonishment, but the sheik would not suffer a second discharge. "No! no!" said he, "they are too valuable; they must not be thrown away; curses on their race! how these will make the Begharmis jump!" Fire-works, especially rockets, were exceedingly admired, and when Adam first fired them off, the people screamed loudly, though he says they did not produce such serious consequences at Bornou as at Mourzouk, where several ladies lost all present hopes of blessing their husbands with pledges of love. To all the exhibitions of skill in mechanics, and the display of such luxuries of civilized life as the strangers could make, the reply constantly was, "wonderful! wonderful! you are a beautiful people! why are you not Moslem?"

Early in the spring of the year 1824, Denham persuaded the sheik to permit him to make an excursion to explore lake Tchad. Coasting around the southern shore, he reached the river Shary, which he found to be a considerable stream flowing *into* the lake from the south. Crossing this, he pursued the shore north-eastward to Tangalia, a town nearly opposite to Kouka, and belonging to the Begharmes, who had conquered all the intermediate country between Darfûr and Bornou. He was not able to proceed farther, and reluctantly returned. In the mean time, his companions, Clapperton and Oudeny, with the consent of the sheik, had set out for Soccatoo, the capital of Houssa, more than seven hundred miles east of Kouka; the latter died soon after they had commenced the journey, but Clapperton reached Soccatoo in about ninety days. He was received with the utmost kindness by sultan Bello, who was very anxious to open a direct communication with the English, from the sea coast within his dominions, and promised that he would have any person who should be sent there, safely conveyed to Houssa. Clapperton made every effort to pursue his journey to the west, but he was not permitted, and after staying nearly two months at Soccatoo, was obliged reluctantly to return. He rejoined his companions at Kouka, and he Denham and Hillman, the survivors, returning through Tripoli without accident, reached England in the summer of 1825.

The information collected by this expedition, with regard to the habits and commerce of central Africa, is great and important; it shows that there is an immense population, favourably disposed to open an intercourse with foreigners, and that a most lucrative traffic might be carried on with them. The philanthropist, too, will see a noble field for his exertions, in spreading amongst an intelligent race the blessings of education and religion. But in a geographical point of view, no great discoveries have resulted from the researches of these travellers. The range of country which they saw was limited, and did not embrace many of the doubtful points that have so long puzzled learned men. They ascertained the existence and situation of Bornou; of the large fresh-water lake Tchad, occupying several thousand square miles; of the towns of Kano and Cashna; of the kingdom of Hoassa, which Park was accurately informed lay east of Tombuctoo. They also learned, from information to be relied on, that the countries east of Bornou, were accurately laid down by Burckhardt; that at some distance beyond Tombuctoo, the Niger turned to the south, as Sidi Hamet had stated, though at what distance they did not know; that the term *Nile* appeared to be a general name for a large fresh-water stream, and could not be considered as always designating the Niger, or the river of Egypt;* but on the great point—the general course and termination of the former, we are not one step advanced beyond previous discoveries.

Captain Clapperton had scarcely returned to England, when the government determined to embrace the favourable opportunity of establishing an intercourse with the interior of Africa, which was afforded by the request of Sultan Bello, already alluded to. That enterprising officer did not hesitate a moment to accept the mission, and, accompanied by Captain Pearce and Dr. Morrison, of the navy, he landed at Badagry, a town in the bight of Benin, from which he proposed to pursue his way in a north-eastern direction to Soccatoo, and thence to Bornou. On the 7th of December 1825, they commenced the long journey, of which the details will be found in the volume whose title is placed at the head of this article.

In twenty days after leaving the coast, Captain Pearce and Dr. Morrison fell victims to the climate, and Clapperton, himself suffering severely, pursued his way in company with his faithful

* In speaking of this river, we have preserved throughout the name Niger, although it is called by the Arabians the Nile, by Park the Joliba, by Sidi Hamet the Zolibib, by Clapperton the Quorra or Cowara, and, we perceive, by M. Cadé, the Dhioliba. Nothing is more absurd than this various nomenclature, it produces great confusion in geography, and leads to endless errors and explanations. It is of little consequence what the exact name used by the natives may be, but it is of great importance that modern geographers should all adopt the same.

English servant *Lander*, and an old negro of the name of Pascoe, who had long served in the British navy. The country, as far as Bendekka, a town at the foot of the Kong mountains, which they reached on the 8th of January, was extremely fertile populous and beautiful; the valleys were covered with well-cultivated plantations of cotton, corn, yams, &c.; the markets in the numerous towns were crowded, and the roads full of people, who gazed at them with the greatest curiosity and delight, following them for a considerable distance, with drums, horns, and gongs, the men frequently taking off their caps, the women chanting choral songs and kneeling as they passed; the scenery presented every variety, from thick shady forests and deep luxuriant dells, to busy farms and rude overhanging rocky cliffs. The mountain range extended for eighty miles, and seems to be a continuation of that crossed by Park at the sources of the Senegal river, and by Laing in his journey from Ashantee; its course bends with the coast of the Atlantic, from which it is distant about two hundred miles; its height in this place did not exceed twenty-five hundred feet. After leaving the mountains, our travellers passed through a number of towns, some of them very populous, and through a country equally fertile and picturesque with that which they had already seen. On the 23d of January they reached Katunga, the capital of the kingdom of Yarriba; they were welcomed by the sovereign with the greatest kindness, and treated with much hospitality during their residence there, which was until the 6th of March. Here Clapperton found himself within thirty miles of the Quorra or Niger, which was pursuing a course nearly due south, and thus confirming the conjecture of Park, and the narrative of Sidi Hamet, that, east of Tombuctoo, it made a sudden turn from its easterly course, and wound along the kingdom of Houssa towards the Atlantic. He was not, however, permitted to visit it, although he made many efforts, but was obliged to pursue his journey further north, at some distance from its shore, through the large towns of Kiana and Wawa, until he reached it at Boosa, the place where Mungo Park was wrecked and perished. The spot among the rocks in the stream where this accident happened was pointed out; and the account of his death previously given, was in all essential particulars confirmed.

Crossing the Niger, and entering the kingdom of Houssa, the road led in a direction not much to the north of east, for a distance apparently of three hundred and fifty miles to Kano, the large city visited by Clapperton in his previous journey, and mentioned by so many travellers and geographers. This place being about midway between the capital of Bornou and Soccatoo, and on the direct route from one to the other; it was deemed most expedient to leave Lander with the baggage and pre-

sents, intended for the sultan of the former place, while Clapperton visited his old friend Bello at once. He found him with his army in the neighbourhood of the capital, was received with the greatest kindness, and accompanied him to Soccatoo, where he found his former quarters carefully prepared for his reception.

The kindness of the sultan was manifested, however, in a way infinitely less agreeable to Clapperton than formerly, as well as greatly less serviceable to him in his ultimate views. He long refused to permit him to leave the capital, and when he at last consented to do so, it was with positive commands to return northward across the great desert. He forbade entirely his journey to Bornou, sent for Landor with the baggage left at Kano, opened the letter and seized the presents intended for the sheik, and even hinted his suspicions, that he was a spy sent by the English, who were desirous of conquering Africa as they had already subjugated India. This conduct, so unexpected and so unfortunate, seems to have arisen from two causes, the enmity existing between Bello and the sheik of Bornou, for a war had broken out since the last expedition, and the intrigues of the pasha of Tripoli, who had long been endeavouring to spread a distrust of the English, by means of the Moorish merchant-trading with the interior. Mortified at this disappointment, and enfeebled by continual disease, Clapperton, like his predecessors, at length sunk under them, and is to be added to the list of African victims: he was only more fortunate than his predecessors, in the circumstance that his eyes were closed by his devoted and affectionate servant, whose intelligence also has preserved the records of his master's observations, as well as his own subsequently made. Nothing, indeed, can be imagined more gloomy than the situation in which Landor was now left. After paying the last sad duty to the remains of the unfortunate traveller, he says:—

“I returned disconsolate and oppressed to my solitary habitation; and leaning my head on my hand, could not help being deeply affected with my lonesome and dangerous situation—a hundred and fifteen days’ journey from the sea-coast, surrounded by a selfish and cruel race of strangers, my only friend and protector mouldering in his grave, and myself suffering dreadfully from fever. I felt indeed as if I stood alone in the world, and earnestly wished I had been laid by the side of my dear master. All the trying evils I had endured, never affected me half so much as the bitter reflections of that distressing period.”

At length, with the small remnant of property left by the rapacity of the sultan and his ministers, Landor set out from Soccatoo on his return. On reaching Kano, he determined to quit the route by which they had arrived, and keeping more to the south, strike the Niger at a much lower point, and then follow its course to the Atlantic, which he supposed it to reach by the channel of the Formosa. In this direction he pursued his journey as far as the town of Dunrora, when he was suddenly over-

taken and brought back by command of one of the kings through whose country he had passed, compelled to resume the old road, and thus reached the Atlantic, on the 21st of November 1827, having been absent very nearly two years.

The geographical discoveries made in this expedition are certainly interesting, though they only advance us a few steps and remove a few doubts in relation to the great question of the Niger. The first fact that strikes us, is, that by means of Clapperton's two journeys, we have now a continuous line actually explored across central Africa, from the bight of Benin to Tripoli, a circumstance of the highest importance, as connected with all future and more partial researches. The boundaries and relative dependence of the kingdoms from the Atlantic, as far as the great lake of Pernon, and the situation of the principal cities and towns thickly scattered over that wide space, are now fixed with very considerable accuracy. The visit to the spot where Park actually perished, ascertains with certainty the existence and course of the Niger, from its sources to that place, a distance which probably is not less than a thousand miles. But still, it must be acknowledged that the subsequent direction and ultimate termination of that mysterious stream, are buried in as much doubt as before. If it flows into the bight of Benin, or the Congo, it has to pass through the range of the Kong mountains. If it runs into the Shary, and thus into the lake of Bornou, or, if it unites with the western stream of the Nile of Egypt, it must again bend from the southerly course it pursues along the boundaries of Houssa, and turn again at a right angle to the east. Many conjectures as to these courses, and many contradictory descriptions of native merchants and travellers are given in the present volume, but they leave the subject in as much doubt as before. It would be easy to form a new or revive an old hypothesis, but we deem it much better to rest content with informing our readers of what has actually been done, than to mislead them, perhaps, by the results of our ingenuity or imagination.

In observations upon the character and manners of the natives, and in variety and romantic incident, this volume is certainly inferior to the preceding narrative, as well as to that of Park. This undoubtedly is to be attributed in no slight degree to the unfortunate fate of the author, and the circumstances which have attended its composition and publication. We shall conclude our notice with a few extracts of such portions as appear most likely to interest our readers.

Nothing strikes us with more surprise than the great populousness of the country through which Clapperton travelled. In the map, no fewer than one hundred and twenty-two towns are laid down, between Badagry and Soccatoo, through all of which he passed; most of these it is true are not very large, but many of

them contain a very considerable population—thus Janna has nine thousand inhabitants, Apoudo ten thousand, Chiadoo seven thousand, Tshou four thousand, Kiama thirty thousand, Tabra twenty thousand, Koollu twelve thousand, without mentioning the capitals Soccatoo and Kano. The following description of Katunga, gives a good idea of the general character of the larger towns, the value of money, and the domestic trade:—

“Katunga is built on the sloping side and round the base of a small range of granite hills, which, as it were, forms the citadel of the town; they are formed of stupendous blocks of gray granite of the softest kind, some of which are seen hanging from the summits, in the most frightful manner, while others, resting on very small bases, appear as if the least touch would send them down into the valley beneath. The soil on which the town is built is formed of clay and gravel, mixed with sand, which has obviously been produced from the crumbling granite. The appearance of these hills is that of a mass of rocks left bare by the tide. A belt of thick wood runs round the walls, which are built of clay, and about twenty feet high, and surrounded by a dry ditch. There are ten gates in the walls, which are about fifteen miles in circumference, of an oval shape, about four miles in diameter one way, and six miles the other, the south end leaning against the rocky hills, and forming an inaccessible barrier in that quarter. The king's houses and those of his women occupy about a square mile and are on the south side of the hills, having two large parks, one in front, and another facing the north. They are all built of clay, and have thatched roofs, similar to those nearer the coast. The posts supporting the verandahs and the doors of the king's and caboceers' houses are generally carved in bas relief, with figures representing the boa killing an antelope or a hog, or with processions of warriors attended by drummers. The latter are by no means meanly executed, conveying the expression and attitude of the principal man in the group with a lofty air, and the drummer well pleased with his own music, or rather deafening noise. There are seven different markets, which are held every evening; being generally opened about three or four o'clock. The chief articles exposed for sale are yams, corn, calavances, plantains, and bananas; vegetable butter, seeds of the colocynt, which forms a great article of food, sweetmeats, goats, fowls, sheep, and lambs; and also cloth of the manufacture of the country, and their various implements of agriculture. The price of a small goat is from 1500 to 2000 cowries: a large sheep, 5000 to 5000; a fowl, 150 to 200; yams, 4000 per hundred; a horse, 80 to 100,000; and a cow from 20 to 30,000; a prime slave, 40 to 60,000—2000 cowries being equal to one Spanish dollar.”

The different tribes and kingdoms seem to be in a state of almost continual war, but their conflicts are not often bloody, and victory chiefly consists in taking as many prisoners as possible, who are of course reduced to slavery. We have the following description of a camp near Soccatoo:—

“At 5 P. M. halted on the borders of a large lake, which is formed by the rivers Zurme and Zarric—or, more properly speaking, a chain of lakes and swamps, extending through all, or the greater part of, the plains of Gondamie, approaching nearly to Soccatoo. The borders of these lakes are the resort of numbers of elephants and other wild beasts. The appearance at this season, and at the spot where I saw it, was very beautiful: all the acacia trees were in blossom, some with white flowers, others with yellow, forming a contrast with the small dusky leaves, like gold and silver tassels on a cloak of dark green velvet. I observed some fine large fish leaping in the lake. Some of the troops were bathing; others watering their horses, bullocks, camels, and asses: the lake as smooth as glass, and flowing around the roots of the trees. The sun, on its approach to the horizon, throws the shadows of the flowery acacias along its

surface, like sheets of burnished gold and silver. The smoking fires on its banks, the sounding of horns, the beating of their gongs or drums, the braying of their brass and tin trumpets, the rude hats of grass or branches of trees using as if by magic, every where the cries on the names of Mahomed, Abdo, Musaa, &c., with the neighing of horses and the braying of asses, gave animation to the beautiful scenery of the lake, and its sloping green and woody banks.

"The only regulation that appears in these rude feudal armies is, that they take up their ground according to the situation of the provinces, east, west, north, or south: but all are otherwise huddled together, without the least regularity. The man next in rank to the governor of each province has his tent placed nearest to him, and so on. I always found out my quarters, which were close to the Gadado, by inquiring what province the people belonged to."

The account given by Clapperton of the attack made by Sultan Bello, on the rebel town of Coonia, is highly amusing, and reminds one of the bloodless battles of the Italian condottieri in the middle ages:—

"After the midday prayers, all, except the eunuchs, camel drivers, and such other servants as were of use only to prevent theft, whether mounted or on foot, marched towards the object of attack, and soon arrived before the walls of the city. I also accompanied them, and took up my station close to the Gadado. The march had been the most disorderly that can be imagined, horse and foot intermingling in the greatest confusion, all rushing to get forward: sometimes the followers of one chief tumbling amongst those of another, when swords were half unsheathed, but all ended in making a face, or putting on a threatening aspect. We soon arrived before Coonia, the capital of the rebels of Gooibur, which was not above half a mile in diameter, being nearly circular, and built on the bank of one of the branches of the river, or lakes, which I have mentioned. Each chief, as he came up, took his station, which, I suppose, had previously been assigned to him. The number of fighting men brought before the town could not, I think, be less than fifty or sixty thousand, horse and foot, of which the foot amounted to more than nine-tenths. For the depth of two hundred yards, all round the walls was a dense circle of men and horses. The horse kept out of bow-shot, while the foot went up as they felt courage or inclination, and kept up a straggling fire with about thirty muskets, and the shooting of arrows. In front of the sultan, the Zegzeg troops had one French fusil: the Kano forces had forty-one muskets. These fellows, whenever they fired their pieces, ran out of bow-shot to load; all of them were slaves; not a single Fellat had a musket. The enemy kept up a sure and slow fight, seldom throwing away their arrows until they saw an opportunity of letting fly with effect. Now and then a single horse would gallop up to the ditch, and brandish his spear, the rider taking care to cover himself with his large leathern shield, and return as fast as he went, generally calling out lustily, when he got among his own party, 'Shields to the wall!' 'You people of the Gadado, or Atego,' &c., 'why don't you hasten to the wall?' To which some voices would call out, 'Oh! you have a good large shield to cover you!' The cry of 'Shields to the wall' was constantly heard from the several chiefs to their troops; but they disregarded the call, and neither chiefs nor vassals moved from the spot. At length the men in quilted armour went up 'per order.' They certainly cut not a bad figure at a distance, as their helmets were ornamented with black and white ostrich feathers, and the sides of the helmets with pieces of tin, which glittered in the sun, their long quilted cloaks of gaudy colours reaching over part of the horses' tails, and hanging over the flanks. On the neck, even the horse's armour was notched, or vandyked, to look like a mane; on his forehead and over his nose was a brass or tin plate, as also a semicircular piece on each side. The rider was armed with a large spear, and he had to be assisted to mount his horse, as his quilted cloak was too heavy; it required two men to lift him on; and there were six of them belonging to each governor, and six to the sultan. I at first thought the foot would take advantage of going under cover of these unwieldy machines; but

no, they went alone, as fast as the poor horses could bear them, which was but a slow pace. They had one musket in Cooma, and it did wonderful execution, for it brought down the val of the quilled men, who fell from the horse like a sack of corn thrown from a horse's back at a miller's door; but both horse and man were brought off by two or three footmen. He had got two bulls through his breast, one went through his body and both sides of the ribs, the other went through and lodged in the quited armour opposite the shoulders.

"The cry of 'Allah Akber,' or 'God is great,' was resounded through the whole army every quarter of an hour at least (this is the war cry of the Fellatas), but neither this, nor 'Shields to the wall,' nor 'Why don't the Gaddo's people go up,' had any effect, except to produce a scuffle among themselves, when the chiefs would have to ride up and put their followers, who, instead of fighting against the enemy, were more likely to fight with one another. There were three Arabs of Ghidamis in the army, armed at all points. Hameda, the sultan's merchant, was one. He was mounted on a fine black Egyptian horse, armed with a scimitar and shield, an Arab musket, brace of pistols, flint-knife, sword, and dagger. The other two, Abdelkrim, and Beni Omar, armed with musket, pistols, sword, and dagger. Abdelkrim was wounded. Omar on foot, who received a ball from the Cooma musket, which carried away his cartridge box, with all his ammunition, early in the attack. The other two, Hameda and Abdelkrim, kept behind the sultan and Gaddo the whole of the action, and at ways joined lustily in the cry of 'Allah Akber.' Once Hameda asked me, when I was near him, why I did not join in the cry—was it not a good place. I told him to hold his peace for a fool—my God understood English as well as Arabic."

"Upon the whole, it was as poor a fight as can possibly be imagined, and though the doctrine of predestination is professed by Mahomedans, in no one instance have I seen them act as men believing such a doctrine."

The superstition of the various tribes, Mahometan as well as pagan, is extremely gross. The belief in charms and sorcery seems universal.—

"This night," says Clapperton, while at Koolfu, "the new moon was seen, and Mohamedan and pagan joined in the cry of joy. My landlady had thirteen pieces of wood, on each of which was written by the Bornou malem the word 'Bismillah,' the only word he could write. These boards she then washed and drank the water, and gave to her family to drink. She offered some of it to me, but I said I never drank dirty water, and I thought that if she and her servants had taken a comfortable cup of boozie or rum it would have done them more good than drinking the washings of a board written over with ink, for the man was a rogue who had made her pay for such stuff." "What?" says she, "do you call the name of God dirty water? it was good to take it." These rogues, who call themselves malems, impose on the poor ignorant people very much, and the pagans are as fond of having these charms as the Mohamedans. These dirty draughts are a cure for all evils, present and to come, and are called by the people *duu*."

"At Kump the idolaters are pagans of every faith, never praying but when they are sick, or want something, and arrange their object of worship as fancy serves. The Houssa live among them as Mahomedans, and are allowed to worship in their own way."

"I halted at a few huts on the north side of the river Bori, until the baggage should arrive. A hut stood apart from the rest, near the banks of the river, the grass and weeds carefully cleared away from around it. The messenger and people who were with me went one after another to say their prayers, which they did, by lying down, with their foreheads towards the door, which was secured by a mat—they appeared to be very devout, and having finished their prayers, slipped a few cowries inside the mat. I asked if I might go and look in, but they would not allow me. I asked them who they prayed to—they said to the God that gave them plenty of water, corn, and yams."

"At Markce," says Lander, "the chief, a kind-hearted old man, upwards, I should suppose, of ninety years of age, and very feeble, was delighted to see me, and testified the pleasure he felt by shaking hands with me repeatedly, and by doing me many acts of kindness. He presented me with fowls, rice, corn, and *tuh*. After a little conversation, he took me into an inner apartment, and bidding me to sit, took from a calabash, which was suspended to a piece of wood attached to the roof, a small box made of skin, round which was wound, with the greatest care, upwards of five hundred yards of thread, which occupied him twenty minutes in taking off. In this box he showed me four bits of tin, about the size of swan and common shot, which he told me were silver. The old chief gave me to understand, with much seriousness and earnestness of manner, that they had been given by an Arab fifteen years before, who told him they were possessed of life. The larger pieces, he continued, were males, and the smaller females, and were to produce young at the end of every twelve years, not a time that he by no means to be looked at. He had enveloped the tin in cotton wool, in order to impart warmth to them; and the old man, and the box that the offspring might have no opportunity of seeing, and the old man, with a disappointed air, 'though I kept them with the greatest care for twelve years, suffering no one to approach them, and, to my sorrow, at the expiration of that time, they had made no increase. I began to fear they never will,' in saying which the old man was so grievously affected, but he burst into tears. It was with considerable difficulty I could restrain my laughter aloud in his face. I succeeded, however, in subduing the merriment I had to be merry; and told him, with all the solemnity the occasion required, that the tin were bits of tin, and not of silver; that they were without life, and therefore could not produce young. I consoled the old gentleman on the hoax that had been played off upon him, and sympathized with him in his sorrow. He soon afterwards became more composed, although at times he could not help sobbing audibly."

"On the 4th of May, the weather was intolerably hot, and the dust was rolling in thick clouds in every direction, cutting my eyes and nostrils, and penetrating into the very pores of the skin. I felt nearly suffocated, and was faint and exhausted. Finding I was unable to proceed, I ordered Pascoe to overtake the camels, his horse being fresh and vigorous, and bring me some water. I then dismounted, and sat under a tree by the roadside, whose branches afforded but an indifferent shelter against the scorching rays of an African sun, and holding the bridle of my poor horse in my hand, I implored the hundreds of Fellata wretches who were passing by to give me some water. They refused my earnest request, observing one to another, 'he is a Kafir let him die.' At length a young Fellata, from Footacora, accidentally seeing me, came to the spot, exclaiming 'Nasarah, Nasarah, truth mono!' ('Christian, Christian, go on!') I answered, 'I am faint and sick for want of water: no one will give me any, and I am so weak that I cannot proceed.' On hearing which the young man kindly gave me a small calabash full, part of which I drank, and with the remainder washed the nostrils of Bousa Jack, and sprinkled a little into his mouth. The people, who observed the Fellata performing this generous action, upbraided him in strong language for giving water to the Christian; but he, showing them a double-barrelled gun, remarked that he had obtained it of my countrymen, who were all good men, and would do no harm. This somewhat appeased them."

"At Cuttup an old woman came to me one afternoon, full of grief, informing me of her having frequently been robbed of the little money she had saved from her earnings, from holes in her hut, where she had hid it, by some of her neighbours and acquaintances. She entreated me to let her have a charm to prevent such dishonest acts in future. Being ever willing to oblige the simple-hearted Africans, I gave her a tea-spoonful of common sweet oil, in a small phial, telling her that she must, on her return to her hut, pour it into the hole in which she intended concealing her money; and that if any one but herself touched the money, it would be lost, without her being aware of it. I advised her to be careful not to let any one see her do this, and to keep the phial close."

her by all means to give the virtues of this charm as extensive a circulation as possible, and I had no doubt she would not be robbed again. The poor old woman could not express the gratitude she felt for my kindness; she dropped on her knees before me, thanked me in the warmest terms, and pressed me to accept of forty cowries, the only money she had then in the world. Of course I refused to deprive the old woman of her substance, and sent her away highly pleased with the treatment she had received.

"6th August. Having finished cleaning the muskets and pistols, asked the chief permission to leave Wowow. The old man, smiling, told me not half my business was done; he wanted six charms, which I alone could write. These charms were to be worn on his person, and to possess the following virtues: 1st. charm. If his enemies thought of making war on him, it would cause them to forget to put it in practice. 2d. If they should be on their way to his city, for the purpose of warring, it would turn them back. 3d. If they should discharge their arrows at his people, when close to the city walls, it would cause them to rebound in their own faces, and wound them. 4th. It was the province of this charm to prevent his guns from bursting. 5th. Was to preserve the person who might hold the gun from receiving any injury. 6th. And it would not fail to explode. The 6th and 7th charms were to make him the happiest and most successful of men.

"1st.—Carried the charms to the king, on which I had written scraps of old English ballads, which put him in the best humour in the world."

"17th September.—Asked the king of Kama's messenger why he was so much afraid of crossing the water, observing that I had myself swum across many larger and more rapid rivers, and among others mentioned the Niger. The man, in great trepidation, begged me, as I valued my life, not to mention the name of rivers in the hearing of the Mossa, who was a female river, and had many rivals in the affections of the Niger, who was her husband. She had a capricious, jealous, and cruel disposition; and if I ventured to pique myself in her power, she would certainly swallow me up, as I had spoken slightly of her. She was continually quarrelling with her husband thinking he was too familiar with other rivers, and when they met they made the 'devil's own noise' with their disputes. I roared with laughter when the man had done speaking, at the loves of the Niger, which made him very angry, and I had much to do to pacify him."

The manners of the people are those of a very rude state of society, but their dispositions are, in the main, kind, and our travellers had not often to complain of a want of good feeling among the negroes. This did not extend to the Moors, a bigoted, crafty, and persecuting race, that has always formed the great obstacle to expeditions in the interior of Africa. The compliment, however, which the gallant sailor pays to the honesty of the savages, is done certainly without apparent necessity, at the expense of all the fair, or rather female sex, throughout the globe:—

"I cannot," he says, "omit bearing testimony to the singular and perhaps unprecedented fact, that we have already travelled sixty miles in eight days, with a numerous and heavy baggage, and about ten different relays of carriers, without losing so much as the value of a shilling public or private; a circumstance evincing not only somewhat more than common honesty in the inhabitants, but a degree of subordination and regular government which could not have been supposed to exist amongst a people hitherto considered as barbarians. Humanity, however, is the same in every land—government may restrain the vicious principles of our nature, but it is beyond the power even of African despotism to silence a woman's tongue: in sickness and in health, and at every stage, we have been obliged to endure their eternal loquacity and noise."

If, indeed, the loquacity is in proportion to the number, an African husband must find his domicile rather uncomfortable; for Clapperton observed in Soudan the same inveterate propensity to increase the amount of conjugal felicity, which so grievously thwarted the pious schemes of the Portuguese missionaries on the Congo. —

"At eight in the evening, the sultan of Boosa came accompanied by the *mulaki* (his principal wife,) and one male slave. He asked me if the king of England was a great man. 'Yes,' I said, 'the greatest of all the white kings.' But," says he, "you live on the water." "Oh no," I said, "we have more land than there is between Boosa and Badag (as they call Badagry), and more than five thousand towns." "Well," says he, "I thought, and always have heard, that you lived on the water. How many wives has the king?" "Only one wife," I said. "What?" says he, "only one wife?" "Yes," says I; "no man is allowed more than one wife, and they hang a man if he has two at one time." "That is all very good for other men," says he; "but the king having only one wife is not good." When I told him, if the king had a daughter and no son, she would rule the kingdom at her father's death, he laughed immoderately, as did the *mulaki*, who was apparently well pleased with the idea of only one wife, and a woman ruling."

"A chief whom they met at Chakki, sat until near midnight, talking and inquiring about England. On asking if he would send one of his sons to see our country, he rose up with alacrity, and said he would go himself. He inquired how many wives an Englishman had? Being told only one, he seemed much astonished, and laughed greatly, as did all his people. 'What does he do,' said he, 'when one of his wives has a child?' Our caboccer has two thousand."

The fondness for music, which has been generally looked on in this country as a marked characteristic of the negro race, seems strongly to attach to them in their savage state; and the liveliness and love of amusement which are so strikingly displayed even in slavery, are perfectly adverted to by Clapperton, and were exhibited in our instance under the singular and unexpected form of a dramatic entertainment. The descriptions of the strolling musicians, and of the rude sons of Thespis, are graphic and amusing: —

"Amongst my numerous visitors this morning, I had a travelling musician, attended by two boys. His instrument was a *violin* made of a gourd, with three strings of horse hair, not in single lines, but two *violin* for each string untwisted; the bow the same; the body of the *violin* was formed of half a long gourd, the bridge, two cross sticks, the top, the skin of a guma stretched tightly over the edge; the neck was about two feet long, ornamented with plates of brass, having a hollow brass knob at the end. To this instrument was hung a diminutive pair of sandals to denote his wandering or *cupido*, a piece of natron, strings of cowries, and stripes of cloth. He said he would take any thing that was given to him. The boys had hollow gourds with stones or beans in them, with which they kept time by holding them in one hand and beating them against the other. The musician himself was past the middle age, his head being tinged with gray, and neither too long nor too short, his face inclining more to long than oval, with a nose slightly hooked, his forehead high, his eyes large, bright, and clear, with a kind of indefinable expression of half-rogue and half-a merry fellow, and when he sang he sometimes looked sublime; his mouth and teeth were good, his voice clear and melodious; his stature about the middle size, and spare form, his dress was a white turban and large sky blue robe or shirt. He accompanied his instrument with his voice, the boys joining in chorus. His songs were extempore. I should have taken one down, but found they were all about myself.

and a number of visitors coming in, I gave him fifty cowries and sent him away rejoicing."

"It is the custom, during the time that the eunuchs from the different towns on the coast visit to the king, to act plays or pantomimes, or whatever they may be called. I shall attempt a description of the one I saw to day. The place chosen for this pastime is the king's park, fronting the principal door where his majesty usually sits. A Turkish house occupies the left side, to the south are two very romantic and large blocks of granite, by the side of which is an old withered tree. On the east are some beautiful shady trees; and on the north his majesty's house, from whence he views the scene. In the centre are two beautiful clumps of trees, in one of which is a tall tan palm, overlooking the whole area, a space that may include some seven or eight hundred yards square. Under these clumps of trees were seated the actors, dressed in large sacks, covering every part of the body: the head most fantastically decorated with strips of agass, damask silk, and cotton, of as many glaring colours as it was possible. The king's servants attended to keep the peace, and to prevent the crowd from breaking into the square in which the actors were assembled. The actors stood attended with drums, horns, and whistles, which were beaten and blown in unison with the motions of the actors."

"The first act consisted in dancing and tumbling in sacks, which the actors jumped to a heavy music, consisting of a drum, a horn, and a pair of bells, and the use of the feet and hands. The second consisted in catching the *houmouste* (one of the young men of the sack-race), and knocking him down on his hands and feet; then came a tall majesty, in a blue dress and a head-dress and a turban, all description: it was of a glossy black colour, sometimes like a black ball, all description: it was of a glossy black colour, sometimes like a lion rampant over the crest of a helmet. At another like a hawk head with a large wing at every turn he made a superb and motionless appearance to the director of the scene, for not a word was spoken by the actors. The majesty, as I shall call the tall figure, then came up to the man who was lying in the sack; another sack-dancer was brought in the sack, who by a wave of the sword was laid down near the other's head or feet; he having unsown the end of both sacks, the two crawled into one. There was now great waiting of the majesty's sword, indeed I thought that he was now going to be taken off, as all the actors were except the majesty, who gave two or three flashes with his sword, when the representation of the box constructor began. The animal put its head out of the bag in which it was contained, attempting to bite the majesty, which he failed by a wave of the sword in another direction to avert the blow: it then began gradually to creep out of the bag, and went in through the motions of a snake in a very natural manner, though I suspect to be rather full in the belly; opening and shutting its mouth, which I suspect was the performance of two hands, in the most natural manner imaginable. The length of the creature was spun out to about four or five feet, and the colour and action were all represented by a covering of painted cloth, imitating that of the box. After following the manager round the park for some time, and attempting to bite him, which he averted by a wave of the sword, a sign was made for the body of actors to come up; when the manager, approaching the tall, made flourishes with his sword as if hacking at that part of the body. The snake gasped, twisted up, and seemed as if in great torture; and when nearly dead, it was shouted by the masked actors, still gasping and making attempts to bite, but was carried off in triumph to the Turkish house."

"The third act consisted of the white devil. The actors, having retired to some distance in the back ground, one of them was left in the centre, whose sack falling gradually down, exposed a white head, at which all the crowd gave a shout, that rent the air, they appeared indeed to enjoy this sight, as the perception of the actors' art. The whole body was at last cleared of the mean-brown wax, of the middle size, miserably thin, and starved with cold. It then eventually went through the motion of taking snuff, and rubbing its hands, when it went back into the Turkish house."

a walked, it was with the most awkward gait, treading as the most tender-footed white man would do in walking bare-footed, for the first time, over new frozen ground. The spectators often appealed to us, as to the excellence of the performance, and entreated I would look and be attentive to what was going on. I pretended to be fully as much pleased with this caricature of a white man as they could be, and certainly the actor burlesqued the part to admiration. This being concluded, the performers all retired to the fetish house. Between each act, we had choral songs by the king's women, in which the assembled crowd joined their voices."

The government, if such it can be called, which prevails throughout the whole of the country, is an absolute despotism, vested in the hands of a single individual. It seems, however, to be exercised with patriarchal simplicity, and generally without any very great tyranny; though the utmost subservience of deportment is always required in the presence of superiors, and great efforts are made to support the barbaric splendour of the prince. Numerous instances of this are recorded by Captain Clapperton, both in describing his escort through the country, and his reception at various *courts*.

"The road to Katunga was wide, though woody, and covered by men on horse-back, and bowmen on foot. The horsemen armed with two or three long spears hurrying on as fast as they could get us to go, horns and country drums beating and blowing before and behind, some of the horsemen dressed in the most grotesque manner, others covered all over with charms. The bowmen also had their natty little hats and feathers, with the jebus, or leather pouch, hanging by their side. These men always appeared to me to be the best troops in this country and Soudan, from their lightness and activity. The horsemen however are but ill mounted; the animals are small and badly dressed, their saddles so ill secured, and the rider sits so clumsily on his seat, that any Englishman, who ever rode a horse with an English saddle, would upset one of them the first charge with a long stick."

"At 2 P. M. the baggage having all arrived, a message came from the king to say that he wanted to see us. A band of music accompanied us and the escort, with an immense multitude of men, women, and children. As there was much open and cultivated ground, the dust they caused almost suffocated us, though the escort tried all gentle means to keep them off. At last, after riding one hour, which was full five miles, we came to the place where the king was sitting under the verandah of his house, marked by two red and blue cloth umbrellas, supported by large poles held by slaves, with the staff resting on the ground. After the head caboceros had held some conversation with the king, they came back to us, and I thought they were talking about our prostrations. I told them if any such thing was proposed, I should instantly go back, that all the ceremony I would submit to should be to take off my hat, make a bow, and shake hands with his majesty, if he pleased. They went and informed the king, and came back and said I should make only the ceremony I had proposed. We accordingly went forwards. The king's people had a great deal to do to make way amongst the crowd, and allow us to go in regular order. Sticks and whips were used, though generally in a good-natured manner, and I cannot help remarking on this, as on all other occasions of this kind, that the Youribas appear to be a mild and kind people, kind to their wives and children and to one another, and that the government, though absolute, is conducted with the greatest mildness. After we got as far as the two umbrellas in front, the space was all clear before the king, and for about twenty yards on each side. We walked up to the verandah with our hats on, until we came into the shade, when we took off our hats, made a bow, and shook hands, he hitting our hands up three times, repeating, 'Ako, Ako,' (how do you do?) the women behind him standing up and cheering us, calling out 'Oh, oh, oh' (hurrah!) the men on the outside

joining. It was impossible to count the number of his ladies, they were so densely packed, and so very numerous. If I might judge by their smiles, they appeared as glad to see us as their master. The king was dressed in a white robe, or large shirt, with a blue one under; round his neck some three strings of large blue cut-glass beads; and on his head the imitation of an European crown of blue cotton covered over pasteboard, made apparently by some European, and sent up to him from the coast. We waited about half an hour until all inquiries had been made respecting our health, and the fatigues of our journey."

"The emissaries from the country were attended by their bowmen. They are required to wait upon, and first to prostrate themselves before, the chief eunuch, with dust on their heads. When any one speaks to the king, he must do it stretched at full length on the ground, and it must be said to him through the eunuch, who is also prostrated by his side. When equals meet, they kneel on one knee; women kneel on both knees, the elbows resting on the ground."

"Tuesday, 14th.—This morning I waited on Sarro with my present, which consisted of the following articles: a large blue silk umbrella, one of Tatham's African swords, a fathom of blue cloth, three fathoms of red, some red beads and coral, an imitation gold chain, two bottles of rum, two phosphorus boxes, four knives, and six pair of scissors, and some prints. The cloth I had spread out at full length—the large mock coral beads he shook at the naked young females, as much as to say, Which of you will get these? On seeing the sword he could not restrain his delight, and drawing it, and brandishing it around his head, he called out, '*Ye behuri! Ye baturi!*' 'Oh, my white lord! Oh, my white lord!' He was certainly more pleased than any man I ever saw with a present. His eyes sparkled with joy, and he shook me about a dozen times by the hand. I pressed the necessity of my departure, which he said should be the day after to-morrow. I then took my leave, and a short time after returning to my house he sent me some milk and a sheep, and in the afternoon, by his head man, Abuneker, an earthenware jug to look at—it was of English earthenware, representing old Toby Phulpot with a flowing jug of ale in his hand. I have seen more European articles, such as earthenware jugs, brass and pewter dishes, pieces of woollen and cotton cloth, within these two days that I have been in Kama, than I saw during the whole time I was in Youriba."

"After the heat of the day was over, Yarro came, attended by all his train. The most extraordinary persons in it were himself and the bearers of his spears, which, as before, were six naked young girls, from fifteen to seventeen years of age. The only thing they wore was a white bandeau, or fillet of white cloth, round the forehead, about six inches of the ends flying behind, and a string of beads round their waists, in their right hands they carried three light spears each. Their light form, the vivacity of their eyes, and the ease with which they appeared to fly over the ground, made them appear something more than mortal as they flew alongside of his horse, when he was galloping, and making his horse curvet and bound. A man with an immense bundle of spears remained behind at a little distance, apparently to serve as a magazine for the girls to be supplied from, when their master had expended those they carried in their hands."

The volume of which we have thus given so copious an abstract, is the last in which are recorded the researches of African travellers. Since the death of Clapperton, however, two persons have followed, whose narratives we hope to have an opportunity of noticing at an early period. Just before the arrival of Denham and Clapperton in England, Major Laing, who had returned from his expedition on the sea coast, set off for Tripoli, with the intention of proceeding thence directly to Tombuctoo. On the 27th of October 1825, he left Gadamis, the frontier town of the kingdom of Tripoli, on the south-west, and passing the

great desert, reached Tombuctoo on the 18th of August following. After a residence there of little more than a month, he was forced to leave it on account of the intrigues of some of the neighbouring chiefs, who were very inimical to him. Setting out with a *collila*, in the direction of Sansanding, and with the intention of pursuing a route directly to the Atlantic, he was attacked on the third day by the Moors of the country and killed.

The journey of M. *Caille*, the other person to whom we alluded, was more successful. This gentleman appears to have passed many years in the French settlements on the Senegal river, and thus to have acquired a good knowledge of the native languages of these countries. Animated with the desire of visiting the interior, he set out alone, as a Mahometan merchant, from Kakondy, on the 19th April 1827, and crossing the mountain range so often mentioned, reached the Niger. At the town of Jenne, he embarked in a large canoe, which was part of a mercantile flotilla, crossed lake Dibia, and proceeding down the stream, landed at Kabra, which he found to be only five miles from Tombuctoo. After a short residence in that city, he returned northward across the desert, and reached Tangiers on the 11th of September last. As he was so fortunate as to preserve the journals of his long, bold, and interesting journey, there can be no doubt that the publication of them will be full of interest, and we accordingly await it with much expectation.

We have thus rapidly conducted our readers through the history of African discoveries, for more than two thousand years, and they cannot fail to be struck with the difficulty and tardy progress which have attended the solution of this, certainly the most obscure problem in geographical science. Of the history, manners, numbers, and even existence, of how considerable a portion of our fellow-creatures are we profoundly ignorant; of extensive and various nations spreading over a large surface of a great continent, how few are known to us even by name; with the natural features, the mountains, the soil, the climate, and the streams, how little are we acquainted! About one single river, after the researches, the discoveries, and the theories of centuries, we are more perplexed than before they were made. First it rises far in the west, and mingling with the river of Egypt, passes over a course of four thousand miles to the Mediterranean; then we hear of it flowing from the east, and pouring into the Atlantic; then the Senegal and the Gambia are assigned as its outlets; then again it is found to run in an opposite direction, and geographers differ as to its termination, whether continuing, as at first supposed, to the Nile, or turning south, and pouring its vast body of waters through the Congo into the Atlantic; and last of all, travellers who reach the very spot where it was said

to be, look for it in vain. We are little disposed to trouble our readers with any theory of our own, which the next book of travels would probably disprove, yet we cannot avoid expressing a belief, that the principal confusion has arisen from blending together as one, a variety of streams flowing through central Africa. The merchants and travellers who have rapidly passed in caravans from one town to another, in the same general direction, have supposed the rivers they met, from time to time, to be the same, and thus formed them into the mighty Niger.* The actual course of that stream has never been pursued throughout, even in report, by a single traveller; and we feel little doubt, that when it shall be, instead of a vast river, passing through broad lakes, and extending thousands of miles in the interior, it will be found to roll, after no very extended course, into the Atlantic, by the channel of the Formosa, the Congo, or some other well known outlet.

Whether such a discovery, however, is destined to be made by an European, the sad record we have already made seems to render doubtful: for, in that fatal climate, death has fixed his favourite throne, and the ardour of youth, the confidence of health, the precautions of prudence, are equally unavailing to stay his hand, or to avert his power; nor these only—the holy zeal of pious affection spreads around the daring traveller no charm; for one of the last victims who has perished, might have truly claimed this, had it been a talisman of protection. The son of Mungo Park cherished, from his earliest youth, the firm resolution of endeavouring to reach the spot where his father perished, and ascertaining the causes and incidents of his death; to this one object he bent all his thoughts, and as soon as he was of age, landed on the fatal shore, full of health, of zeal, and of promise; less happy than the son of Ulysses, he was neither destined to discover the parent he had lost, nor to return to her whom he had left.

* This opinion, we perceive, is given by that learned and venerable geographer, Major Rennell, in the last number of the London Quarterly Review. It is one which would so naturally occur to a person whose thoughts or studies have been directed to the subject, that perhaps the coincidence is scarcely worth noting. We may remark, however, that the above sentence was written some months before the publication of the English work.

ART. II.—*Milton's Familiar Letters, translated from the Latin, with Notes.* By JOHN HALL. Philadelphia: E. Littell: 1829. pp. 120.

THE familiar letters of the great English poet are scarcely mentioned by his biographers, and are locked up in a language accessible only to the learned, or contained in the larger editions, which seldom enter into the libraries of ordinary readers. Yet they were by their author deemed worthy of publication during his lifetime, and the relics of such a mind can never cease to be objects of curiosity to such as have learnt to appreciate the genius and erudition of that immortal sage and patriot. It is therefore due to the author of this little work to say, that he has laid us under an obligation of no ordinary kind, by presenting to English readers these precious morsels of literature, stamped with the characteristics of a mind which never fails to astonish us after a thousand contemplations.

We remember somewhere to have seen several portraits of Milton, taken at different periods of his life. The first presents to our view the "lady of Christ's College,"* the comely youth, whose symmetry of feature was alike celebrated in Italy and Britain. In the second, we behold the fair unwrinkled brow of the man and the poet, yet not without the lines of thought, and the serene gravity of one who surveyed the eventful changes of his nation with the proud independence of an ancient philosopher. And last appears the melancholy representation of the same face, furrowed by contention and care, and marred by the unmerciful hand of time. If it is pleasing and instructive to connect with the mere physiognomy, the circumstances, character, and labours of the poet at any period, it will surely be no unprofitable task to peruse the confidential expressions of sentiment, which, from time to time, throughout life, such a man has committed to an epistolary form. The private letters of Milton, few as they are in number, have a peculiar value, as they are almost the only memorials which we possess of the ordinary and unshackled movements of his mind. No relics of his conversation have been chronicled; no book-maker took notes of his pregnant apophthegms and pointed satire. The simple-hearted Quaker, who was honoured with his intimacy, seemed to have no thought of publishing reminiscences, or Miltoniana; and the few hints which he has left, are only sufficient to excite our regret that we have no more.

As a politician, a poet, and a man, the character of Milton has

* "A quibusdam nuper audiivi Domina." Prolus. Acad.

been amply discussed, yet there hangs a veil over the secrecy of his private life, which modern curiosity would desire to raise, but which threatens still to cover with its shades the delightful scenes which a contemporary might have sketched. And what admirer of this ornament of England and of letters, would not desire to learn by what advances his youthful mind made progress in the career of science, and how he was wont to discourse with the tutor whom he has immortalized by his affectionate correspondence, and his reverent tribute of poetic eulogy? We cannot but believe that he who bowed so long and so devoutly at the united altars of liberty and truth, had early felt the inspiration which hallowed the productions of his later years.

We learn from his biographers, that he was, while at St. Paul's school, an enthusiastic and persevering student, and the remains of his youthful writings are sufficient to convince us, that his time was employed in enriching a mind by nature comprehensive and precocious. The chasms in literary history, imagination delights to fill with pictures which correspond with recorded facts. When we learn that the juvenile scholar was accustomed to spend half his nights in study, we represent him to our minds as holding communication with the mighty dead of the ancient republics, and imbibing at the fountains of Greece and Rome, that love of the beautiful and virtuous which characterized his philosophic soul.

Never has a modern scholar drunk more deeply at the well spring of antiquity. His learning was not the accumulation of facts and phrases which is made by the mere classic, or the familiarity with obsolete and foreign idiom and style which distinguishes the critic. He had a more lofty idea of true erudition. "*Nos grammaticis atque criticis, quorum summa laus aut in alienis lucubrationibus edendis, aut librariorum mendulis corrigendis versatur, industriam quidem ac literarum scientiam, doctrinæ etiam haud contemnendæ laudem, ac præmia libenter concedimus, magni cognomen haud largimur. Is solus magnus est appellandus, qui res magnas aut gerit, aut docet, aut dignè scribit;*"† a sentiment worthy of a place among the choicest maxims of the scholar. Dr. Johnson concurs with Hampton, in the opinion that Milton was the first Englishman, who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verses with classic elegance. But this was a small part of his attainments. He had caught the very spirit of philosophy, and burned with the enthusiasm of those who in ancient days lived in an ideal world, and meditated changes which the spirit of the age could not sustain. He seized the torch of liberty, which had been passing from hand to hand,

* *Elég. IV.*

† *Defensio Secunda*, p. 92. Amst. 1698. fol

and fixed its light in the splendid monument which he has reared in his works.*

Inheriting from his father, who was noted among the composers of the age, a genius for music, he became, as we may readily suppose, attached even in childhood to the sweet and mysterious union of harmony and verse.—

“Now say, what wonder is it, if a son
Of ~~these~~ delight in verse, if so conjoined
In close affinity, we sympathize
In social arts, and kindred studies sweet?
Such distribution of himself to us
Was Phœbus' choice; thou hast thy gift, and I
Mine also, and between us we receive,
Father and son, the whole inspiring God.”

Ad Patrem. Cowper's trans.

Could the boy of promise fail to be a darling? It is stated upon the authority of Aubrey, that his portrait was taken by Jansen, when he was only ten years of age, and we are informed that he was even then a poet. The invaluable relic is now in the possession of the Hollis family of England. The first printed poem of Milton,—and it is a fact not universally known by his admirers,—was prefixed to the folio edition of Shakspeare's Plays, in 1632.

“*An Epitaph on the admirable dramatic Poet, W. Shakspeare.*”

“What needs ~~any~~ Shakspeare for his honoured bones,
The labour of an age in piled stones,
Or that his hallowed reliques should be hid
Under a star-y pointing *Pyramid*?
Dear son of memory, great heir of fame,
What needs't thou such weak witness of thy name?
Thou in our wonder and astonishment
Hast built thyself a livelong monument.
For whilst to th' shame of slow-endeavouring art,
Thy easie numbers flow, and that each heart
Hath from the leaves of thy unvalued book,
Those Delphic lines with deep impression took,
Then those our fancy of itself bereaving,
Does make our marble with too much conceaving;
And so sepulcher'd in such pomp dost he,
That kings for such a tomb would wish to die.”

The Elegies composed in imitation of Ovid, are little known to the great body of readers, and the translation of Cowper gives but a faint idea of the glowing richness of the original. The *concetti* of the Latin poet, whom he selected as a model, were more in accordance with the taste of the times, than with the sober judgment of the youthful author; and the productions of

* We have ventured to repeat the idea of Plato and Lucretius, who deduce a figure from a game of Grecian boys. Γενναντες και εκτρεφοντες παιδας, καθαπερ λαμ-
ταδα τον εινον παραδιδοντες αλλοις εξ αλλων. (Plato, *Leg.* lib. vi.)

“Et quasi cursores vitæ lampada tradunt.”

his more mature age, are not marred by the recurrence of such faults as the blindest admirer must discern in the metrical version of the Psalms, and the Ode on the death of a fair infant. We begin to feel the power of a mighty master, when touching upon a favourite theme in the "Vacation exercise," he speaks of a subject,—

"Such when the deep transported mind may soar
Above the wheeling poles, and at heaven's door
Look in and see each blissful deity," &c.

In turning over hastily these remnants of the poet's correspondence, we have been led to take a new interest in his travels upon the continent of Europe. During this period of absence, those intimacies were formed which gave rise to his epistolary intercourse with foreign scholars; and some of his most interesting letters were penned in Italy. If the tourists of the seventeenth century had found as many willing readers of their diaries, as those of the present day, we should not have been left to repine that we have so meagre an account of Milton's transalpine journeys. Obscure as he seems to have been at home, he found, under the smiling skies of Italy, enthusiastic admirers. We cannot but wish that the single servant who accompanied him, had filled his portmanteau with notes upon his conversation. We might have found instruction in the interview with Grotius at Paris, and even more in that with the unfortunate Galileo. We might have exulted in the eulogies of Carlo Dati, Antonio Francini, Gaddi, Frescobaldo, and Barberini. All these men, who were distinguished in their native country, ranked themselves among his most ardent admirers. In the couplet of Salvaggi, we find the germ of the celebrated epigram of Dryden:—

"Græcia Mæonidem, jactet sibi Roma Maronem,
Anglia Miltonum jactat utrique parem."

Manso, the celebrated biographer of Tasso, has left in his verses an implied testimony to the heretical tenets of Milton:—

"Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, mos, si pietas sic,
Non Anglus, verum hercle angelus ipse fores."

We presume upon the interest which our readers may be supposed to feel in this article of literary history, when we insert the following extract from the writings of Milton himself. The passage is taken from the midst of his most acrid and scornful invective against one of his opponents, and is in a manner interpolated among the harsh and vindictive paragraphs of a controversy well nigh forgotten:—

"After having spent five years in this manner, (in literary seclusion,) I set out upon my travels, after my mother's decease, and with the consent of my father, being desirous of visiting foreign lands, and especially Italy. Upon my depart-

ure, the illustrious Sir Henry Wotton, long the ambassador of King James at Venice, in a most friendly manner honoured me with an elegant epistle, filled with good wishes and counsel truly important to one going abroad. In consequence of various recommendations, I was courteously received by the noble Thomas Scudamore, Viscount Sligo, ambassador of Charles I. at Paris, and was introduced by him in person, and in company with some of his retinue, to the learned Hugo Grotius, a man whom I much desired to see, at that time ambassador of the Queen of Sweden to the King of France. On resuming my journey, after some days, towards Italy, the same nobleman gave me letters to the English merchants upon my route, that I might thus avail myself of their assistance. Embarking at Nice, I visited Genoa, Leghorn, and Pisa, and afterwards Florence. In the city last mentioned, which I have ever esteemed above others, for the elegance of its dialect and its genius, I remained about two months. I there speedily acquired an intimacy with many noble and learned men, and was assiduous in my attendance upon their private academies, (*conversazione*) a commendable institution of the place, for the cultivation of friendship as well as letters; and no time can obliterate the grateful and delightful remembrance of such men as Giacomo Gaddi, Carlo Dati, Frescobaldo, Cultellino, Bonmattei, Clementilli, Francini, and many more. From Florence I went to Siena, and thence to Rome, the antiquity and venerable fame of which detained me about two months, and after having enjoyed the polished society of Luke Holstein, and many men of genius and learning, proceeded to Naples. I was there introduced, by a certain hermit who accompanied me from Rome, to the Marchese Giovanni Battista Manso, a noble and dignified man, to whom Tasso, the illustrious poet of Italy, addressed his epistle concerning friendship. While remaining there, I enjoyed a most friendly intercourse with him; he was my guide in examining the various parts of the city, and the palace of the viceroy, and frequently visited me at my lodgings. When I was about to depart, he said, by way of apology, that while he was desirous of showing me more offices of kindness, it was not possible, in that city, on account of my want of reserve on religious subjects. The melancholy tidings of the civil war in England recalled me from my desire of passing into Sicily and Greece; for I deemed it dishonourable to be wandering at leisure for my personal gratification, when my countrymen at home were contending for liberty. Before returning to Rome, I was informed by certain merchants, that they had been advised by letter, that plots were formed against me by the English Jesuits, in expectation of my visiting that city again; and that this was the consequence of my having spoken too freely concerning religion. My determination, however, was to utter nothing of my own accord in these places, upon religion, yet, at every hazard, to use no dissimulation when questioned as to my belief. I nevertheless returned to Rome: if any one asked me what I was, I attempted no concealment, and even in the city of the Pontiff, during the space of three months, if any one attacked the Orthodox faith, I defended it as heretofore with freedom of speech. Through God's mercy I reached Florence in safety, and found my friends as ready to welcome me, as if I had returned to my own country. After remaining there as long as before, with the exception of a few days' absence upon a visit to Lucca, I crossed the Appenines, and travelled by the way of Bologna and Ferrara to Venice. One month was spent in surveying this city, and in shipping such books as I had procured in Italy; and I then proceeded through Verona and Milan, over the Alps, and by the Lemman lake to Geneva. At this place I was daily in the company of John Diodati, the learned professor of theology. By the same route as before, after an absence of about fifteen months, I returned to my country, almost at the moment when Charles, who had violated his league with the Scots, was renewing what is called the Episcopal war."—*Defensio Secunda*, pp. 95, 96.

The letter from Sir Henry Wotton, mentioned in the extract just given, is happily preserved, and we subjoin the closing sentences:—

"At Siena I was tabled in the house of one Alberto Scipioni, an old Roman

courtier in dangerous times, having bin steward to the Duca di Pagliano, who with all his family were strangled, save this only man that escaped by foresight of the tempest: with him I had often much chat of those affairs; into which he took pleasure to look back from his native harbour: and at my departure towards Rome (which had been the centre of his experience) I had wonn confidence enough to beg his advice, how I might carry myself securely there, without offence of others, or of mine own conscience. *Signior Arrigo mio*, says he, *I pensieri stretti, ed il viso sciolto*, will go safely over the whole world: of which Delphian oracle (for so I have found it) your judgment doth need no commentary; and therefore, Sir, I will commit you with it to the best of all securities, God's dear love, remaining your friend as much at command as any of longer date."

We took occasion to observe in passing, that the treatise from which these details are gathered, is a work in which the author appears as the acute and satiric controvertist. The man who was capable of writing in a strain of such bitter sarcasm as that which appears on every page of the works against Salmasius and Du Moulin, would be likely at times to exhibit something of the same keen-edged wit in his ordinary conversation. He was a master in both the kinds of humour mentioned by Cicero, *cavillatio* and *dicacitas*; and while in his earlier writings, the exhibitions of these talents is free from all rancour, yet, when opposition and blindness and old age had soured his disposition, he became "*audacior ad jocandum*," (Cic. de Orat. l. ii. c. 71.) and seems to have allowed himself every license in abuse. The Academical Prolusions show something of the lambent play of original hilarity; but when he vindicates the republicans of Britain, and defends the cause to which he had devoted all his powers, he becomes fearful in his bitter satire, and pours out upon the learned Frenchman, and the unfortunate Scot, (who was only the publisher of the offensive work) the vials of his scalding indignation.

The *Defensio Secunda* has appeared within a few years in an English dress, and with all its acrimony and occasional grossness of personal attack, deserves still to be perused by all who take pleasure in tracing the development of character, as affording a view of this versatile mind, which will be new to those who are acquainted only with the works in the vernacular tongue. The ill-fated More, who was concerned in the publication of the "*Cry of the Royal Blood to Heaven*," was a man of licentious manners, and had become notorious, from the connexion in which he stood to a certain Pontia, who belonged to the household of Salmasius. The opponents of Milton had not confined themselves to strictures upon his writings and opinions, but had calumniated his life, ridiculed his person and habits, and scoffed at his afflictions. But here they had mistaken the temper and powers of their antagonist, and he retorted their sarcasms with the boldness of one proudly conscious of qualities acknowledged to be great and honourable. The poet, absorbed in heavenly

musings, would naturally be a man of peace; yet now he shows that his quiet had been the repose of strength, and not the torpor of imbecility. "Equidem cum nullas omnino simultates aut inimicitias ullo cum homine privatas geram, neque ullas quod sciam, mecum gerat, tot in me maledicta jactari, tot probra torqueri, reipublicæ duntaxat causâ, non mea, eo æquo animo fero." *Def. Sec.* p. 91.—He had been compared by Du Moulin to the Cyclops, and the unfeeling taunt was pointed with the well-known verse, "Monstrum horrendum," &c.

"Although," says he, "it ill becomes any man to speak of his own person, yet when even on this point an opportunity is given to render thanks to God, and to repel defamation, I will speak, lest as the priest-ridden and too credulous Spaniards think concerning heretics, some should imagine me to be a dog-headed monster or rhinoceros. So far as I know, I have never been thought deformed, by any who have beheld me; whether comely or the reverse, is of less moment. In stature, I own that I am not gigantic, yet more nearly approaching mediocrity than smallness. Yet even if diminutive, as some of the greatest men in peace and war have been, why should that be stigmatized as contracted, which is great enough for every virtuous purpose."

We refer our readers to the eloquent and pathetic passage in which he asserts his purity of life, and replies to the cruel charge, that his blindness was a judicial infliction of divine wrath. In the letter to Philaras, a learned Athenian, we have a minute description of his loss of sight, which closes with these characteristic words:—

"Whatever hope the physician may gather from this account, I prepare and compose myself, under the consideration that I am certainly incurable. And I often think, that since the days of darkness, to which every man is destined, are, as the wise man warns, many; that mine, by the great mercy of providence, happening in the midst of leisure, and studies, and the conversation and salutations of my friends, are much brighter than the shades of death. But if, as it is written, man does not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God, why should not any one submit for this reason also that he can see not only with his eyes, but that the leading and providence of God is sufficient sight.* Truly, if He take care of me—if He provide for me—which He does, and lead me by the hand, and accompany me through life, I shall willingly permit my eyes to be unemployed."

The supposed author of this defamation is made the victim of unrelenting satire, and has all the vileness of his life exposed to public view; while Milton rings all the changes upon his name, and registers the forgotten sins of his youth. The name *Morus*, which is the Latin for a mulberry tree, affords ample room for the *paronomasia*. Speaking of the amours of the susceptible Scot, he says, "Jamque ut olim *Pyramus* in *morum*, ita nunc repente *Morus* in *Pyramum* transmutatus sibi videtur, *Genevensis* in *Babylonium*."

* "In one of his political works he expresses his consolation that his blindness threw him more directly on the protection of Providence; and asserts that he was fond of considering the darkness which veiled his sight as rather *the shadow of the protecting wing of the Almighty*, than the loss of vision."

———"Poma alba ferebat
Quæ post nigra tulit Morus."

And again, "Morus, es? an Momus, an uterque idem est?" If these are instances of puerility, they are at least equal to the collection of *facetiae* which Cicero has recorded.

When we come to examine the letters themselves, we find ourselves in the situation of one who is for the first time admitted to the ordinary conversation of a great man; we wonder that there is so little manifestation of *genius* and *power*, and we look around for some apology for the defect. There is reason to believe that the author made this selection from his correspondence, with the view of leaving a few elegant specimens of his *Latinity*, and presenting to the public some testimonials of the consideration in which he was held by the eminent scholars of the age. In every part, we detect the devotee of ancient letters. Milton had walked among the groves of the philosophers and poets, until he had become almost a stranger to the trivial occurrences of life. His illustrations are drawn from Greece and Rome, and expressed in the peculiar idioms of those countries. The allusions are often difficult to be traced, and have their source in incidents and usages familiar only to the accomplished classic. In rounding his periods and adjusting most sedulously the niceties of phrase, he has suffered the genial flow of friendship to be checked, and the ease of colloquial freedom to be precluded; and we look in vain for the entertaining incident, and varied pleasantries, which are scattered throughout the epistles of Cicero.

Although the republican poet has been represented as churlish and misanthropic, and although we are constrained to admit that he has left us few indications of the gush of unconstrained feeling, yet these letters represent him as recognising and cherishing the sacred obligations of sincere friendship. We must say, however, that in these very instances, the principle, rather than the cordial and spontaneous action of benevolence is evinced. We are not however to imagine, that he who could in so graphic a manner depict the peace of innocent love, was the unyielding, morose and inexorable man that his enemies have painted. The great English moralist, whom we never mention without reverence, was little qualified to judge impartially concerning the standard-bearer of republicanism; and it has been fully established, that his account of the disgrace of Milton at Cambridge, has no foundation except in rumour. The fragments of his correspondence now laid before the public, are not without some intimations of deeply sentimental attachments. A reverent affection pervades all the epistles to his preceptor. With Diodati he was united by a bond of fraternal regard.

"Diodati," says the translator, "died in 1638, whilst Milton was on the continent, an event which really afflicted him. 'On his return, he wrote a pastoral

elegy to his memory, under the title of 'Epitaphium Damonis,' in which Milton, personified by Thyrasis, bewails the loss of his companion. Almost all his Latin poems are excellent: Cowper thought this epitaph equal to any of the *Bucolics*; Dr. Johnson affirms, on the other hand, that it is 'written with the common, but childish imitation of pastoral life.'"

In a letter to Dati, he thus expresses himself:—

"I am flattered by your anxiety for my safety after I left Florence, and your continued remembrance of me; by which I perceive that the feelings, which I thought were exclusively my own, are mutual. I can not conceal from you, that my departure was very afflicting to me, and fixed a sting in my heart, which still rankles, when I think from how many excellent and kind companions and friends, in that distant but beloved city, I have been torn away. I declare that the grave of Damon will be always sacredly regarded by me. In commemorating his death, under the oppression of grief, nothing was more consolatory than to remember you all, and to recall you individually to mind. You would have received those verses long since, if they had not miscarried, of which you gave me the first intelligence, for I took care to send them to you immediately, that however little genius they may evince, even these few lines, composed as a memento, would be no obscure evidence of my regard."

The writer has in this correspondence avoided with care any reference to the violent political controversies of the day. We might indeed except the fourteenth letter, in which he speaks of the share which he had taken in these party broils; p. 63. The topics, however, are chiefly literary, and the opinions such as men of all parties must acknowledge. The philologist will appreciate the weighty truth conveyed in the eighth letter.

"In my opinion, the first and most distinguishing honours are due to him, who has sagaciously moulded the manners of society, and can legislate with the best policy in peace and war. Next in rank to such a man, I consider him, who exerts himself to establish, by maxims and rules, and, as it were, to fortify by their means, the proper method of speaking and writing, as practised in the purest age: providing for their infraction with the rigour of a Romulus. If you would compare the usefulness of these two characters: the first effects the just and inviolable civil intercourse of the citizens; the other imparts to it gentility, polish and elegance, which are the next desirable qualities: the one provides fearless courage, and intrepid counsels to oppose an invading enemy, the other endeavours to check the incursions of intellectual barbarism—that foul domestic foe to genius—by teaching accuracy in speaking, and a ready use of good authors. For it cannot be deemed of little importance, whether a language be pure or corrupt, or the common mode of speaking be correct or otherwise; this was never considered a safe state of things at Athens; and if Plato thought, that an innovation in dress and fashion portended commotions and changes in the republic, much more readily would I believe, that in the event of the *language* becoming vitiated and erroneous, a state would decline, and degraded and obscure condition succeed. The general faults of language are inelegance, harshness, incorrectness and wrong pronunciation: what do these indicate, and that by no slight evidence, but that the minds of the people are indolent, listless and prepared for any servility? On the other hand, I have never heard of an empire or state, that did not flourish, at least in some degree, so long as it maintained the care and culture of its own language."

The translator and editor of the work before us, has accomplished a difficult task, with diligence and success. Whatever stiffness is visible in the work, may be fairly traced to the impossibility of giving a faithful version of Milton's peculiar style.

into any thing like flowing English. The notes with which the work is furnished, evince an extensive acquaintance with the history of the poet and the times, and an assiduity of research which those only understand, who have spent weary hours in hunting an obscure name through the ponderous annals of a former age.

ART. III.—*Traité de Mécanique Céleste, par M. LE MARQUIS DE LAPLACE, Pair de France: &c. &c. Tome Cinquième.* Paris, Bachelier: 1825. 4to. pp. 420.

THE *Mécanique Céleste*, the concluding volume of which we have undertaken to review, is one of the proudest monuments of human genius. If there be any thing calculated to excite our pride of species in a high degree, it is, that although inhabitants of an obscure and insignificant part of creation, limited in our existence to a few short years, we are yet able to extend our views to the remotest parts of the universe, and to detect the laws that govern the motions of the vast bodies which are scattered through the regions of illimitable space. Not only can we detect these laws, but, by the application of mathematical reasoning, we are enabled to predict the consequences of their action, to separate the minutest perturbations and disturbances from the greater motions in which they at first appear inextricably involved, and to investigate cycles and periods, to which the longest duration of human life bears no sensible proportion.

Newton laid the foundation of Celestial Mechanics, at the close of the seventeenth century, by the discovery of the principle of universal gravitation. Even in his own hands, this discovery led to important consequences, but it has required a century and a half, and a regular succession of intellects the most powerful, to fill up the outline sketched by him. Of these, Laplace himself was the last, and, perhaps, after Newton, the greatest: and the task commenced in the *Principia* of the former, is completed in the *Mécanique Céleste* of the latter. In this last named work, the illustrious author has proposed to himself as his object, to unite all the theories scattered throughout the various channels of publication, employed by his predecessors, to reduce them to one common method, and present them all in the same point of view. The publication of it has occupied more than a quarter of a century; the first volume bears the date of the year VII. of the French Republic, and the modest epigraph of

“P. S. Laplace, Member of the Institute, and of the Board of Longitude,” while the last has its titlepage loaded with revived honours of feudal origin, mixed with the rewards conferred by scientific associations.

The whole work of Laplace is comprised in five volumes, and is divided into sixteen books. Ten of these books occupy the four first volumes, while the one whose title we have placed at the head of our article, contains the XIth, XIIth, XIIIth, XIVth, XVth, and XVIth.

The first book is a concise and beautiful theory of abstract mechanics, investigated entirely by the method of mathematical analysis. It is a remarkable illustration of the versatility of that instrument of discovery, which is thus shown to be capable alike of reaching, by its profound methods, the most abstruse and difficult laws, and of demonstrating, in the most simple manner, the elementary principles we usually obtain by the geometric method. In this, as well as in the succeeding books, no figures are used, it being within the scope of the calculus to express all those relations of form and direction, for which figures are usually employed. Nor do we conceive that it is rendered in any degree less intelligible by the omission. To a learner, the general conciseness, and the vast comprehensiveness of some of the formulæ, offer a far more serious obstacle. The most valuable present that could be made to the cultivators of mechanical science, even in its application to practical purposes, would be a commentary upon the first book of the *Mécanique Céleste*, wherein, without changing the spirit of the methods, they should, by the aid of figures, the explanation of the principles of the calculus employed, and the expansion of the formulæ, be rendered more easily intelligible. The works of Poisson, and Francœur, supply this desideratum among the French. Dr. Young has published in England “*Elementary Illustrations*” of the first book of the *Mécanique Céleste*, but he evidently quits with reluctance the beaten path of the English fluxions, and hence falls behind the spirit of the age. A distinguished countryman of our own, had long since translated, and made a commentary upon, the four first volumes; he has recently performed the same task with the fifth. The scientific world has been for several years anxious that it should see the light, both with a view to their own gratification, and from the conviction that it will be a source of the highest honour to our country. The learned translator, Dr. Bowditch of Boston, has at length given notice of his intention to publish; we hail this with the highest gratification, satisfied that it will be the most valuable present that has ever been made to those mathematicians who use the English tongue in their studies and investigations.

We had proposed to ourselves in the present article, to exhibit

bit, in the most succinct and concise form, the pure mechanical principles on which the theory of the universe is founded, following for this purpose the course of investigation pursued by our author in his first book. This we consider to be an appropriate and necessary introduction to the historical narrative to which much of the fifth volume is devoted, and this we have endeavoured to accomplish: in so doing, however, we have occupied so much more space than we at first anticipated, that we have not left ourselves room, without exceeding the bounds to which we should wish to confine a scientific article, for an analysis of more than the XIth and XIIth books of the fifth volume. We shall, therefore, at some future period, return to the subject, and complete the examination of this most important and interesting volume. We have, in our review of Delambre's History of the Astronomy of the Eighteenth Century,* marked the period at which the astronomy of observation and calculation was separated from that founded upon pure-mechanical principles. Each has subsequently grown into a science of such magnitude, as to require for its separate pursuit, the undivided powers of the greatest mind. Furnished with the instruments and improved methods of modern date, the practical astronomer may measure the distance, determine the magnitudes, discover the great laws of movement, and even ascertain some of the inequalities of the motion of the heavenly bodies. Knowing these general facts, and aware that all bodies in nature mutually act upon each other according to simple and unalterable mechanic laws, the physical astronomer may proceed to weigh the masses of the sun and planets, define the devious path of comets, and investigate the innumerable small irregularities, so perplexing at the first view, and so disorderly in their aspect, but which are nevertheless simple consequences of the most simple of laws.

Newton, in establishing the universality of the attraction of gravitation, laid, as we have seen, the foundation of celestial mechanics; Laplace, in the volume before us, has finished so much of it as relates to our own system. The former showed that the celestial phenomena presented a great problem of mechanical philosophy, the latter has completed the solution of this problem, in all the cases that we know from observation to exist in the bodies which circulate around our sun.

This problem is susceptible of investigation, because the great distances that separate the heavenly bodies, by lessening the influence of secondary circumstances, give to them a precision strictly accordant with mathematical calculation.

In order to comprehend, in one view, the connexion of such apparently distinct effects, it is first necessary to determine the

* See American Quarterly Review, No. VI.

relation of the motions to the forces that produce them; and we may thence deduce an expression for the force which must animate the heavenly bodies, in order that their motions may be consistent with observation. We thus reach the principle of universal gravitation, whence we may again descend to the explanation of every astronomic phenomenon, however minute, or difficult to be separated by observation alone, from those with which it is combined.

Mechanics is a mixed science. It owes its improvement, and its extended application to the perfection of the pure mathematics, but it is founded, like all other physical sciences, upon facts deduced from observations and experience. These facts are few in number; they are in truth no more than the properties which experiment shows to be essential to the existence of matter, that substance which is the general object of physical inquiry. We find it extended in three dimensions, and thus occupying a portion of space, capable of being set in motion, and endued with the power of preventing any two of its portions from existing simultaneously in the same place.

We cannot penetrate further than this into the secrets of nature; the integral elements of matter are not to be distinguished by our obtuse senses; their combinations are alone within our reach. We may observe the effects produced by the motion of bodies, although we cannot perceive the mode in which these effects are produced, nor how the original motion is itself caused. Still, as no portion of matter contains within itself the property of moving in a given direction, rather than in any other, we infer that its motion is due to some cause acting upon it. This cause we denominate a *force*, but in thus naming it, it is not necessary to infer any thing in respect to its nature; no more is required than that we should determine the laws according to which it acts. If we assume a single and very small portion of matter, to which we may give the name of a material point, and suppose a force to act upon it, the point must describe a straight line. We call this line the direction of the force, and a knowledge of it, of the position of the point where it acts, and of its intensity, enables us to make it an object of mathematical investigation.

If more than a single force act upon the point at the same time, they will reciprocally modify the action of each other, and the point will move in a direction which is determined by the concurrent influence of all; it may even remain at rest in consequence of their exactly compensating each other. In the latter case, it is said to be in *equilibrio*, and equilibrium being the effect of counteracting forces, is equally an object of mechanical investigation with motion. Its laws are also much more readily investigated in a direct manner, but D'Alembert, by the self-evident principle that we shall have occasion to illustrate hereafter, succeeded in re-

ducing the most complicated motions of systems of bodies, to the simpler questions of equilibrium. From this time the mode of proceeding in mechanics has been, first, to inquire into the conditions of equilibrium of points and masses of matter, under the action of counteracting forces, and thence to deduce the laws of their motion, when equilibrium among the forces no longer exists.

Three different methods exist by which to determine the conditions of equilibrium among a set of forces acting upon a material point: the first consists in an extension and generalization of the property of the lever, discovered originally by Archimedes; the second is the principle of *Virtual Velocities* employed by Lagrange; the third is that which is made use of by Laplace, in the *Mecanique Celeste*, and which we shall proceed to explain.*

When any number of forces are in equilibrio around a point, it is evident, that if all except one be supposed to be removed, and their joint action to be performed by a single force, by which the point would tend to move in the same direction, and with the same intensity as it would, had they continued to act; this assumed force would be in exact equilibrio with the single force we have supposed to be left. If then, we can determine the value of this equivalent force, when the direction and intensity of the others is given, we have the means of reaching the condition of equilibrium. Such a force, that will identically replace two, or any number of others, is called their resultant; the forces it is capable of replacing are called the components.

If the forces act in the same straight line, the resultant evidently is equal to the sum of its components; but when their directions are inclined, the investigation becomes more difficult. Newton, who, confident in his own powers, grappled directly with the most difficult questions, undertook the consideration of motion, without proceeding through the more easy, although less obvious preliminary investigation of the laws of equilibrium. Assuming that motions are in the direction of, and proportioned to the force impressed, and finding that the union of two motions, each of which would separately cause a body to describe the side of a parallelogram, would make it describe the diagonal; he inferred that the force might be represented both in magnitude and in direction by the diagonal of a parallelogram, constructed on the two forces as sides. Galileo had also been in possession of the same proposition. The same inference may however be obtained directly, and independent of the consideration of motion. This last method is much preferable to that employed by Newton, in the present state of the science; for however proper it may have been, as an introduction immediately to the consideration of motion, it is obviously unnatural and a defect in method, to obtain in the first instance the laws of equilibrium from those

* See *Mecanique Celeste*, Liv. I. §. 1.

of motion, and then in proceeding farther, to deduce the circumstances of motion from considerations of equilibrium. We have hence seen with some surprise that this plan is still pursued in some modern works. Among those in which it is still used, we may cite as one in which we could have hardly expected to see such a retrograde step, the masterly treatise of Venturoli. We have also to regret that it has been employed (copied we believe from Whewell) in the compilation made for Harvard University. We could have hoped that the learned collector of that course would either draw a direct demonstration of the parallelogram of forces from his own abundant stores, or copy one of the beautiful propositions that are to be found in several authors who have treated this problem in an original manner. In this, as indeed in all other cases, we conceive that even the most elementary attainments in science should be acquired by methods analogous, if not identical with those employed in the work, which is the received standard of the highest knowledge. If to read the *Mecanique Celeste* be beyond the ordinary limit of a student's views, still, in acquiring knowledge of a less elevated character, he ought to be led to it by steps, such that he will not be required to renew his labours, should he wish to proceed beyond the narrow sphere of undergraduate study. And that treatise on mechanics which is founded upon Newton's laws of motion, is as great a deviation from the direct track, as those systems which teach trigonometry and the conic sections after the method of the ancient geometers.

The more remarkable of the demonstrations of this fundamental proposition of the parallelogram of forces are those of Francœur, Professor Robinson, Poisson and Laplace. The last is by far the most elegant, and, in the first part, which demonstrates that the resultant of two rectangular forces corresponds in magnitude with the diagonal of the parallelogram, is sufficiently simple in its character to adapt it for an elementary work. No farther addition than a simple figure, as given by Dr. Young in his "Elementary Illustrations," is necessary. The second part of the investigation is more complex, and although it has been freed of a part of its difficulty by that author, is still beyond the reach of ordinary students of mechanics. We conceive that it is possible to render it intelligible to all acquainted with analytic trigonometry, and to extend it to the general case in a more easy manner than could be done by following directly the path of Laplace through the case of three rectangular forces.

By the aid of the parallelogram of forces, all questions relating to the resolution of a single given force into two others, or the composition of a single force from two given forces, become simple problems of plane trigonometry.

To determine the resultant of any number of forces, we may

proceed by finding, first the resultant of any two of them, which may be assumed as replacing them identically, and may be combined with a third force, and so on, until all have been employed. If the forces be three in number, and at right angles to each other, their resultant may be shown to be the diagonal of the rectangular parallelopipedon constructed on the three forces as sides; and as any force may, by the converse of this proposition, be resolved into three others at right angles to each other, and as the resultant of any number of parallel forces is equal to their sum, all forces whatsoever, acting in any manner upon a given point, may be resolved into three rectangular forces.

In this way the most abstruse investigations of mechanics may be reduced to the consideration of no more than three forces. This is called the method of rectangular co-ordinates. In it we determine the position of the point of application of a force by the perpendicular distance from it to three planes, supposed to be immoveable, and cutting each other at right angles. These perpendiculars are the co-ordinates, and the direction of the force is defined by means of the three angles it makes with these co-ordinates.

It may so happen, that, although the forces that act upon a point are not in equilibrio, it shall still remain at rest. Such is the case when the point is pressed by them against a surface. In this event, it is no longer necessary that the resultant of all the forces be equal to 0, but it is sufficient that the direction be a normal to the surface. To denote the conditions of equilibrium, we introduce an expression for the action of the surface, which is equal and contrary in direction to this resultant. If the point rest upon a given curve, we consider the curve as formed of the intersection of two surfaces, and calculate the respective effect of each, in producing the state of equilibrium.

If, by the method we have referred to, a force be resolved into three others, parallel to its projections on three co-ordinate planes, and if the several forces be multiplied by the perpendiculars let fall from the common intersection of the planes upon their respective directions, these products are called *moments*. They will express the effect of each force to make its point of application turn around the three intersections of the planes, which are called the axes of the co-ordinates; and for any number of forces whatsoever, the moment of the resultant is equal to the sum of the moments of its components.

As matter is incapable of setting itself in motion,† so neither can it change the motion it may have received. A material point, therefore, if once acted upon by a force, and then aban-

* *Mec. Cel.* Liv. I. § 3.

† *Ibid.* Liv. I. § 4.

doned to itself, must, if it meet with no resistance, move uniformly forwards in the direction of the force. This tendency of matter to maintain its state of rest, or of motion, is called *inertia*, and is identical with Newton's first law of motion.

In uniform motions, the spaces described are proportioned to the times,* but the times employed by different points, in describing the same space, differ, in consequence of the different intensities of the moving forces. Hence arises the notion of velocity, which, in uniform motion, is the ratio between the space and the time employed in describing it. To express the space and time, we employ numbers that represent how many units of some customary lineal measure have been traversed, and how many seconds have elapsed during the motion.

Newton and his followers, assume the velocity to be directly proportioned to the moving force. Laplace,† on the other hand, has, with more judgment, considered this relation as worthy of investigation. The velocity does unquestionably depend upon the force, and may therefore‡ be expressed mathematically as a function of the latter. Let us suppose it to be so expressed, and that a point placed upon the surface of the earth, and participating in its motion, receives a new impulse in any direction. The point will, under the action of the motion of the earth and this new force, describe their resultant, with a certain velocity which will depend on the form of the function. This, then, is to be determined, by comparing the actual motion of such a point, with what it would have under different forms of this function. Now, it is a universal result, that in all the differing circumstances of the earth's motion, at different seasons and positions in its orbit, the motion is such as it would be if the velocity were exactly proportioned to the force. Hence, it may be inferred, that it is a general law of nature, that the velocity is proportional to the force, and these two quantities may be substituted for each other, and represented by the same lines and numbers.§ The resultant of the forces, will also be the resultant of the velocities. It hence results, that the relative motions of a system of bodies are independent of their common motion, and that it is impossible to judge of the absolute motion of a system, of which we ourselves form a part, from appearances alone.

If a point be acted upon by forces, which, instead of abandoning it to itself, continue to influence it during the whole period of its motion, its velocity will no longer be constant, because it receives at every instant a new impulse.¶ If these successive impulses are equal among each other, the accelerating force is said to be constant, and the velocity is proportioned to the time.

* *Mec. Cel.* Liv. I. § 4.

† *Ibid.* Liv. I. § 6.

‡ *Ibid.* Liv. I.

§ *Ibid.* Liv. I.

If their intensity vary, we consider these changes as separated by infinitely small spaces of time, during each of which the accelerating force remains constant. The mathematical investigation of the laws of such motions, can be reduced to simple questions of equilibrium, and various important results arise from them.

If a body, instead of moving freely in space, be compelled to rest upon a given surface, the action of this surface may be considered as an accelerating force.* The curve the body describes is the shortest possible between two given points of the surface; and the pressure of the surface is equal to the square of the velocity divided by the radius of curvature.

We have in circular motion the example of a force acting constantly. As the motion of matter, abandoned to itself, would be uniform and rectilinear, a body moving in a curve must continually tend to fly off in a tangent. The effort it makes for this purpose, is called *centrifugal force*, and the force directed towards the centre, is called *centripetal*. These, in circular motions, exactly counterbalance each other. These central forces are, as the radii of the circles the bodies describe, divided by the squares of the times of their revolutions.

If the motion be in any other curve, the body may, for a very small portion of time, be considered as moving in a circle passing through two contiguous elements of the curve, its centrifugal force will then be equal to the square of its velocity, divided by the radius of this circle, but the position and magnitude of this circle are continually varying.

If the curve be described under the action of a force, continually directed to a fixed point, the velocity is subject to the following law: viz.—

The areas described by the radius vector around the centre of force, are proportioned to the times; and conversely, if the areas described by the radius vector around a fixed point, are proportioned to the times, the force which causes them to be described is constantly directed to this fixed point.

Of all the forces we observe acting upon the earth, that of gravity is the most remarkable.† It pervades all bodies, and would, did not the resistance of the air oppose, cause them all to fall with equal velocities. This force is nearly the same in intensity, at the greatest heights that have been attained, and the greatest depths which have been penetrated; still, however, a small variation has been detected, even at the surface. Its directions are perpendicular to the horizon, and of course converging. But in the motion of projectiles, we consider the force as invariable, and its directions as parallel. Under the action of this force, when a body is projected from the surface of the earth, it describes a

* *Mec. Cel.* Liv. I. § 9.

† *Ibid.* Liv. I. § 10.

line concave towards this surface. This curve is plane, but its nature depends on the resistance of the medium in which it moves. In *vacuo*, it will be a parabola; the velocity estimated in a horizontal direction is constant, and in the vertical direction it is the same as if the body rose or fell perpendicularly to the surface of the earth.

A gravitating point suspended at the extremity of a straight line, devoid of weight, constitutes what is called the simple pendulum.* Such a point will in its motion describe a portion of a spherical surface. If its oscillations be very small, they will be nearly isochronous among each other, when the force of gravity is constant; and when this force varies, the lengths of pendulums that oscillate in equal times are proportioned to the forces. We have hence a measure of time, and of the comparative intensity of the force of gravity at different points of the earth's surface.

As isochronism of oscillation does not take place exactly, but only approximately, in very small circular arcs, it becomes a matter of curiosity to examine if there be any curve in which absolute isochronism takes place.† The cycloid is such a curve, and a gravitating point might be made to describe it by suspending it between two cycloidal cheeks. But in practice, this theorem is of no value. The cycloid has also the remarkable property of being the curve of swiftest descent.

Such are the principal propositions of the equilibrium and motion of a single material point. The investigation of the laws of the equilibrium and motion of masses and systems, is next taken up by our author. We cannot pretend to follow him in his beautiful discussions, but shall content ourselves with stating a few of the more important consequences. • The most simple case of the equilibrium of bodies, is where two material points meet each other in opposite directions with equal velocities.‡ If two sets of connected material points, move in opposite directions, with different velocities, equilibrium will take place when the velocities in the opposite directions are inversely as the numbers of points, or when the number of points, multiplied into their respective velocities, are equal on each side. We call the number of material points a body contains, its *mass*, and this product of the mass into the velocity, is called its *quantity of motion*. The *density* of bodies depends upon the quantity of matter they contain under a given bulk, and the mass is in the compound ratio of the bulk and density.

When two bodies act upon each other in opposite directions, one loses as much motion, estimated in a given direction, as it communicates to the other;§ this principle, deducible from the

* *Mec. Cel.* Liv. I. § 11.

† *Ibid.* Liv. I. § 12.

‡ *Ibid.* Liv. I. § 12.

§ *Ibid.* Liv. I. § 14.

nature of forces, is found by observation to hold good in every action in nature, and we express it by saying, that action and reaction are equal to each other, and in contrary directions.

If two heavy bodies be attached to the extremities of a horizontal straight line, inflexible and devoid of weight, capable of moving freely around one of its points; it will be necessary for a state of equilibrium, that the two forces be inversely as the lengths of the parts of the line on which they act. This is the well known principle of the lever.

Extending the investigation to any number of bodies united in a system and kept in equilibrio by the action of forces applied to them in various directions, a proposition is reached which is called the *Principle of Virtual Velocities*. It may be expressed as follows: viz. *If we suppose the bodies that compose a system † each to move through a small space under the action of the forces that solicit it, while all remain subject to the connexion of the parts of the system; the sum of the forces that act upon the bodies, each multiplied by the space through which the body to which it is applied moves, will be equal to zero when the system is in equilibrio.*

This principle not only holds good in the case of equilibrium, but it ensures its existence; from it Laplace deduces the familiar properties of the centre of gravity.

In order to ascertain the laws of the motions and equilibrium of the particles of fluids, we ought to know their shape, which is impossible; ‡ we however need only inquire into these laws for masses of fluids. The general phenomena of the equilibrium and motion of fluids grow out of the perfect mobility of their particles, which are capable of yielding to the least force; this is the characteristic and distinguishing property of fluids. From this it follows, that in order to the equilibrium of a mass of fluid, each particle must be in equilibrio under the action of the forces that solicit it, and of the pressures it feels from the surrounding particles. If the fluid be homogeneous, and one of its surfaces free, it will remain in equilibrio notwithstanding, if the resultant of the forces that act upon it be perpendicular to its surface; and hence the surfaces of gravitating liquids are every where level or perpendicular to the direction of gravity.

As in the case of a material point, so in that of a system, the laws of motion may be reduced to equations of equilibrium. § Proceeding in this manner we obtain several general theorems that hold good in the motion of all systems of bodies. The first is, that—

The sum of the products of each body into the square of its

* *Mec. Cel. Liv. I. § 14.* † *Ibid. Liv. I. § 14.*
 ‡ *Ibid. Liv. I. §, 17.* § *Ibid. Liv. I. § 18.*

*velocity is constant, when no accelerating force acts; and when such forces do act, the increase of the sum of the products is the same, whatever be the curves described by the bodies, provided the points between which they move remain unchanged.**

The product of a body into the square of its velocity is called by English writers its *vis viva*, by the French *force vive*, and the above principle is called the "*Conservation des Forces Vives*." It holds good only when the motion changes by insensible degrees.

The second law has respect to the inalterability of the motion of the centre of gravity under the mutual action of the bodies that compose a system. *If the system is subject to no extrinsic force, the centre of gravity remains at rest, or moves uniformly forward in a straight line. If extrinsic forces do act, the centre of gravity moves as if all the bodies of the system were collected in that centre, and all these forces applied to it.*

The third law takes place when the bodies that compose the system are subject only to their mutual actions and to forces directed to a fixed point, which is that around which the system might turn freely, and is the origin of the co-ordinates.

If through the origin of the co-ordinates a fixed plane be supposed to pass, and if the mass of each body be multiplied by the area which the projection of its radius vector describes upon this fixed plane, the product is proportioned to the time of description.

Among all the planes that can be drawn through the origin of the co-ordinates, there is one that has the following remarkable properties: 1st. That the sum of the areas traced upon it by the projections of the *radii vectores* of the bodies, multiplied by their respective masses, is the greatest possible; and, 2d, that the same sum is 0, in any plane perpendicular to this one.†

From the equations that contain the primitive laws of the equilibrium and motion of matter, can be deduced a principle which is called that of the least action. This principle is remarkable in the history of the sciences, because it was originally obtained by the aid of metaphysical reasoning, although it be now a well ascertained result of mathematical investigation in relation to the nature of forces. It was held even by the ancient philosophers that nature always acted in the most simple manner, but it was long before it was discovered in what this simplicity consisted. It was at last ascertained that a body acted upon by any forces whatsoever always describes a curve in which the fluent of the product of the quantity of motion, by the element of the space described is a minimum.‡

* *Mec. Cel. Liv. I. § 19*
 † *Ibid. Liv. I. § 23*

‡ *Ibid. Liv. I. § 20*

Having completed the investigation of the laws of motion upon the principle of the velocity being proportioned to the force, Laplace next examines these general laws in every possible mathematical relation of the force and velocity. The seventh chapter of the first book has relation to the motion of a solid body of any figure, and particularly to rotary motions. The most important inferences applicable to the latter kind of motions are: 1st, that if the rotary motion of a body be due to a primitive impulse that does not pass through its centre of gravity, this point will assume the same motion as if the force had been directly applied to it; the body will acquire around the centre of gravity the same rotary motion as if that point were fixed; and the axis of motion will be perpendicular to a plane passing through the centre of gravity, and the point to which the impulse is applied. 2nd, That in all bodies whatsoever there are at least three principal axes of rotation at right angles to each other, around either of which if the body shall commence its rotation, it will continue to move uniformly around the same axis. In spheres every diameter is a principal axis; in spheroids of revolution, the axis of the generating curve and every equatorial diameter. But these principal axes do not all possess this property in an equal degree; around some of them the state of motion will be stable, around others it will be liable to be disturbed by the slightest extrinsic force. This stability depends upon their respective *moments of inertia*. The moment of inertia of a body in respect to any axis is the sum of the products of each particle of the body by the square of its distance from the axis. When the axes are not equal, or the body not symmetrical, the moment of inertia will be a maximum, in respect to one of them; a minimum in respect to a second, and of intermediate magnitude in respect to the third. The motion of rotation is stable around the two first, but is not so around the third. If then a rotation commence around an axis different from, but nearly coinciding with either of the two first, an oscillation of this real axis will take place around that principal axis; but if the real axis of rotation coincide nearly, but not exactly with the third, it may recede to an indefinite distance.*

These principles are applicable to the rotary motions and those of translation of the planets; they are also applied to all bodies compelled to move around a fixed axis. When the motion takes place near the surface of the earth and the axis is horizontal, the body forms a compound pendulum, and the general formulæ applied to this case, afford the means of determining the length of a simple pendulum, which will perform its oscillations in the same time with the compound.†

The eighth and last chapter of the first book treats of the mo-

* *Mec. Cel.* Liv. I. § 25 to 30. † *Ibid.* Liv. I. § 31

tion of fluids. To the general principle of equilibrium applicable to solid bodies must be joined in this case the conditions of the existence of bodies in a fluid state. These conditions are reduced to two, applicable to the two different cases of liquids and of gases. In the first, the volume of each particle is supposed to remain constant; in the second, to vary with the pressure according to some given law. The investigation of the motion of fluids however becomes far more complex than that of solid bodies, and the differential equations become difficult of integration, so much so, that mathematicians have only succeeded in the task in a small number of cases. One of these is applicable to the oscillations of the sea, the other to the waves of our atmosphere.

Such are the few and simple principles of mechanical philosophy. To apply them to the problem presented by the heavenly bodies, it becomes necessary to obtain the general law of nature that governs these bodies in their mutual action upon each other. We do this by means of observation, and of reasoning founded thereon; and the proximate laws, whence the more general principle is obtained, were first stated by Kepler, whose name they still bear. They are as follows: viz.

1. *The areas described by the radii vectores of the planets are proportioned to the times.*
2. *The orbits of the planets and comets are conic sections whose planes pass through the centre of the sun. Of the planets they are ellipses.*
3. *The squares of the times of the planets' revolutions are proportioned to the cubes of the greater axes of their orbits.*

From these laws of Kepler we are led to regard the centre of the sun, as the focus of an attractive force extending around it in all directions to an infinite distance, and decreasing according to a regular law. Mathematical reasoning enables us to obtain from them the following results, essential in enabling us to apply mechanical principles to the heavenly motions.*

The principal force which solicits the planets is proportioned to their mass, and is directed to the centre of the sun; it is inversely proportioned to the square of the distance of these bodies from the sun; and it would be the same in all the comets and planets, if placed at equal distances from the sun, so that in this case each of these bodies would fall towards the sun with an equal velocity.

The same laws and the same inference hold good in respect to planets accompanied by satellites, and the law of the equality of action and reaction leads us to conclude that the attractive property is common to the sun, to planets, to comets, and to satellites. This principle which is called that of universal gravitation

* *Mec. Cel.* Liv. II. § 2.

is therefore admitted as a general property of all the bodies of the universe, and is extended from them to their most minute particles, until we obtain this great law of nature: *All the particles of matter mutually attract each other, with forces directly as their masses, and inversely as the squares of the distances.**

In this universal attraction, we find the cause not only of the great movements of the heavenly bodies, but, of the perturbations to which these are liable; the comets and planets mutually attracting each other, must deviate in a small degree from the law of elliptic motion, which they would follow implicitly, were they acted upon by the sun alone; the satellites, disturbed in their motions around their primaries, by their mutual attraction, and by that of the sun, also deviate from the same law.†

By virtue of the same mutual attraction, the particles of each heavenly body must arrange themselves in a form nearly spherical, and the resultant of their mutual and joint action, will produce at their surface the phenomena of the fall of heavy bodies. The centrifugal force, acting in opposition to the joint attraction of the particles, must alter in a small degree the sphericity of the figure of the planets; and then, as the resultant of the mutual actions of these bodies no longer passes through their respective centres of gravity, it will produce slight changes in the position of their axes of rotation. Finally, the particles of the ocean, unequally attracted by the sun and moon, must acquire an oscillatory motion.‡ Obvious as are the general principles of these different consequences of universal gravitation, the complete investigation of them, in all their extent, requires the aid of the most profound analysis. We shall therefore here leave the direct path of our author, and proceed to historical details which will be more readily understood by our readers.

Newton not only stated the great principle of universal gravitation, but was unquestionably the first to make use of those methods of calculation, by the aid of which this principle can be applied to the investigations of celestial mechanics. We have no inclination to enter into the barren discussion as to the comparative method of Leibnitz and Newton, in the discovery of the fluxional or differential calculus; all that we mean to urge is, that Newton must have possessed tools adequate to perform the work he accomplished. This calculus has, however, been improved and extended in a wonderful manner since that period, and has been the great engine by which the discoveries embodied in the *Mécanique Céleste* have been effected. *

These improvements and additions to the original method of

* *Mec. Cel.* Liv. II. § 5.

† *Ibid.* Liv. II. § 6.

‡ *Ibid.* Liv. II. § 6

fluxions are so great and numerous, that were Newton and Leibnitz to be resuscitated, they would require a course of preparatory study, to enable them even to understand the language of methods of which they were themselves the original inventors.

These improvements and conditions consist :—

1. In the introduction of trigonometry in the analytic form, which is applicable not only to the angular positions of the heavenly bodies, but to the integral calculus, and the summation of series: for the notation employed in this we are indebted to Euler:

2. In the method of partial differences, invented by D'Alembert, and improved by Euler:

3. In the calculus of variations introduced by Lagrange.

But one of the most important additions made to the methods by which the principles of mechanics may, by the aid of mathematics, be applied to the investigations of the most complex problems of celestial mechanics, consists in the discovery by D'Alembert, of a principle, by the aid of which all considerations of the motion of bodies may be reduced to mere cases of equilibrium. We have had occasion to speak of it as invaluable in the investigation of the formulæ expressing the conditions of the motions of the bodies. It is one of those simple facts, that require merely to be stated, to be received as true; but in spite of its simplicity, it had escaped, at least in its general form, all inquirers previous to D'Alembert. It may be expressed as follows:—

If there be a system of material points in motion, that mutually act upon each other, and if we decompose the velocity of each of them into two parts, one of which is the velocity it would have during the succeeding instant, were the mutual action to cease; the other, the velocity which it has in consequence of the mutual action; the forces that must be compounded with the first of these, in order to produce the second, are such as would leave the system in equilibrio, were they alone to act. Hence we may obtain, by the laws of equilibrium, the relation of the velocities destroyed, and it will be easy to conclude thence the remaining velocities and their directions.

If the bodies be acted upon by accelerating forces, the same decomposition of forces may be employed, but in this case the equilibrium takes place between the velocities lost, and these accelerating forces.

In the commencement of the treatise on the *Mécanique Céleste*, our author had announced his intention of closing the work by an historical notice of the labours of the several geometers who had aided in the completion of the vast fabric. This was necessary, in consequence of the plan and order of the *Méca-*

nique Celeste, which, setting out from the simplest principles, and pursuing one uniform method, had, in its several steps, incorporated in their several appropriate places, every discovery of importance made by his predecessors, as well as the results of his own labours. A proper acknowledgment of the share borne by each author was of course due, and this could be better performed in the shape of a historical narrative, than in any other form. But in the interval which elapsed from the publication of the Xth book of the *Mécanique Celeste*, and the preparation of this narrative for the press, Laplace had not paused in his researches, but had completed and published in the *Connaissance des Temps*, and in the *Memoirs of the Institute*, various new investigations; and being of opinion that it would be useful to append the new investigations to the history of the previous progress of the same branch of his subject, the volume before us is composed of a mixed mass of historic narrative and novel investigation.

The first subject which he takes up, is that of the figure and rotation of the earth, which is contained in the four chapters of the XIth book. Before we proceed to take up this history, some little previous explanation of the principles it involves, may not be irrelevant. Numerous observations had shown, at an early period, that the figure of the earth did not differ much from that of a sphere. It was long, however, before it was even suspected that it had a motion, either diurnal around its axis, or of revolution around the sun. To the diurnal motion it is owing that the figure of the earth cannot be perfectly spherical, and it is in truth to the proof of the deviation of the earth's figure from that regular solid, that we are indebted for the positive and indisputable demonstration of a rotary motion in the space of a day. When a solid body turns around an axis, its several points describe circles whose planes are perpendicular to, and whose centres are in the axis; every point thus moving will be acted upon by a force that would tend to make it fly off, in the direction of a tangent to the circle it describes, were it not drawn towards the axis by a counteracting power. The tendency to fly off, is, as has been stated, the *centrifugal force*; the power which counteracts it, is the *attraction of gravitation*. The centrifugal force that acts upon any one point, is as the radius of the circle the point describes, and its direction lies in the plane of that circle. The force of gravity at the surface is due to the attraction of the whole mass of the earth; but because the earth revolves upon its axis, it will be every where, except at the poles, counteracted by the centrifugal force, and thus, at all other points of the earth's surface, the measure of the force of gravity will be less than it would have been had the earth remained at rest. At the equator, the centrifugal force, and the attraction of the earth,

are directly opposed to each other ; in all other places they are oblique, for the direction of the one lies in the plane of the parallel of latitude, while that of the other is perpendicular to the surface. The centrifugal force, varying with the radius of the parallel, or the cosine of the latitude, while its action is diminished by obliquity in a similar ratio, the centrifugal force at the equator is to that at any other latitude, as the square of radius is to the square of the cosine of the latitude, or the increase of gravity from the equator to the poles, is in the ratio of the squares of the sines of the latitude. •

The measure of the apparent force of gravity, or the difference between the whole attraction and the centrifugal force, is twice the space that a heavy body falls from rest in a second of time ; this being known at the equator, with the time of the earth's revolution, (a sidereal day,) enables us to calculate the relation of the centrifugal force at the equator, to the whole gravitating force of the earth. This is found to be as one to two hundred and eighty-nine, (1 : 289.) •

Were the earth a solid body devoid of elasticity, it would have retained any figure originally impressed upon it ; but had it been fluid, it would, if at rest, have assumed the form of a perfect sphere under the mutual attraction of its particles ; a rotary motion upon its axis, giving the equatorial particles a greater tendency to fly off, and those of each different parallel a similar but less centrifugal force ; the fluid mass, in order to remain in equilibrium, must have changed its figure to spheroidal by an increase of the equatorial, and a shortening of the polar diameter, or in other words, would have become oblate ; the quantity of this oblateness would depend upon the rate of the rotary motion, and upon the density and internal constitution of the fluid mass.

To return to the narrative of our author : No mathematical investigation of this interesting subject can be found previous to the time of Newton. He is in truth the founder of the theory of the figure of the earth, which he published in his *Principia* in the year 1687. He considers the earth as a homogeneous fluid mass, endued with a rotary motion, and composed of particles attracting each other, with forces varying inversely as the squares of their distances. He assumes that such a body would in the state of equilibrium acquire the figure of an oblate spheroid, and in this hypothesis seeks the relation between the equatorial and polar axes. In the course of his investigation, he establishes the remarkable proposition, that a body placed within a hollow ellipsoid, whose outer and inner surfaces are similar, would be equally attracted on all sides. The flattening of a spheroid differing but little from a sphere, and of a constitution such as was assumed by Newton, would be $\frac{5}{4}$ ths of the relation between the centrifugal force at the equator, and the whole force

of gravity, and as this relation is $\frac{1}{256}$, there results a flattening of $\frac{1}{256}$, or a ratio between the equatorial and polar axes of 230 to 229.

This was the first step made in the mathematical theory of the earth; and although it left much to be desired, it must forever be considered as an immense advance in science. It was imperfect, because it assumed, without demonstration, that a fluid mass revolving on an axis would assume the form of a spheroid, it supposed, also without demonstration, that the gravity at the surface increases from the equator to the poles in the ratio of the squares of the sines of the latitude; and finally, because it considers the earth as homogeneous, when all observations demonstrate that the density of the earth increases from the surface to the centre.

About two years after the publication of the "Principia," Huygens published a treatise on the same subject. Denying the Newtonian theory of the mutual attraction of the particles of which the earth is composed, he conceives that each molecule of a fluid homogeneous mass, revolving upon an axis, is attracted to the centre of gravity of the mass by a force varying inversely with the square of its distance from that point. The problem in this case is much less difficult; it gives for the figure of the meridian a curve of the fourth order, which, when the relation between the centrifugal force and that of gravity is small, does not differ sensibly from an ellipse, and whose axes are to each other in the relation of 577 to 578. This investigation of Huygens gives, if accommodated to the Newtonian theory of mutual attraction, the oblateness of a spheroid composed of particles mutually attracting each other, whose external layers are infinitely rare, and which is infinitely dense near the centre. As this is the extreme case of varying density, while the investigation of Newton gives the case of homogeneous structure, the compression of the earth at the poles must be greater than $\frac{1}{256}$ and less than $\frac{1}{256}$.

Nothing more was added to this theory until 1737, when Clairaut proved that the hypotheses on which the theory of Newton was founded were correct: viz. that an elliptic figure satisfies the conditions of equilibrium of a homogeneous fluid mass, differing but little from a sphere, and turning upon an axis; and that, on the surface of this mass, the force of gravity increases with the square of the sine of the latitude.

In 1743 he published his work on the figure of the earth. Proceeding beyond the hypothesis of a homogeneous mass, he investigated equations hitherto unknown in respect to the equilibrium of fluids, whether heterogeneous or not, and applying these to the case of the earth, upon the hypothesis of its being formed of numerous fluids, all circulating around the same axis, he showed that an elliptic figure satisfied the conditions of equi-

librium of each level layer, provided its figure did not differ far from a sphere; he then determined the ellipticity of each of these shells, and the law of gravity at the exterior surface. He also obtained the following remarkable result: viz., that the sum of the fractions which represent the ellipticity of the earth, and the excess of gravity at the poles above that at the equator, is, in every possible hypothesis of the internal constitution of the earth, equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the ratio of the centrifugal force at the equator to the whole force of gravity.

The method of Clairaut was limited to ellipsoids of revolution. D'Alembert in his *Researches on the System of the World*, published in 1754 and 1756, treated the subject in a more general manner; and determined the attraction of a spheroid differing but little from a sphere, and having an algebraic equation of any order whatsoever. The general condition of equilibrium is, that the direction of gravity shall be perpendicular to each concentric layer.

As a general rule, the superiority of mathematical analysis to synthesis is most obvious in the difficult questions of the system of the world, questions the complete solution of which is for the most part beyond the reach of the latter method. But in the case before us, the elegance of the geometric methods of Clairaut, and more particularly of Maclaurin in his solution of the problem of the attractions of ellipsoids of revolution, gave the synthetic method for a long time the advantage. It was in truth pushed by these great men as far as it is susceptible of being carried. Still, however, it was reasonable to anticipate that the analytic method was capable of attaining the results of Maclaurin in a manner far more simple, and of extending them to a more complete theory of the attractions of this species of spheroids. The first step towards this was made by Lagrange, who at once went far beyond Maclaurin; Legendre followed in the same course, and the theory was completed by Laplace and Ivory.

Maclaurin had shown that a homogeneous fluid mass turning around its axis, and of an elliptic figure, might be in equilibrium; other successive steps were made by D'Alembert, Legendre, and Laplace; until the latter resolved the real problem, which is: *To determine the figure a fluid mass must take, when its particles, having been originally actuated by any forces whatsoever, finally attain a fixed state of equilibrium, in consequence of their mutual friction and their tenacity.* This is to be found in the third book of the *Mécanique Céleste*, and shows that there is always one figure of equilibrium that is possible, and no more, and that this figure is an ellipsoid of revolution. The same book contains a general theory of the attractions of spheroids, which has for its basis an equation of the

most extensive application not only to mechanical subjects, but even to those generally considered as purely physical.

The relation between the polar and equatorial diameters may, as we have seen, vary from $\frac{23}{100}$, in the case of a homogeneous fluid, to $\frac{577}{74}$, in the case of infinite density at the centre and infinite rarity at the surface. But were the earth even a liquid mass, it could not be homogeneous, for liquids are susceptible of compression. Assuming the compressibility of water to be as determined by the experiments of Canton, Laplace shews that the ellipticity of the earth, if composed of this fluid, would be $\frac{1}{360}$. This differs too much from the results of observation to be admitted as approaching to a true hypothesis.

Our knowledge of the actual figure of the earth, and consequently of its internal constitution, may be obtained in various ways. Both the actual magnitude of the earth, estimated in some conventional measure, and its ellipticity, may be determined by measuring degrees of a meridian. But the different measures that have been made of degrees, when compared with each other by pairs, give very different ellipticities. Some contiguous degrees would even indicate an elongation of the terrestrial ellipsoid, others a flattening of $\frac{1}{38}$. When however measures of degrees made under parallels far distant from each other are compared, the result is a flattening at the poles, the quantity of which is estimated by Laplace in the present volume at $\frac{1}{308}$; he had previously stated it to be $\frac{1}{337}$.

The variation of the force of gravity at the surface is best observed by means of the pendulum. We therefore use in a mode of ascertaining the nature of the figure of the terrestrial spheroid, independent of its magnitude. In the earlier experiments as quoted by Laplace, the variation of the intensity of gravity was found to follow very closely the law of the square of the sine of the latitude, and the constant coefficient, obtained from these experiments, by the aid of which the increase of gravity at the pole is calculated, is such as to show an increase in the density of the earth from the surface towards the centre. The improvements made in the measurement of the pendulum, of late years, by Kater, and the simplification of the method of Borda, have rendered observations of this kind far more easy, and they have hence been exceedingly multiplied since the date of the publication of the XIth book of the *Mécanique Céleste*. Kater himself has observed at the principal stations of the British trigonometrical survey. Sabine has made observations at various stations, from Ascension in the southern hemisphere to a high northern latitude in Spitzbergen; and the recent French voyages of discovery have added various stations in the southern hemisphere. The oblateness obtained by Sabine and confirmed by Freycinet is about $\frac{1}{350}$, and thus differs essentially from that deduced from a

comparison of the degrees of Peru and those measured in France. Ivory in England has attempted to render this determination liable to suspicion, but we conceive without any good grounds. It will be obvious, that a figure of the earth deduced from multiplied observations of the pendulum made in nearly all accessible latitudes, and both in the eastern and western hemispheres, is far more likely to be correct than one obtained from the comparison of the few degrees, which have yet been measured. These being discrepant in themselves, and reducible, when near each other, to no regular law, are obviously affected by causes for which no mathematical expression has yet been assigned, and nothing short of an entire measure of a whole quadrant would entirely compensate these anomalies. But the longest are yet measured, even by combining the French and English degrees, although not parts of the same meridian, is not more than eleven degrees. To obtain an ellipticity that is probable, this arc is combined with a degree measured under the equator more than half a century since, with imperfect instruments, and under circumstances of great personal suffering. The evidence thus obtained is no doubt the best the nature of the case will admit, and that it is entitled to high respect is unquestionable, but it is in certainty far behind the method of the pendulum, applied through the means of observations so numerous and accurate.

The very improvement that has taken place in the measurement of the pendulum, has made irregularities in the law of the increase of gravity, from the equator to the poles perceptible. Laplace was not aware of this fact, as it was only detected by Sabine in 1832. They are by no means great, but still observable by the more method of Kater. They grow, in the opinion of the discoverer, out of the varying density of the strata near the earth's surface: an acceleration being always found in the neighbourhood of solid rock and other dense substances.

Another mode of obtaining the ellipticity consists in comparing the two inequalities of the moon's motion, that arise from the oblateness of the terrestrial spheroid calculated according to some hypothetical ellipticity, with a great number of observations. This was done at the request of Laplace by Bouvard, Bury, and Burckhardt; and they accord with an ellipticity of $\frac{1}{288}$. Were the tables of the moon so perfect that these two inequalities could be separated completely from all others, this method would be beyond all comparison the best; but in spite of the vast improvements in the theory made by our author himself, and the consequent great improvements in the lunar tables, absolute truth has not yet been attained, and hence we cannot admit even this method to stand upon as high a level, when employed to determine the figure of the earth, as the method of the pendulum.

One thing however is certain, that the mean surface of the

earth is of such a figure as would remain in equilibrio were it to become fluid. It is hence, combined with the fact that the sea leaves large masses of land uncovered, inferred, that the ocean has no great depth, and that the depressions of its bed are not greater than the elevations of mountains above its surface; but as there are large groupes of mountains upon the land, so there may be vast cavities in the bed of the ocean.

Our author applies this to the subjects of natural history and geology. It cannot be doubted that the sea has at one period covered a great part of our present continents, on which it has left incontestible marks of its prevalence. To explain this he merely assumes the action of proximate causes, of the same nature as those we now see in existence, but of greater intensity. We still occasionally witness masses of land raised from the bottom of the ocean, and the solid earth sinking into subterranean cavities. Some parts of our continents have no doubt been raised by the first of these actions, while the falling in of a portion of the bed of the ocean would have left dry an area of continent great in proportion to the smallness of the depth of that part of the sea. Thus great continents may have risen from the ocean without any great changes in the mean shape of the terrestrial spheroid, and any fall of the level of the sea can never have been more than a small fraction of the difference between the polar and equatorial diameters.

Various hypotheses may be framed to account for the manner in which the earth has assumed a spheroidal figure, composed of concentric shells nearly ellipsoidal, increasing in density from the surface to the centre. Thus, had the earth originally been in a fluid state, in consequence of a high degree of heat, the heavier substances must first have subsided towards the centre by virtue of the attraction of gravity, and each different deposit must have arranged itself in an elliptical shape under the action of the centrifugal force. But even a solid mass, homogeneous in its chemical character, may yet vary in density. No substance is incapable of compression, and the vast weight of the strata nearer to the surface, could not fail to condense those beneath. Still, however, the primitive fluidity of the earth appears to be demonstrated by the regularity of the variation of gravity, and the close approach to an elliptical figure in the spheroid itself. Now as there is no trace of any fluid menstruum sufficient for the solution of the vast solid mass of the earth, the solvent must have been heat.

We have seen that in every solid body there are three principal rectangular axes, around which it may turn uniformly, the axis of rotation remaining invariable. This property may also exist in a body covered partly with a fluid such as the earth, and as its existence is possible, we may infer that the axis of the earth

is constant in position in respect to the earth itself. All astronomy is in truth founded upon the assumption of the invariability of this axis, and since the application of the telescope to graduated instruments, has enabled us to observe latitude with precision, no change in that of any place has been observed which cannot be accounted for by errors of observation. The existence of the ocean not only does not render the existence of a principal real axis of rotation impossible, but by its mobility, and in consequence of the resistance its oscillations meet, would bring back the earth to a permanent state of equilibrium, should it be disturbed by extrinsic causes. Hence it may be inferred that those geological systems which imagine a change in the poles of the earth are wholly false.

Neither could the actions of volcanoes, earthquakes, winds, or the currents of the ocean, if not more intense than they have been observed within the historic period of the duration of our globe, affect the axis or the time of rotation. But there is one internal cause that may affect the length of the day, which our author has, from its importance, considered worthy of a special investigation. This cause is the heat of the terrestrial spheroid. We have seen that there is every reason to believe that the earth was originally in a fluid state, under the influence of an elevated temperature. A diminution of temperature would have been attended with a diminution of bulk, and a consequent increase of angular velocity, until the earth should have reached a constant heat, and a constant angular velocity. The circumstances which would determine this state, would be a balance between the heat radiated from the earth, and received from the sun, as explained in a former article in this Journal.* Until this permanent state of temperature were reached, the heat of the globe must have been constantly diminishing, and the rate of diminution would have been greater at the surface than at the centre, and hence the heat ought to increase in the present state of things gradually, from the surface downwards. Observations made in deep mines shew that this is the fact, and Laplace calculates from them, that at a depth of about 3,000 metres, the heat is equivalent to that of boiling water.

A knowledge of the law of the increase of heat within the earth, enables us to calculate the date at which a mean state of temperature and a constant angular velocity were obtained. By such an investigation our author has determined that these were reached at least two thousand years ago, for the variation in the length of the sidereal day has not in that time amounted to $\frac{1}{200}$ th part of a second. The same inference was reached by him, after he had ascertained the cause of the acceleration or secular equation

* See American Quarterly Review, No. V. p. 3. et seq.

of the lunar motion, to be the change of the figure of the earth's orbit. A diminution in the length of the sidereal day would have caused an apparent acceleration of the motion of the moon, but by a reference to the most ancient authentic observations, those made by Hipparchus about two thousand years since, no other acceleration can be detected than what arises from the above cause; hence the inference is direct, that the rotary motion of the earth has not changed, and consequently its bulk and its mean temperature have remained invariable for that long period.

The twelfth book is devoted to the subjects of the attraction and repulsion of spheres, and the laws of the equilibrium and motion of elastic fluids. Newton led the way in these investigations also. The *Principia* contain these two remarkable properties of his law of attraction: 1. That the sphere attracts a point situated without it, as if all its mass were united in the centre; and 2. that a point situated within a spherical shell, or even an elliptical one whose surfaces are similar, is equally attracted on all sides, and acquires no motion from the attractions it experiences. In examining into the action of gravity within the body of the earth, he found that it diminished regularly from the surface to the centre, where it becomes nothing.

Laplace, in the second book of the *Mecanique Celeste*, shows that among all the laws which can be assigned for the decrease of gravity with the increase of the distance, that which is found to exist in nature, is the only one which would admit of the two properties mentioned above, as discovered by Newton. In every case, except that of the inverse ratio of the squares of the distance, the attraction of spherical bodies is modified by their dimensions. But there is still one general theorem, whatever be the law of the decrease of the attraction.

“If we imagine, in the interior of a sphere, a less sphere concentric with it; the attraction of the great sphere upon a point placed on the surface of the less, is to the attraction of the less sphere on a point placed on the surface of the greater, as the greater surface is to the less. Thus, therefore, the actions of each of these spheres upon the entire surface of the other is equal.”

Laplace applies this theorem to the case of gaseous bodies. He supposes the particles of such bodies to be at such a distance from each other, that their mutual attraction is insensible; that these particles have an attraction for heat, which they retain by means of it; and that their mutual repulsion is due to the repulsion of the particles of heat they severally retain. That this hypothesis is consistent with fact, is obvious, particularly from the increase in the bulk of gases by increased temperature. Every particle will be constantly receiving heat from surrounding bodies, and as constantly radiating it; and the radiating power of

a particle of gas, is proportioned to the density of the gas multiplied by the square of its heat. This part of the theory is therefore consistent with the difference observed in the capacities of dense and rare air for heat. From this theory also may be deduced the two general laws of the equilibrium of gases; first, the law of Mariotte, that, at a constant temperature, the pressure is proportioned to the density of the gas; and second, the law discovered experimentally by Dalton and Gay Lussac, that under equal pressures, the same volume of different gases dilates equally for equal increments of temperature.

Our author explains the three different mechanical states in which bodies are found, *solid*, *liquid*, and *gaseous*, by the action of three different forces upon each of their several particles.

1. The mutual attraction between it and the surrounding particles. 2. The attraction between these particles and the heat of the surrounding ones. 3. The repulsion between the heat of the different particles. The two first of these forces tend to bring the particles towards each other, the third tends to separate them. The first of these forces predominates in solids; the increase of heat diminishes its influence, by dilating the body; when this first force becomes insensible, the second predominates, and the body becomes liquid; finally, when, by a new increase of heat, the third force becomes predominant, the liquid suddenly acquires a great expansive force, and dissipates itself in a gaseous form, unless withheld by the strength of the vessel that contains it. In the liquid state, the particles move freely among each other, but their mutual attraction, and the attraction of each for the heat of the others, retain them within a constant space; with the exception of those at the surface, which the heat raises in vapour, until the accumulation of the vapour itself causes a pressure sufficient to prevent any more from rising.

The most important application of the theory of the motion of gaseous fluids, is the case of the motion of sound in the atmosphere. Newton here again led the way, and his theory, although imperfect, is, in the words of our author, "a monument of his genius." By a peculiar course of reasoning, founded upon the circumstances attending the disturbance of a line of aerial particles of indefinite extent, he obtained an expression for the horizontal velocity of sound. This is equal to the square root of the product of twice the height through which a heavy body falls in a second of time, by the altitude of a homogeneous atmosphere. Although many geometers considered this investigation of Newton as obscure, and some of them as inexact, the correctness of it, so far as the circumstances were taken into account, has been recognised by Lagrange and Laplace. But when the velocity obtained by this investigation is compared with that observed in nature, a great discrepancy is found, amounting to as much as a

sixth part of the whole. As the mathematical investigation is no longer liable to question, it follows, that forces not known in the time of Newton, affect the velocity of sound. Newton himself ascribed the difference to heterogeneous particles floating in the atmosphere; such are however now known not to exist; and, indeed, were they present, they must enter into the general vibration, as if they were a part of the atmosphere.

But the progress of physical and chemical science, has exhibited to us a force which is developed by the vibrations of the atmosphere, and which, when developed, augments their force, by increasing the elasticity. When air is compressed, as in the vibrations excited by sound, its temperature is raised, and the rise of temperature increases the expansive force. Laplace first pointed out that this circumstance would probably furnish a true explanation of the difference between experiment, and the theory of Newton. Poisson confirmed the truth of this remark, by showing, that the effect of the extricated heat was adequate to produce the observed acceleration. Finally, Laplace himself returning to the investigation, obtained a theorem, which is as consistent with the observed velocity of sound, as the observations are with each other, and is as follows: viz.—

“The velocity of sound, is equal to the product of the velocity given by the formula of Newton, by the square root of the ratio of the specific heat of air under a constant pressure, to its specific heat under a constant volume.”

The theory of Laplace applied to the atmosphere, gives some curious results. The particles of an atmosphere are kept from leaving the body they surround, by its attraction. But in consequence of the repulsion of their heat, they extend to a considerable distance; this distance, however, is not indefinite, but has a limit which Laplace considers to be beyond the reach of direct calculation, because it depends upon unknown quantities, namely, the weight of each particle of the gas, and the repulsive power of its caloric, as well as upon the law of the decrease of temperature from the surface. Still, however, the existence of such a limit is obvious, and the atmospheres of the earth and other planetary bodies are finite.

It is a favourite hypothesis at the present day, to quit the supposition of light being propagated by emanation from the luminous body, and to consider it as conveyed in the manner of sound, by waves, in a medium surrounding the sun. Should this medium be of the nature of an atmosphere, Laplace has found that the velocity of light would not be a seven-hundredth part of that which is observed. If, then, the hypothesis of undulations be true, the fluid whose waves convey the light, must be compressed in celestial space, by forces far superior to those which retain the atmosphere in its place, or vastly more intense than the

attraction of gravitation. As there is no evidence of any such power existing, we see that the optical theory of undulations is untenable. In spite, however, of this indisputable refutation of Laplace, some French philosophers, and the most eminent of the English at the present day, at whose head stands Young, are anxiously endeavouring to bring this hypothesis into fashion.

The most remarkable property of the formulæ of analytic mechanics, is, that they are applicable to cases which at first sight appear to be entirely unconnected with mechanical laws. Thus, the theory of the refraction of light may be made a consequence of the law of the least action; and we have seen above, how, by the assumption of an hypothesis, consistent with the general properties of matter, if it cannot be shown to be true by direct observation, all the laws of the temperature, the density, and the pressure of gases may be obtained. The same theory enables us to complete the investigation of the motion of sound; and the last instance we have adduced, brings forward these formulæ as the test of two different theories of light. Magnetism and electricity have derived important illustrations from the same source, and we are probably likely to be hereafter more indebted for the improvement of the theories of physical science, to the aid of analytic investigation, than to direct experiment. The laws of chemical attraction, and that of definite proportions, seem also to look for illustration to mechanical science. Laplace had opened the way to this application of mechanical philosophy, in his theory of capillary action, which he treats as due to attractive and repulsive forces, sensible only at imperceptible distances. His present investigations explain the phenomena of gases by the use of similar forces, and render it more than probable, that both heat and light are material emanations.

To forces of this class, he ascribes all terrestrial phenomena, as the celestial are due to the attraction of gravitation, and points out the consideration of them as the principal object that ought to attract the attention of those who cultivate mathematical philosophy. In this path he has himself proceeded, and as he states with success. Such inquiries would have the effect of introducing an entire change in the manner of treating mechanical science, when, instead of proceeding by the aid of the abstract considerations of lines devoid of weight, sometimes flexible, at other times inflexible and inextensible, of bodies perfectly hard, or perfectly elastic, we shall begin with the nature of the forces that act upon the integral molecules of which matter is composed.

Should such investigations be undertaken, they will, like those founded on the theory of gravitation, demand much labour, and the successive efforts of men of genius to bring them to perfection: so that the opening of the twentieth century may, per-

haps, be illustrated by a work on corpuscular mechanics, bearing the same relation to these primary discussions of Laplace, that the *Mecanique Celeste* does to the *Principia* of Newton.

Wherever we have had occasion to speak of the progress made in any of the branches of celestial mechanics, Newton has presented himself to us as the first inquirer, and we have in some cases seen him making vast and even marvellous progress. He was in truth, in this department of knowledge, far in advance of the spirit of the age in which he lived. Astonished at his progress, or envious of his honours, his contemporaries took no part in the mighty labour, and fifty years elapsed between Newton's publication of the *Principia*, and the time of Clairaut, nay, near seventy from the discovery of the law of gravitation, before one important addition was made to the investigations of Newton. Instances of this sort are rare in the history of man. Archimedes is another similar case, but he was even more widely removed from the bounded sphere of his contemporaries, for no addition was made to his discoveries in the theory of mechanics, until the time of Galileo. The last named philosopher was on the other hand one of a brilliant constellation that spread a sudden light over Europe, and left pupils who rapidly extended his discoveries.

But although Newton thus amazed, or excited the envy of his contemporaries, until they either feared, or refused to enter into competition with him, the age was not unprepared for his discoveries; it may even be considered probable that the theory of universal gravitation, and its consequences, could not have remained much longer hidden. We have in another place mentioned how closely Kepler approached the point attained by Newton,* but a single false step prevented him from anticipating Newton in laying the foundation of the mechanics of the heavens. In his introduction to his work *de Stellâ Martis*, as quoted by Laplace in his *Exposition du Systeme du Monde*, he thus expresses his views in relation to gravity:—

“Gravity is no more than a corporeal and mutual affection between bodies

“The direction of the gravity of bodies is not towards the centre of the world, but towards that of the round body of which they form a part; and if the earth were not spherical, heavy bodies placed at different points on its surface would not fall towards the same centre.

“Two isolated bodies would approach each other, like two magnets, passing over, in order to meet, spaces inversely as their masses. If the earth and the moon were not retained, at the distance which separates them, by an animal force or something equivalent, they would fall one upon the other, the moon performing $\frac{2}{3}$ of the distance, and the earth the rest, supposing them to be both equally dense.

“If the earth should cease to attract the waters of the ocean they would be carried towards the moon, in consequence of the attractive force of that body

"This force which reaches to the earth produces there the phenomena of the flux and reflux of the tides."

But these beautiful and correct views are mixed up with much absurdity and hypothesis, from which his contemporaries and successors knew not how to separate them. He himself stopped short in the middle of the career he had entered upon, and even in his latest works appears to have laid as much stress upon fantastic views of the theory of numbers, and the necessity of the universe being subject to the laws of musical harmony, as upon the just and clear views we have cited above.

Other steps had been also made, equally suited as preparations for the investigations of Newton. Descartes had shown how mathematics might be applied to mechanical philosophy, and although his discussions are in themselves useless in consequence of faulty and absurd hypotheses, the example was not the less valuable in pointing out how similar methods might be applied to true theories. The method of maxima and minima and that of tangents invented by Fermat had laid the foundations of the infinitesimal calculus; Wallis, Wren, and Huygens had just discovered the laws of motion; the last named philosopher, had, in his theory of centrifugal force, led the way to the consideration of curvilinear motion; and Leibnitz was on the very eve of the invention of a method similar to that employed by Newton himself in his researches. But one thing was in truth wanting to render all these isolated inventions applicable to the theory of the universe, and this was, that the law which governed the action of the mutual attraction of the planets, should be attained. Newton however does not appear to have known, or at least to have been satisfied with the views of Kepler in relation to the mutual action of gravity, while the law that Kepler had assigned for its decrease is obviously false. The scene of his first inquiry into this subject is usually laid in a garden at Cambridge, but in the letter written by his nephew Conduitt to Fontenelle, the occurrence is said to have happened in the garden of his paternal estate of Woolsthorpe, and in Turner's History of the Town and Soke of Grantham, published in 1806, the apple-tree whose falling fruit gave rise to the inquiry is still said to exist.

The mental process by which he extended the cause, that makes a heavy body fall to the earth's surface, to the circumstances of the moon's motion, is familiar to all, as well as the instantaneous grasp he took of the true law of its action; while the modesty with which he submitted to lay aside this splendid theory, when he found it inconsistent with what was then known of the magnitude of the earth and the distance of the moon, is perhaps as characteristic of a great mind as the discovery itself. The subject was again up taken under more fortunate auspices, after

the publication of Picard's measure of a degree of the meridian, and was developed in the immortal *Principia*.

A synopsis of the extent to which he carried his investigations of the necessary consequences of his theory, although we have already had occasion to state some of them, and shall, in our succeeding article, refer to the rest, will not be out of place. To unite them in one view, will give a better means of estimating the powers of Newton, than the separate discussion of each under its appropriate head.

1. He found ~~these~~ remarkable properties of the mutual attraction of the particles of bodies: that the attractive force of a sphere, or of a spherical shell, is the same as if its mass were collected in its centre; and that a point placed within a spherical or elliptical shell, is equally attracted on all sides.

2. He proved the rotation of the earth must cause it to be flattened at the poles; and he determined the laws of the variation of degrees of a meridian, and of the intensity of gravity, on the hypothesis of the earth's being homogeneous.

3. He saw that the action of the sun and moon on the terrestrial spheroid, must produce an angular motion in its axis of rotation, cause the equinoctial points to fall back, lift up the waters of the ocean, and keep up the oscillations in the fluid mass, which we call the tides.

Of these, he completed the theory of the attraction of spherical bodies, and left nothing further to be done by his successors; so also the problem of the mutual attraction of two bodies causing the elliptic motion of the planets, and the examination of the intensity of the attractive force of the sun, and of planets accompanied by satellites, leave nothing to be desired. But the other subjects are merely presented in outline. His theory of the figure of the planets, is limited to a single case; his solution of the problem of the precession of the equinoxes is imperfect; and he has considered the perturbations of no other body but the moon, one of the most important of which escaped his view entirely. Still, however, he succeeded in establishing, beyond question, the truth of the principle he had discovered. To have detected it, and placed its evidence upon incontrovertible grounds, entitle him to claim a station among philosophers the most exalted. It is the peculiar glory of the Newtonian philosophy, that its extension, is limited by the bounds of the universe alone, and its application, by our power of becoming acquainted with the existence of bodies. If its applications to the solar system have been finally exhausted by Laplace; the phenomena of the double stars, and the probability which daily becomes more strong, that the stars themselves move according to the great law of universal gravitation, open new fields for extending it to the explanation of phenomena, upon a scale exceeding those observed in

our system, as much, or far more, than that system exceeds in magnitude our own earth.

It is this vast extent of application, of which the theory of Newton is susceptible, and its having been the basis of all the discoveries made in celestial mechanics, which entitle his *Principia* to deserved pre-eminence over every uninspired production of human genius.

But in elevated science, works of even the most exalted character soon cease to excite interest, and in this respect stand upon a footing far less favourable, than those which treat of the mere elements, or than the productions of literary genius. In elementary science, however difficult the first formation of the path may have been, when once it is fairly beaten, it becomes the only practicable passage. In literature, the state of the language forms the only limit of the excellence to which a single author of exalted genius may at once attain, unaided by his predecessors, and without the risk of being surpassed by posterity. The first book of Euclid's *Geometry*, is, after more than twenty centuries, superior, in all the essential requisites, to any other treatise; while the poems of Homer maintain a pre-eminent rank among literary productions. It is not so with the researches of this elevated science; the subject is vast as creation itself, and its improvement is due to the labours of successive generations. However perfect a work may be at first, it will, generally speaking, serve only as the point whence to proceed to new discoveries, and thus prepares the way for works that will condemn itself to oblivion. Such cannot be the case with the *Principia*; its value can never be forgotten; it will always be consulted by the curious inquirer, but its use at the present day, in a course of the study of celestial mechanics, is in a great measure at an end.

We have spoken of a letter written by Newton's nephew, and successor in the office of master of the mint, to Fontenelle, when the latter was engaged in preparing his eulogium. It was first published in the year 1806, in a history of the town of Grantham, by Edmund Turner, F. R. S. There are also in it other particulars in respect to the early life of this great man, in a letter from Dr. Stukely to Dr. Mead.

Newton's attention, it appears, was originally drawn to mathematics, in any thing but the legitimate mode of study. Desiring to know the grounds of judicial astrology, at an early age, he erected a figure, and as in this some geometric problems are necessary, he looked for those he wanted in the *Elements* of Euclid, by the aid of the index. Thence,—

“He went at once upon Descartes' *Geometry*, and made himself master of it, by dint of genius and application, without going through the usual steps, or having the assistance of any other person.”

In 1664, being then twenty-two years of age, he obtained a prism, and made the discoveries that form the basis of his theory of optics; about the same time, he seems to have discovered his method of fluxions. In 1665, he first obtained the law of the decrease of the attraction of gravitation, in the detection of which he was probably aided by his previous experiments on light, the decrease of whose intensity follows the same law with that of gravity. Thus he had laid the foundation of all his reputation, at the early age of twenty-three years.

The earnestness with which Conduitt urges upon Fontenelle to take particular notice of the favour Newton enjoyed with Queen Caroline, the wife of George II., is curious. At this distance of time, when the fame of Newton fills the whole world, and when Queen Caroline is better known to us by the space she occupies in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," and the gossiping Reminiscences of Horace Walpole, than by her importance in real history; we can hardly believe, that one who admired and respected his great relative, as cordially as Mr. Conduitt seems to have done, could have thought this to be an addition to his fame.

In the letter from Dr. Stukely, it appears, that when at the grammar school of Grantham, he employed the time devoted by his school-fellows to play, in the construction of machines, among which a clock and a windmill were particularly remembered.

When he was of the age of fourteen, his mother removed him from the school, with the view of making him useful on her farm. Among other tasks, he was often sent in company with a trusty servant to the market at Grantham, to sell corn, and other commodities. But Newton on these occasions either retired until the business was performed, to a garret, in which lay a pile of books, or else stopped upon the road, and amused himself with a book under the shade of a hedge, until the servant returned. The farming business at home was no better attended to.

"Likewise, when at home, if his mother ordered him into the fields, to look after the sheep, the corn, or any other rural employment, it went on very heavily through his manage. His chief delight was to sit under a tree with a book in his hands, or to busy himself with his knife in cutting wood for models of somewhat or other that struck his fancy: or he would get to a stream, and make mill-wheels."

*Such amusements, at such an age, were probably considered as childish; they at least convinced his mother that he was unfit for a farmer; he was returned to the grammar school, and thence transferred in due time to the University of Cambridge. Yet was he not of that abstract turn of mind which disqualifies for the active business of life; he held for many years the important public office of master of the mint, in which he gave the greatest

satisfaction to the government, and where his peculiar aptitude for experimental and mechanical science rendered him of great value on the occasion of a new coinage. In this also he accumulated a fortune, large, when estimated by the value money had at the time of his death.

The letter of Mr. Conduitt, bears testimony to his firm belief of the truth of revelation, and his exemplary performance of Christian duties. So also do many papers which he left on that subject. If, as is alleged, his views did not on all points coincide with those most generally received by the church, this difference of opinion caused no uncharitable feeling towards others, and a like charity should induce us to believe, that when the faith is sincere, and the practice manifests the influence of religion on the heart and life, unintentional errors in doctrine may not be remembered against those who entertain them.

ART. IV.—*A Condensed Geography and History of the Western states, or the Mississippi Valley.* By TIMOTHY FLINT, author of *Recollections of the last ten years in the Mississippi Valley.* *Salve magna parens.* In two volumes. Cincinnati, published by E. H. Flint.

OF the many changes which have occurred in the literary world within the last century, none has been more marked, nor affords better evidence of an improved taste, than that which is evinced in the number and character of the volumes of travels, which are daily issuing from the press. Books of topography and statistics have multiplied without number, and every day brings new materials to the geographer. There is scarcely a corner of the earth so secret, but some erratic foot has pressed its soil, some prying eye detected its peculiarities. It has become almost impossible for a flower to “blush *unseen*”; and the songster of the forest cannot visit his mistress without imminent danger of being waylaid by a travelling poet, caricatured by an errant painter, or stuffed and dried by a greedy naturalist. New facts are continually added to the stores of knowledge, and the most remote inhabitants of our planet seem to be in a fair way to get acquainted with each other, and with all each others concerns.

Scholars were formerly proverbial for their indolence, and devoted those hours which were not spent in study, to useless repining or idle festivity. They were any thing but locomotive. Poverty and gout were classical maladies, and the one was as

often produced by inaction, as the other. Dr. Johnson spent a long life in the British capital, and while his penetrating genius explored every department of literature, it was only in his old age that he was tempted to encounter the toil, and enjoy the pleasures, of a journey. His body was as inert, gross, and sluggish, as his mind was bold, adventurous, and excursive. It is almost incredible to us, with our notions of such matters, that a man of Johnson's inquisitive temperament, should never have had the curiosity to visit the most interesting spots within his native island. The very idea of being confined *to an island* for half a century, would now be insupportable; but to have allowed a whole lifetime to glide away without exploring the beauties, the antiquities, the many curiosities, so profusely scattered within its narrow bounds, argues a taste so different from our own, as to excite our special wonder. If travellers were comparatively few, in times past, the number of those who chose to encounter the peril of criticism, by writing travels, was still smaller. The age of discovery, it is true, was an enterprising age, but it was not the enterprise of scholars. Columbus, and Vespucci, and Cabot, were not bookmakers. Their ambition was to discover countries, and subdue them, not to shine as authors, or to extend the limits of science. Sir Walter Raleigh and Captain Smith, Cook and Anson, and a host of kindred spirits, bore no affinity to our present race of travellers. They were mariners and soldiers, who at the cannon's mouth sought "the bubble of reputation" in distant hemispheres, without having served an apprenticeship in Grub street, and without dreaming of the volumes—nay libraries—that would be written to illustrate their labours.

It is only necessary to glance over the catalogue of any eminent bookseller, in order to observe how differently we order matters in this, our day and generation. Authorship and travelling are all the fashion; the man who has neither written a book nor seen a foreign country is nobody, and he who has done both is not a lion. What was once the business of years has now become the amusement of a few idle hours. No prohibitory duties shackle the fabrications of genius; the bookseller's counter is a free port open to all literary adventurers, and where each enjoys the immunities of the most favoured author. Pirates, it is true, sailing under the neutral flag of criticism, infest the high seas of literature, committing, under a pretended right of search, the most unheard of depredations upon dull sailors, and heavy laden craft. But though the artillery of the critic arrays itself in grim hostility, the spirit of adventure remains unbroken, and every day launches some new bark, either to tremble for its little moment on the wave, or to be wafted triumphantly to fame. Sailors wash the tar from their hands, and write verses in their logbooks: midshipmen indite their own adventures: and

naval commanders, not content with discovering countries and winning battles, steer boldly into the ocean of literature, and become the heralds of their own exploits. Generals and subalterns jostle each other on the field of authorship, and the very rank and file, forgetful of military subordination, edge themselves into the company of their superiors, with a courage which neither criticism nor court martial can daunt. Our authors *by profession*, whose territory is thus invaded, are not backward in making reprisals, and accordingly they may be seen on the quarter-deck, in the tent, and,—*mirabile dictu!*—even in the midst of battle. The atmosphere of a garret is no longer considered conducive to the inspirations of genius,—watergruel and thin port are exploded,—and the man who should prescribe seclusion and meagre diet to a candidate for literary fame, would be set down as a Goth—as in justice he ought to be. An author of these times is neither to be starved nor choked, nor yet does he die of gout or consumption. He is locomotive, convivial, and as garrulous as the ghost of dame Quickly. He has the constitution and the courage of a grenadier, and rivals a stage-driver in the rapidity of his movements. He traverses sea and land in search of adventures; rides on the angry wave or the peaceable dromedary; starves in a tent, or revels at a tavern; eats turtle like an alderman, and drinks wine like a dragoon:

Sits up till midnight with his host,
Talks politics and gives the toast;

and is at all points an enterprising and a jolly cavalier. It would be useless to cite examples in proof of these assertions, as they will occur to every reader: Sir Walter Scott is almost as well known at Paris as in London or Edinburgh, and is soon to traverse Italy; Moore and Jeffrey have swallowed good dinners and bad puns in Philadelphia; Byron died in Greece; Cooper has become a Rover, (not a Red Rover;) and Irving is living in Spain, and may perhaps die in Africa, among the descendants of the “Moors of Granada.” In short, our authors are all travellers, and our travellers, authors. Those who seek the temple of fame, instead of mounting Pegasus, take their passage in a steamboat. Every body travels; kings, lords, and commons; merchants and mechanics; bards and barbers; lawyers, doctors, and the right reverend fathers of the church—and of the thousand volumes annually produced by their joint and several labours, every year brings us one or two good ones.

If we were disposed to be as excursive as those of whom we treat, we might enumerate a host of travelling anomalies, whose researches have instructed, or whose oddities have amused us. We might discourse of Mr. Owen and Captain Symmes, Red Jacket, and Miss Wright, the two latter of whom have exhibited

the curious spectacles, of an American savage lecturing to white men, and a maiden lady inveighing against marriage. But we have said enough to shew how much we have improved upon the narrow notions and queer ways of our predecessors, and to prove that our literati are not to be judged by the same rules which are applied to theirs. College halls and attic stories are not now the only places to look for wit and wisdom; the genius of our best novelist was nursed upon the ocean, the bar of a western circuit has furnished our most successful general, and the prime orator of our nation was reared in the back-woods. Our readers therefore will not be astonished when we tell them that the best and most compendious description of the Western Country, which our press has produced, is from the pen of a New England clergyman, and that his baptismal name is—Timothy. The London Quarterly considered, in the case of Dr. Dwight, that the fact of his bearing that homely appellation, was sufficient to condemn an elaborate body of theology, to the preparation of which that eminent divine had devoted the best years of a laborious life; and we know not whether its second appearance on an American titlepage, will meet with any better reception. But we hope that when due allowance is made for the innovating spirit of the times, our erudite brethren across the water will indulge us in the whim of christening our children according to our own taste, and even placing these old fashioned and scriptural names on our titlepages.

Our author left the bosom of a quiet Presbyterian congregation in New England, and emigrated with a large family, to the west. Embarking on the Ohio for Pittsburg, he followed the meanders of that river through its whole course, and then descended the Mississippi to St. Louis. Here he remained engaged in the duties of his profession for some time, when he removed to St. Charles on the Missouri. After residing a year or two at this place he descended the river to New Orleans;—then he established an academy at Rapide, Louisiana, and finally settled at Cincinnati. Our space will not allow us to pursue him through the wanderings of ten eventful years, in the course of which he visited all the western states and territories, and resided in several of them. We refer the reader to the author's "Recollections of Ten Years' Residence in the Western Country," a work of strict veracity, but which nevertheless possesses all the interest of a romance. Mr. Flint's descriptions of scenery have been generally admired as highly picturesque and striking; his pictures of western men and manners are sketched with a graphic fidelity; and his accounts of his own adventures, and of the accidents which befell his family in the wilderness, some of which are of a truly pathetic character, are told with a simplicity and earnestness which come directly to the heart of the reader. To judge of Mr. Flint by his writings we should

say he would never grow old ; nature to his eye is always beautiful and glowing ; and though surrounded with difficulties and embarrassments which would have broken down a less buoyant spirit, he has always written with the fervour and sprightliness of a young poet.

The more matured and deliberate result of ten years' travel and observation, is the work, whose title is placed at the head of this article. We do not think the title a happy one, as the work contains a good deal of matter which is not strictly historical, and is deficient in some of the features of a geography ; yet it is perhaps as good a one as could have been adopted for such a book, and the book itself as well digested as the materials would allow. An accurate and complete geography of the western country cannot yet be written. Much of the information required for such a work can only be gathered by personal observation, and a lifetime would be expended in collecting materials by this laborious process. Although the whole country has been explored, the portions of it which have been described are comparatively small, and those descriptions have seldom been characterized by scientific accuracy. The journals, tours, letters, and other works descriptive of that country, which have reached us, have generally been of a light and popular character ; and however amusing or instructive they may be, they do not embrace the details required by the geographer. Such writers do not stop to measure heights and distances, to analyze minerals, to sound watercourses, and trace out boundary lines. They speak of the people as they find them, and the climate as it affects themselves ; and after all, they profess to give opinions, rather than facts. With regard to large portions of the country, the institutions are so new, and the artificial divisions so recent, that the facts in relation even to these prominent features are not yet on record ; and the changes which are continually operating throughout the whole region, are so great, and so rapid, that little reliance is to be placed upon any information which is not of recent origin. The constitutions and laws of the new states, are frequently altered and remodelled, before any definite system is finally adopted, and although a professional eye will easily discover a few strong characteristic traits, which universally prevail, yet the details of the existing statutory law, are sometimes not to be readily gathered even from the statute book.

In the preceding remarks we must be understood as referring to those details which belong to the province of geography, and without which, a work, however valuable in other respects, cannot fairly be entitled to that name. Yet these details are precisely such as are least generally read, and the absence of which would most cheerfully be excused, if it was not specially "nominated in the bond," that they should be forthcoming. Few readers

desire to learn the exact limits of a county in Ohio, the precise location of a seat of justice in Illinois, or the particular character of a lead mine in Missouri—yet these are geographical facts. Throwing them aside as unimportant, or putting them out of the question as not attainable, the remainder of this department of Mr. Flint's work is entitled to no common share of praise.

The introductory part of this work is that which perhaps will be read with most interest, as it embraces popular topics, and affords full scope to the peculiar talents of the author. In tracing out the natural divisions of the country, and developing its prominent features, he exhibits great power and felicity of description. Whenever he shakes off the trammels of the mere geographer, and gets back to his *recollections*, when he lays aside the *compiler*, and assumes the *author*, he becomes eloquent and graphic.

The first volume begins with the "General features of the Mississippi valley: Face of the Country; Mountains; Minerals;" arranged under distinct heads. The divisions of these subjects is natural and comprehensive, and the execution masterly. Instead of wearying the reader with technical details of the topography of each petty district, the author classes his subject under a few general heads, which comprise all the information desired. The plan is judicious; for, although the western country embraces every variety of soil and surface, there is no country whose features are more strongly marked with characteristic traits. The mountains—the prairies—the barrens—the river bottoms—the timbered uplands—the mineral districts, each include vast regions, and have each a distinctive character. Within each district the character of the country is remarkably uniform—so much so, that a person conversant with the subject, will often, by the mere inspection of a map, form a tolerable idea of the description of a district which he has not seen. The author traces the magnificent outline of this immense valley, with the bold hand of one who is intimately acquainted with all its features. Bounded by the Alleghanies on the one side, and the Rocky Mountains on the other, the mind is filled with wonder in the contemplation of its immensity. It is the largest valley in the world. The whole is drained by the Mississippi, some of whose tributaries roll for a thousand miles through forests yet unexplored, before they mingle their waters with those of the mighty stream.—

"Tracing the distance by the meanders of the rivers, from Olean point on the Allegheny, to the highest point of boat navigation on the Missouri, the distance will be nearly *five thousand* miles. From the highest point of boatable waters on the Tennessee, to the highest point to which boats can ascend on the Arkansas and Red rivers, the distance by the same measure is at least *three thousand* miles. In short, examined in any of its dimensions, this valley presents to us the extent of a continent. We need only examine this distance, as laid down

on the graphic scale, to which we have alluded, to be struck with the prodigious extent of comparative plain, between the Alleghenies and the Rocky mountains.

"Most other large and long rivers, rise and fall into the sea nearly in the same climate. We recollect no other river but the Mississippi, that rises in frozen regions, and far to the north, and continues to bend its course to the south, still acquiring the temperature of more genial climates, until it discharges its waters into the sea, in the region of the olive, the fig, and the sugar-cane. From this singular configuration of the valley, results, as we shall have occasion to observe, its great diversity of climate.

"There is another singular circumstance in the physical character of this valley. The great ranges of mountains that bound it, on its eastern and western extremities, stretch along, comparatively, near their respective oceans. For instance, no one of the Atlantic rivers that rises in the Alleghenies, has any thing like so long a course as the Ohio or the Tennessee, although neither of these rivers, in reaching their parent channel, has traversed half the width of the Mississippi valley."

Climate.—The author's views on this subject, accord with those of other intelligent men, but are generally of a speculative character. They are not the result of scientific investigation, or actual experiment. Yet, they are valuable as far as they go, as the opinions of an acute observer, founded upon long experience. The frame of an author may be readily supposed to be sufficiently sensitive, but we should not admit its infallibility as a thermometer.

Diseases.—To this chapter we have the same objection to make, as to the one preceding it. It is sensible, and well written, but altogether speculative. The opinions are popular, and such as well-informed men in the west generally hold, except that too much is conceded to the reputed unhealthiness of the country. The belief of the sickness of this climate, which was once so general, is now exploded, and later experience has shown that it is positively congenial to the human constitution, in a more than ordinary degree. That the natural increase of the population is greater than in most other countries, that man attains here his largest stature, and that human life reaches its utmost duration, are positions which we think will soon be established, in relation to the greatest portion of this valley. Every word that Mr. Flint says on this subject is strictly true, but his remarks are true in our opinion as *exceptions*, rather than as general facts; they are correct as applicable to *sickly places*, but we believe that such spots are comparatively few and small. When all the necessary allowances shall have been made for the privations and hardships endured by emigrants, for the effects produced by the change of climate and food, and for the various causes of disease attributed to the mode of life, rather than to the climate, we have no question that this country will be ranked among the most salubrious, and that the prairies of the west, will, in a few years, become to the continent of America, what the south of France is to Europe. The French settlers in Illinois, increased

rapidly, and, throughout a period of near century, enjoyed almost uninterrupted health. They found here a climate not greatly differing from their own; they were well clad, had good houses, and lived abstemiously. The Americans, who settled around them and among them, were uniformly sickly; and after their ingress, the "American bottom" acquired the character, which it still retains, of being unhealthy. The American settlers differed from the French in every respect. It would be easy to multiply examples of this kind, if the limits of this paper did not oblige us to pass on to other topics.

Trees and Shrubs.—This subject is treated in the author's best style, and is full of interest; for Mr. Flint is a genuine lover of nature. He has had the good sense not to dwell on this topic "as a professed naturalist," "but only to take popular views of the subject, which, after all, are best understood, most interesting, and most useful." It belongs to the foppery of science, to mock our expectations by an array of learned barbarisms, understood only by the initiated; and we are often, while thus deluded with technical phrases, tempted to wonder with the honest tar, "why they can't call a horse, a horse." We are all familiar with the willow, the poplar, and the oak, but few of us would know them under a Linnæan name; nor can we be expected to do so, when botanists themselves have adopted various nomenclatures.

The west is the paradise of trees and shrubs; the abundance and richness of the vegetation are a theme of standing remark. The soil is so fertile, and the climate so congenial to vegetable life, that every indigenous production attains its greatest size, and assumes the richest and deepest colours. Every admirer of nature who has travelled in the west, has remarked the vividness of the landscapes, the intenseness of the verdure, the gaudiness of the flowers, the depth or the brilliancy of every tint of the forest and the prairie. Mr. Flint is at home among these beautiful scenes, and we must let him speak of them. The following extract is from his description of the cypress-tree:—

"These noble trees rear their straight column from a large cone-shaped buttress, whose circumference at the ground, is, perhaps, three times that of the regular shaft of the tree. This cone rises from six to ten feet, with a regular and sharp taper, and from the apex of the cone towers the perpendicular column, with little taper, after it has left the cone, from sixty to eighty feet clear shaft. Very near its top, it begins to throw out multitudes of horizontal branches, which interlace with those of the adjoining trees, and when bare of leaves have an air of desolation and death, more easily felt than described. In the season of vegetation, the leaves are short, fine, and of a verdure so deep, as almost to seem brown, giving an indescribable air of funereal solemnity to this singular tree. A cypress forest, when viewed from the adjacent hills, with its numberless interlaced arms, covered with this brown foliage, has the aspect of a scaffolding of verdure in the air. It grows, too, in deep and sickly swamps, the haunts of fever, mosquitoes, moccasin snakes, alligators, and all loathsome and ferocious animals, that congregate far from the abodes of man, and seem to make common

cause with nature against him. The cypress loves the deepest, most gloomy, inaccessible, and inundated swamps; and south of 33° , is generally found covered with sable festoons of long moss, hanging, as it were, a shroud of mourning wreaths almost to the ground. It seems to flourish best where the water covers the roots for half the year. When it rises from eight or ten feet water of the overflow of the rivers, the apex of its buttress is just on a level with the surface of the water. It is then, in many places, that they cut it. The negroes surround the tree in periognes, and thus get at the tree, above the huge hard buttress, and fell it with comparative ease."

In the following description, we have a rival for the celebrated walnut of the lakes, which has taken a trip to England:—

"The sycamore is the king of the western forests. It flourishes alike in every part of the valley that we have seen. It is the largest tree of our woods, and rises in the most graceful forms, with vast, spreading, lateral branches, covered with a bark of a *brilliant white*. These hundred white arms of the sycamore, interlacing with the branches of the other forest trees, in the rich alluvions, where it delights to grow, adds one of the distinguishing traits of grandeur and beauty to the forest. A tree of this kind, near Marietta, measured fifteen feet and a half in diameter. We have seen one on the Big Miami, which we thought still larger. Judge Tucker of Missouri, cut off a section of the hollow trunk of a sycamore, applied a roof to it, and fitted it up for a study."

The cotton-wood, we are told, is of the poplar class, "and sometimes vies with the sycamore itself for predominance in size and grandeur."

"On the sand-bars and islands of the rivers, wherever the alluvial earth begins to deposit, there springs up a growth of cotton-wood, the young trees standing so thick, as to render it difficult for a bird to fly among them, and having to a person passing at a little distance on the river, a singular appearance of regularity, as though they had been put out to ornament a pleasure-ground."

The far-famed magnolia, our author thinks has been overrated. "The fragrance is indeed powerful, but, to us, sickly and offensive." In point of beauty, he gives the preference to the catalpa, the china-tree, and the bow-wood, all of which ornament this region of trees and flowers. We are sorry that we cannot follow him through the list which contains the names of several other trees peculiar to that region, some of which are said to be as striking in their appearance as those we have alluded to. The wild fruits are so numerous and so luscious, that the very description of them is enough to provoke appetite. Of the grape, we are told,—

"Nothing is so familiar to the eye of a traveller in this country, as soon as he enters on the richer lands, as to see vines, often of a prodigious size, that are perpendicularly attached at the top to branches, sixty or eighty feet from the ground, and at a great lateral distance from the trunk of the tree. It is a standing puzzle to a young man, first brought into these woods, to task his ingenuity, by putting him to account for the manner, in which a vine, perhaps nearly of the size of the human body, has been able to rear itself to such a height. There can be however no doubt, that the vine in this case is coeval with the tree; that the tree as it grew reared the vine; and that the vine receded from the trunk, with the projection of the lateral branch, until in the lapse of time this singular appearance is presented."

The cane, the gooseberry, the privet, and the hazle, are described as being indigenous to this valley.

The chapter on *Herbs, Grasses, and Flowering Plants*, contains accounts of some productions not generally known.

We pass over some thirty or forty pages on *Animals*, as these have been treated of more fully by other writers.

Rivers.—Under this head we have a long and very interesting account of the Mississippi river—the best, perhaps, that has ever been written.—

“It commences in many branches, that rise, for the most part, in wild rice lakes; but it traverses no great distance before it has become a broad stream. Sometimes in its beginnings it moves a wide expanse of waters, with a current scarcely perceptible, along a marshy bed. At others, its fishes are seen darting over a white sand, in waters almost as transparent as air. At other times, it is compressed to a narrow and rapid current, between ancient and hoary limestone bluffs. Having acquired, in a length of course following its meanders, of three hundred miles, a width of half a mile, and having formed its distinctive character, it precipitates its waters down the falls of St. Anthony. Thence it glides alternately through beautiful meadows and deep forests, swelling, in its advancing march, with the tribute of an hundred streams. In its progress, it receives a tributary, which of itself has a course of a thousand leagues. Thence it rolls with its accumulated, turbid, and sweeping mass of waters, through continued forests, only broken here and there by the axe, in lonely grandeur to the sea. No thinking mind can contemplate this mighty and resistless wave, sweeping in its proud course from point to point, curving round its bends, through the dark forests, without a feeling of sublimity. The hundred shores, laved by its waters; the long course of its tributaries, some of which are already the abodes of cultivation, and others pursuing an immense course, without a solitary dwelling of civilized man being seen on their banks; the numerous tribes of savages that now roam on its borders; the affecting and imperishable traces of generations that are gone, leaving no other memorial of their existence, or materials for their history, than their tombs, which rise at frequent intervals along its banks; the dim, but glorious anticipations of the future;—these are subjects of contemplation that cannot but associate themselves with the view of this river.”

Our author pursues the Mississippi throughout its whole course, describing particularly all its peculiarities, which are numerous, tracing out the character of its shores, and noticing all its important tributaries. As this river forms the chief feature of the whole region, it deserves to have been thus elaborately sketched; and Mr. Flint has mingled, with great fidelity of detail, some masterly delineations of scenery.

Aborigines.—The character of the Indian tribes, and the policy pursued towards them by the American government, are subjects about which little is known even in our own country. That they are a distinct race, with a mental and physical organization entirely different from the European family, is now no longer doubtful; but few have studied their habits sufficiently to inform us in what those specific differences consist. We do not complain of any lack of comments on the Indian character, for we have had these in abundance; but few of these disquisitions have been the result of personal observation, or have been characterized by a spirit of calm investigation. Mr. Flint's views are such as we had a right to expect from a Christian minister, and an American citizen; they are liberal, philosophical, and just:

distinguished as well by their acuteness and good sense, as by a spirit of benevolence towards that unhappy race. Yet he is unwilling, in his sympathy for the aborigines, to charge their extinction as a crime upon his countrymen.—

“It has been the favourite theme of eloquence,” he says, “and the readiest passport to estimation for philanthropy and benevolence, to bring up the guilt of having destroyed the past race of this people, and of having possessed ourselves of their lands. One would think it had been discovered, that the population, the improvement, and the social happiness of our great political edifice, ought never to have been erected in place of these habitations of cruelty. Let us pay them. Let us practice forbearance to the end. Let us send them instruction, Christianity, and the arts. They are not the less objects of our pity, and of our untiring benevolence, because the causes of their decay and extinction are found in their own nature, and the unchangeable order of things. It is unchangeable, as the laws of nature that savages should give place to civilized men, possessed of the strength, spirit, and improvement of the social compact. We conceive that it is not altogether owing either to the proximity of the whites, to ardent spirits, or to small-pox, that the Indian tribes are constantly diminishing. The ten thousand mounds in this valley, the rude memorials of an immensely numerous former population, but to our view no more civilized than the present races, are proofs that the country was depopulated when the white men first became acquainted with it. If we can inter nothing else from the mounds, we clearly inter that this country once had its millions. We dig up our pottery when we make our cornfields. We dig up their bones when we level these mounds. They were beyond doubt a very rude people, and very laborious. Where are they now? their places are occupied by a race, who were decreasing in their turn when our fathers first saw the country.

“It is out of all question, that ages before they had seen white men, they were divided as now into an hundred petty tribes, engaged, as, but for the interference of our government, they would now be, in endless and exterminating wars, in which they dashed infants into the flames, drank the warm blood of their victim, or danced and yelled round the stake, where he was consuming in the fire.

“Our government is exerting a constant effort to hold the tribes leashed in, and to prevent them from destroying one another. Had it been our policy to exterminate the race, as it has been taxed, nothing more would have been necessary than to unkenel the savages, excite their jealousies, and stir up their revenge, and let them destroy each other. But on the contrary it seems to have been the guiding maxim of the government, to do all practicable good, and ward off all possible evil from this devoted and unhappy race.”

Under the head of “*National Character*” (of the western people) we find the following remarks, which are quite characteristic and true.

“But young as the country is, variously constituted and combined as are the elements of its population, there is already marked, and it is every year more fully developed, a distinctive character of the western people. A traveller from the Atlantic cities, and used only to their manners, descending the Ohio and the Mississippi in a steamboat of the larger class, will find on board, what may be considered fair samples of all classes in our country, except the farmers. * * The manners so ascertained, will strike such a traveller as we have supposed with as much of novelty, distinctness, and we may add, if he be not bigoted and fastidious, with as much pleasure, saving the language, as though he had visited a country beyond the seas. The dialect is different. The enunciation is different. The peculiar and proverbial colloquy is different. The figures and illustrations used in common parlance, are strikingly different. We regret, that fidelity to our picture, that frankness and truth, compel us to admit that the frequency of profanity and strange curses, is ordinarily an unpleasant element in the conversation. The speaking is more rapid. The manner has more the appearance of

earnestness and abruptness. The common comparisons and analogies are drawn from different views and relations of things. Of course he is every moment reminded, that he is a stranger among a people, whose modes of existence and ways of thinking are of a widely different character from those in the midst of which he was reared. Although we have so often been described to this traveller, as back-woodsmen, gougers, ruffians, demi-savages, a repulsive mixture, in the slang phrase, of the "horse and alligator," we confidently hazard the opinion, that when a little accustomed to the manners of the better class of people among us, he will institute a comparison between our people and his own, not unfavourable to us. There is evidently more ease and frankness, more readiness to meet a wish to form an acquaintance, sufficient tact when to advance, and how far, and where to pause in this effort, less holding back, less distrust, less feeling as if the address of a stranger were an insult, or a degradation. There is inculcated and practised on board the steamboats, a courtesy to ladies, which is delightful in its proper extent; but which is here apt to overstep the modesty of nature, in the affection of a chivalrous deference, which would be considered misplaced or ridiculous, on the Atlantic shores."

The *historical* portion of this work is better in point of matter, than of style; the materials are rich, but are worked up with too little care. The history of the western country is full of interest. The French who first explored it, were kindly received by the aborigines, and were careful to maintain with the latter, throughout an intercourse of many years' standing, those amicable relations, which were at first established with great frankness on both sides. They were thus enabled to penetrate far into the country, to witness its untamed luxuriance, and to see its inhabitants in their native savageness. They saw the Indian character in a more amiable light, than it has ever developed to any other people, because they are almost the only people who have been admitted without suspicion to the fireside and the altar of the savage. When La Harpe first visited the Indians of Arkansas, they gave him a great feast which lasted three days, during which every act of savage hospitality was exerted to do honour to their guest.

"When he retired to repose, several warriors attended with eagle feathers to drive away the flies and mosquitoes, and to fan him through the night. They still continued their harangues, dances, and songs by day; casting from time to time buffalo robes at his feet. They made him presents of rock salt, corn-bread, tobacco, and a rock of a beautiful blue and red colour, to which they added a young slave, eight years old. They regretted they had not received his visit one moon earlier; declaring they could then have given him seventeen slaves, instead of this one; but averred that they had eaten them all at a public festival."

La Salle, for whom Father Hennepin claims the honour of the discovery of the Mississippi, was among the first and the most intrepid of these explorators. He passed from Canada, by the Lakes and the Mississippi, to the Gulf of Mexico, and returned by nearly the same route. His company consisted of Father Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan friar, and thirty-four men. After a series of adventures, some of which are sufficiently romantic, and after passing unharmed through a thousand dangers, this brave man was assassinated in the wilderness by his own followers. Our

author, however, awards to Marquette and Joliette, two French missionaries from Canada, the honour of being considered the first discoverers of the Mississippi. The death of Father Marquette has a melancholy interest, and is highly characteristic of the times.

"Previous to his discovery of the Mississippi, he had been a laborious and faithful missionary in Canada. After that discovery he was still prosecuting his travels with great ardour. On his way from Chicago to Michilimackinack he entered a river, which bore his name. He requested his followers to land, intimating that he had a presentiment that he should end his days there. He landed, erected an altar, said mass, and retired a little distance, as he said, to offer thanks to God; and requested that he might be left alone for half an hour. When they returned, he had expired. The place is not known, where Marquette is interred."

The history of the colonies established in Louisiana, is highly interesting, although but little, comparatively speaking, has yet been gleaned, of the many vestiges which undoubtedly remain of the ancient French settlers. They were a very primitive people—amiable in their manners, but not distinguished for literature, or enterprise. Of course they left little on record; and but few traces remain of their modes of existence, except such as are impressed on the character of their descendants, and the institutions of the country. They had few wars and few lawsuits. Their priests and their military commanders ruled them, with an easy rein, leaving but little room for the interference of the civil authority. They are remarkable for having existed nearly a century in the wilderness, with little protection from the mother country, and almost without molestation from the savage tribes. With the latter they often intermarried; and their unambitious policy, and inoffensive lives, offered no cause of jealousy. They were agreeable and convenient neighbours; yielding to the aborigines all the courtesies of social intercourse, and conceding to them that equality of standing, without which such an intercourse cannot be sincere or durable, and carrying on with them a traffic which was mutually beneficial. They were just to the Indians, and kind to each other, and were altogether a very estimable and happy people. Their settlements were few and widely separated, leaving immense regions unoccupied, perhaps unexplored, to be discovered and subdued by our more enterprising countrymen. Some of their priests have left manuscripts, containing accounts of the country, and personal adventures, and we are surprised that more pains have not been taken to collect and preserve them. They are beginning to excite attention, and we have no doubt will at some future day be highly prized by the American scholar.

The settlement of the western country by the citizens of the Atlantic states, presents another attractive point in the history of that region, and is the more so, as it affords some of the most

vivid illustrations of our national character. Of our public functionaries, Washington was the first to point out the importance of this country; but humbler individuals explored it more extensively. Boon, and others of a similar character, crossed the mountains singly, or in small parties, wandering westwardly from day to day, and from week to week, attracted by the fertility of the soil, the richness of the forest, and the abundance of game, until they reached the shores of the Ohio. Surrounded by dangers, by rapacious beasts, and hostile Indians—travelling with stealthy footsteps by day, and hiding at night—yet they lingered in this paradise of hunters, as if spell-bound, and returned only to excite others to follow them into the wilderness, by the almost incredible accounts of their own adventures. The pioneers are a people peculiar to our country. They live of choice in the forest, and are unwilling to submit to the restraints of society. When others follow and settle around them, they still recede, keeping ever in advance of the permanent population. They are brave, patient of fatigue, and capable of enduring wonderful hardships. They lodge in the open air, and live for whole days without food, without any apparent inconvenience. Their cabins afford but little protection from the climate, and all their domestic arrangements show them to be a migrating people, unaccustomed to provide for any day beyond that which is passing, or to foresee any emergency more pressing than that which is present. They are honest, and very generous. Crimes of magnitude seldom occur among them; and it is a singular fact, that at those remote points, where the law is almost unknown, travellers enjoy a degree of security which is scarcely known in any other part of the world. Murders sometimes take place; for men will quarrel in every country, and choice spirits will cut each other's throats, all the world over—but a back-woodsman disdains a petty felony. They have a fine easy independence of feeling and manner, which is very attractive. There is nothing of affectation in it, nor is it at all speculative. It is not, as foreigners who have never seen them have assumed, the insolence of low breeding, or the pride of aping their superiors in wealth or education. It is nature, unaccustomed to any distinctions among men, but such as arise from the different grades of intellect and manhood. It is immaterial whether his guest be high or low, the hospitality of the back-woodsman is the same, and is regulated by the simple rule of according to others that which under similar circumstances he would expect to receive. Like the uncivilized races, they are indolent, improvident, and careless of the comforts of life; sagacious, and fertile of invention, and capable, when excited, of powerful bodily exertions.

We have not room to point out the whole process of emigration and settlement, the devices to which the first inhabitants resorted for protection and subsistence, or the final results of their enterprise. The whole land was overrun with hunters, who dwelt in camps, or in temporary cabins, and whose herds, roaming at large, became a kind of joint stock, in which the Indian and the wolf often claimed more than an equal dividend. To these succeeded a race of farmers, who, while they introduced the industry, the arts, and the institutions of social life, imbibed much of the hard hood, and many of the customs of their predecessors.

The erection of new states, is a subject worthy the attention of the politician. Ours is the only country in which the adoption of forms of government has resulted from the deliberate choice of the people. The inhabitants of a newly populated region, meet and form a constitution, acquire and exercise the rights of sovereignty, as quietly as the people of a great city hold a town meeting, or found a charity. The evidence which such a fact affords, of the intelligence and well-regulated feelings of our countrymen, is highly gratifying, as it gives renewed proof of the excellence and permanency of the republican system. The friends of civil liberty cannot but rejoice at the successful results of these experiments, tried as they have been in the wilderness, and under the most disadvantageous circumstances; for, if the elements of discord exist in our country at all, we should naturally look for them in new settlements, where people of opposing politics and various opinions, assemble from every quarter, and enjoy an equal voice in public affairs.

We shall not touch upon the wars in which our tramontane brethren have exercised their prowess, as these, perhaps, are better known than other portions of their history. Those who wish to read the exploits of Wayne, and Clark, Shelby, Harrison, and Jackson, must refer to Mr. Flint's book, where they may, "sup full of horrors."

The second part of this work, comprises the geography of each separate state. Our opinion of this branch of the subject, may be inferred from what we have said above. We think the materials of such a work are defective; but so far as Mr. Flint's own observation has extended, so far as he has had access to the observations of others, so far, in short, as the truth *could* be elicited by patient industry, his statements are entitled to the fullest credit.

Upon the whole, these volumes are rich in matter of the highest interest. The author has collected a mass of valuable information, and deserves great credit for his patience of research. There are portions of this work which have all the interest of a

romance. We find here delineations of scenery so strikingly beautiful, and sketches of human character so novel, yet so perfectly true to nature, that we may read them more than once with increased delight. Mr. Flint's pictures have the freshness and beauty of originals, and they generally exhibit scenes which attract by their novelty, as much as by their truth. We should be glad to be able to bestow the same praise upon his general style.

his, however, we cannot do. His work is full of discrepancies. From elevation and purity of diction, he often passes, by the most abrupt transition, to a careless and loose phraseology. His definitions, which are often strong, concise, and neat, are sometimes obscure or vague. Our greatest objection, however, to the style of this writer, arises from his free use of colloquial idioms. He sometimes uses phrases which are not grammatical, and sometimes permits himself to indulge in a barbarous slang, which is unpardonable in polite writing. We notice this the more particularly, because Mr. Flint is a man of classical education, an erudite scholar, who need only consult his own taste and judgment to correct this fault. He is a voluminous writer, and must have his influence upon others. His example cannot fail to be contagious; and proud as we feel of the rising excellence of our national literature, we stand bound to protect it from the dangerous contact of bad models. We are not to be told, that in a work like that before us, we must not look for elegance of diction. We expect *purity* of language in every work which comes from the pen of a scholar.

ART. V. *Chancery Cases argued and determined in the Court of Appeals of South Carolina from January 1825 to May 1826, both inclusive.* By D. J. M'CORD, *State Reporter*. Vol. I. 8vo. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Carey. pp. 614.

THE first thing that strikes us on opening this book, is, that it is better printed, on better paper, that it is better bound, and has altogether, a more gentlemanly and respectable appearance than any book of reports of cases in the courts of the state of South Carolina hitherto published; nor after diligent perusal do we hesitate to say, that its internal character corresponds with its favourable appearance. But of this, more by and by. Among two hundred volumes, and upwards, of reports of cases decided in the courts of the several states, and the United States, not more than about a

dozen volumes are dedicated to the chancery decisions. Notwithstanding our predilection for British precedents, a court of chancery has not been adopted in some of our states; as in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, where equity powers to a certain extent are exercised by the courts of common law. In the reports of most of the other states, the chancery cases and the law cases are so intermingled in the same volume, that it deters a chancery lawyer from hunting them out, and separating them from the herd of other reported cases. The chancery jurisdiction exercised by our federal judiciary might furnish much valuable matter, but the equity cases are not yet separated from the law decisions, and both relate, for the most part, to questions not likely to be of general occurrence.

It is not to be concealed, that the court of chancery is not a favourite with the people of the United States, any more than it is in England. It must however be acknowledged, that by a series of bench legislations, and usurpations, almost unaided by statutory enactments, and submitted to rather than sanctioned, a set of principles has been established by the chancellors of that country and of this, more reasonable, more consonant to the principles of natural justice, more applicable to the circumstances of civilized society, than could have been hoped for, from the fettered and trammelled exertions of our common law judges, unaided by the less restrained good sense of the other court. The general jurisprudence of the country, has been greatly benefited by chancery decisions; and many defects of our very defective legal system, have been supplied by the interpositions from time to time of the chancellors. If ever the very desirable project of a code of legal ethics should be put in execution, either by individual enterprise, or under the sanction of public encouragement, the chancery decisions will form the most beautiful feature of the work.

But these advantages have been dearly purchased. The course of litigation has been rendered by the chancery courts more difficult and complicated; the duration of lawsuits has been extended, till in cases innumerable, it has amounted to nothing less than a vexatious denial of justice; while the utter impossibility of discriminating accurately between the two jurisdictions, and the intolerable expense of this complicated system, have rendered it questionable among many well meaning persons, whether any balance of benefit has arisen to the community from the law as it stands; and whether the inartificial but speedier and cheaper system of arbitration, with all its defects, be not upon the whole preferable. It is not yet so bad in this country as it is in England: partly owing to our wise rejection of the feudal aristocracy which prevails among that people. and partly to the greater sim-

plicity of our laws as to marriage provisions and family settlements; so that the separate business of a *conveyancer*, requiring in England an intimate knowledge of the abstruse and involved questions, and the nice, not to say evanescent distinctions which occupy the pages of law writers on Uses &c. from Bacon to Fearn, and a large portion of the chancery reports from Vernon and Vesey senior through the whole series down to the continuators of Vesey junior, is hardly to be considered as an indispensable branch of the profession in the United States.

We do not yet feel the full effects of chancery, nor of the poor laws in this country; but we are in the high road of experiencing the benefits, such as they are, both of the one system and the other, and should look about us in time.

Equity was used by the ancients in two senses: 1st, that equity or justice which is presumed to be the basis of all general rules, or enacted law; and 2d, that equity which is used in mitigation of strict law, which occasionally, from the unbending nature of its provisions, is apt to work injustice.

In this latter and technical sense, it was not unknown to the Greeks—*το ΑΚΡΙΒΟΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ, το ΕΠΙΕΙΚΕΣ*. So Aristotle—"that part of unwritten law which is called equity—*το ΕΠΙΕΙΚΕΣ*, is a species of justice, distinct from what is written. And this must happen either against the design and intention of the lawgiver, or with his consent. In the former case, when several particular facts must escape his knowledge; in the other when he may be apprized of them indeed, but by reason of their variety he is not willing to recite them. For if a case admits of an infinite variety of circumstances, and a law must be made, that law must be conceived in general terms." Dr. Taylor's Civ. Law, 92. Equity thus circumstanced, Aristotle (5 Ethic. 14, Dr. Taylor's Elem. of the Civ. Law, 93) calls *Επανορθωμα της νομικης δικαιοσ*, correctio juris legitimi.

It is probable that the Roman doctrine of equity was borrowed from Greece, as it must have been known to the Committee of Ten (Dig. 1. 2. 2. 4.) sent from Rome, to inquire into the laws of Greece. The Romans clearly distinguished between law and equity. *Nulla JURIS RATIO aut EQUITATIS BENIGNITAS patitur, ut quæ salubriter pro utilitate hominum introducuntur, ea nos duriorè interpretatione contra ipsorum commodum producamus ad severitatem*. Dig. 1. 3. 25.

Inter EQUITATEM JUSQUE interpositam interpretationem nobis solis et oportet et licet inspicere. C. 1. 14. 1.

"In order therefore (says Dr. Taylor, C. L. 93.) to obtain this end, they invented a method I am about to describe.

"An action, with them is defined *Jus persequendi in judicio quod sibi debetur* If this be grounded on the express words of the law, *si recta ex legis verba descen*

dunt, it is *actio directa*; whereas those that descend obliquely, *quæ non ex verbis legis, neque ex sententia expressa proficiscuntur, sed lenitate quadam interpretandi propter similem rationem receptæ sunt*, are called *Actiones utiles*."

The construction given to the law, upon which the equitable action termed *utilis* was grounded, was committed to the Prætor. Thus Dig. 19. 5. 11. *Sed et eas actiones quæ legibus proditæ sunt, si lex justa et necessaria sit, supplet Prætor in eo quod legi deest: Quod facit in lege Aquiliæ, reddendo actiones in factum accomodatur legi Aquiliæ: idque UTILITAS ejus legis exigit:* (and this the equity of that law requires.)

So in another passage—

Quanquam deficiat aquæ pluriæ arcendæ Actio, attamen opinor UTILEM ACTIONEM, vel interdictum mihi competere adversus vicinum, si velim aggerem restituere in agro ejus, qui factus, mihi quidem prodesse potest, ipsi verò nihil nociturus est. Hæc ÆQUITAS suggerit, et si JURE deficiamus. Dig. 39. 3. 2. 5.

This equity jurisdiction was committed to the Prætor, that is the *Prætor primus, major, maximus*. *Jus prætorium, adjuvandi, vel supplendi, vel corrigendi juris civilis gratia, propter utilitatem publicam introductum.* Dig. 1. 1. 7. 1. Hence Papinian does not consider it as part of the *Jus civile scriptum*. Dig. 1. 1. 7. Dr. Taylor, Civ. L. 214.

Hence *actiones civiles* were actions at law; *actiones prætoriæ* were proceedings at equity. 9. 4. 6. 3. *Obligationes civiles* were legal duties; *obligationes prætoriæ* were equitable obligations. I. 3. 14. 1. Dig. 44. 7. 25 ult.

But as with us, the Prætor as well as our Chancellor, did not possess a wild and unrestrained, but a legal, discretion. He was *Custos non Corditor juris: Judicia exercere potuit, Jus facere non potuit: Dicendi, non condendi juris potestatem habuit: Juvare, supplere, interpretare, miligare, jus civile potuit: mutare, vel tollere non potuit.* Dig. 1. 1. 7. 1, 6. 2. 12. 4. 1. 3. 10. 2, 2. 19. 7.

The prætorial decisions constituted the *Jus prætorium*, and the *Edictum perpetuum*; the *Jus honorarium*. Students at law, who used to commence with the laws of the twelve tables, began, in Cicero's time, with the perpetual edict; Cic. de Leg. 1. 6.

This was not the perpetual edict, so called, composed by Salvius Julianus in the time of Hadrian. This last, was a codification of the *Jus Prætorium*, and was called *Lex et Jus perpetuum* (Dig. 38. 8. 1. 2, 19. 1. 42, C. 7. 62. 5.) Hence the Prætor came to be called *νομοθετης*, Nov. 24—26.

The office of Prætor, originally patrician, was created A. U. C. 387. It remained patrician till 416. when Publius Philo—a plebeian—was chosen. 8 Liv. 15

A *Prætor Urbanus* for city causes was appointed: afterwards a *Prætor Peregrinus* for causes where an alien was party. As business increased, their number was extended to sixteen. Claudius* added two *Prætors* to take cognizance of *Trusts*, *fidei-commissa*, *Prætor fidei-commissarius*. Nerva added a *Prætor fiscalis*, a chancellor of the exchequer; and M. Antoninus a *Prætor Tutelaris* or *Tutelarius*. (Dr. Taylor, *Civ. L.* 212.)

Notwithstanding the general prevalence and authority of the civil law on the continent of Europe, we are unable to point out any nation on that continent, which has adopted a distinct set of courts, and a separate system of equitable jurisdiction, to supply the deficiencies of their legal code. But we do not pretend to be sufficiently conversant with the laws of the various nations of Europe to speak positively on this point.

In *England*, the court of chancery, although it began to be of some consequence under Edward III. was little else than a ministerial department, an *officina brevium*, till the Chancellor John Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury, under Richard II. invented the writ of *subpœna*. This writ enormously extended the chancery jurisdiction, and notwithstanding the stat. 7 R. II. ch. 6, and the petitions of the commons in 2 H. IV. 69, 4 H. IV. 78, 3 H. V. 46, and the remittency of the law courts in *Blagrove vs. Watts*, 1 Moor. 549, Cro. El. 651, 2 Ch. Cas. 44, Danv. Ab. 306, the chancery not only maintained its ground, but proceeded to extend its jurisdiction by a series of devices imagined and conducted with infinite adroitness and perseverance.

The first assumption of jurisdiction by the court of chancery, was over *uses*: a method of accumulating real property by indirect contrivance, resorted to by the clergy, when the statutes of mortmain had shut the door against grants, donations, and devises to the clergy of the legal estate. As all the early chancellors were of the clerical order, any contrivance to vest property in ecclesiastical bodies was willingly countenanced. The statute 7 Ed. I. *de religiosis*, drove them to the device of fictitious recoveries, and when deprived of this resource by statutory regulations, they resorted to the doctrine of *uses*; which seems to have continued in force from the end of Edward I. to the fifteenth of Richard II. which last act went far to annihilate the benefit of *uses* to ecclesiastical persons and corporations.

As questions relating to *uses* became of less frequent occurrence the civil law doctrine of *trusts* was more cherished in the

* Blackstone *Comm.* II. 328 citing *Inst.* 2 tit. 23, ascribes the first *Prætor fidei Commissarius* to Augustus; and rightly, for the words are express. Taylor's authority will be found Dig. 1, 2, 2. 32. Of these two *Prætors*, Titus took away one, so that with the addition of Nerva's fiscal *Prætor*, the number became eighteen. Dig. ub. sub.

chancery court; uses became passive trusts; these led to the ample field of active and constructive trusts; till by degrees, the many abstruse and complicated questions involved in the consideration of trusts, and trust estates of every description, have given to the court of chancery a more extended jurisdiction over real property in England, than is possessed at this moment by the law courts. The less artificial state of society among us, the abolition of entails, and the paucity and simplicity of marriage settlements, have prevented the introduction hitherto of very many abstruse questions relating to trust estates which with all their difficulties are familiar to the conveyancers of that country, and which form a most vexatious and intolerable tax on real property there: a tax, vexatious in respect of delay, and enormous in point of expense. But as our refinements in social life proceed, we shall gradually feel more extensively the evils of that dreadful system of defective law, and complicated equity; especially if our judges and chancellors in this country should continue to be guided by a comity approaching to servile imitation. In saying this, we have no particular allusion to the judges of the state of South Carolina, concerning whom it is no compliment to say, they are at least equal to those of any other, as the present volume is well calculated to show. But we are conscientiously persuaded that the whole series of British decisions are referred to in every court of the United States, as possessing a binding force, and with a deference both from the bar and the bench, to which in many cases they are by no means entitled; and we do not sufficiently keep in remembrance, that no foreign decision ought to have any weight in any court of any of the United States, which is out of harmony with the letter or the spirit of our home regulations, or with the republican institutions of our own country. We shall have occasion to illustrate this position.

From the very commencement of chancery, that court seems to have adopted for its maxim, and steadily to have acted upon it, *boni judicis est, ampliare jurisdictionem*. We shall not enumerate in detail its successive usurpations of jurisdiction, never conferred, as to uses: trusts, passive, active, or constructive: powers, and their execution; testamentary bequests of every description; charitable uses—becoming far too prevalent among ourselves:—mortgages, with the inconvenient remedy of foreclosure; dower, as excluded from, or included in trusts, and in relation to mortgages and marriage settlements; in some cases changing the rights of the wife in favour of the *cestui que trust*, in other cases depriving creditors of their legal liens in favour of the wife, and contravening the uniform spirit of decisions, from the able argument of Mr. Justice Hyde, in 3 Mod., to the leading decision of Marshall *vs.* Rutton. To these assumptions we

In citing this enormous assumption of jurisdiction by the court of chancery, we are by no means desirous of finding fault with it, *en masse*. The contracted, unbending, and defective legal code of the parent country—the necessity for forms, processes, remedies, and corrections, which the state of the law, and of the common law courts imposed—the rare interference of the legislature, generally incompetent to judge of the technical ques-

opposition of Sir. Edward Coke is well known also.

tions and their hearings, submitted to that body—the predilection generally entertained by the monarchs for a court of discretionary powers, as the chancery for a long time was—all conspired to force upon the chancellors, (nothing loath, it must be confessed,) an amplitude of jurisdiction, which, however objectionable in some instances above noticed, was, for the most part, honestly, wisely, and usefully administered. But in its present state in England, the grievances incorporated with its functions have nearly determined the public to consider its existence as a very questionable benefit; and the time is approaching, when, if some bold remedy be not applied, the remark will be a truth, *ruit mole sud*.

In our own country, fraud, trust, accident, mistake—matters of account, injunctions of various kinds, the superintendence over guardians, executors, minors, idiots, lunatics—specific performance of contracts—bills of discovery, and processes to obtain the testimony of a party as to matters which a court of law cannot eviscerate—are likely to constitute a body of chancery jurisdiction, which we see no temptation to abolish, much as we are desirous of reform warily introduced where it is obviously required.

But how are all these questions managed in states where no court of chancery has been appointed, as in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, for instance?

In them, there is undoubtedly in some cases a want of jurisdiction at present, and in others a want of adequate remedy, which is very frequently felt as an evil that ought to be provided against if possible. The want of a bill of discovery—the want of any process by which the testimony of a party can be obtained under oath—the want of power to enforce the specific performance of contracts—the want of jurisdiction over the numerous motions heard by a chancellor at chambers—are among the wants experienced there: but might they not be obviated by directly conferring on the common law courts, the jurisdiction required? And much is not needed in addition.

For instance, fraud, trusts, accident, mistake, are all within the present control of the common courts. What kind of court of justice would that be, which entertained no cognizance of fraud?

The common law courts assume cognizance of all kinds of trusts. Thus, the trusts introduced by Sir Orlando Bridgeman

* Courts of law have been by no means backward in extending their jurisdiction; it is therefore somewhat strange, that they have not held themselves at liberty to direct specific performance in some form of covenant upon contract; since they do give possession in recovery by *habere facias seisinam*, and under the statutes of forcible entry, by *habere facias possessionem*: the reason would equally extend to contracts, nor would the difficulty be greater.

and others, during the civil wars, to preserve and support contingent remainders, &c., after the determination of the estate of tenant for life, otherwise than by death, were contrivances by common lawyers, and supported by the common law courts.

In the case of account, we had, until the late case of *Whelen vs. Watmough et al.*, 15 Serg. & Rawle, 153, great doubt whether any chancery interposition were an improvement on the ancient action of *account rehd.*, so common in Pennsylvania, and there extended to partnerships.

An injunction to prevent waste, has, it is true, advantages as a preventive remedy over the common writ of estrepement of waste; but the injunction to stay proceedings, may be supplied by motion for a rule to show cause why proceedings should not be staid, grounded on affidavit of facts.

So, rules to show cause why actions may not be consolidated, may effect something in the way of controlling the abuse of actions at law. All equitable defences are fully heard, by pleading a general plea, with leave to give the special matter in evidence, and serving the opposite party with written notice of the special matter relied on, six weeks for instance before trial. Special motions founded on affidavit, where necessary, are framed to include almost every case where chancery relief is sought for. Documents withheld are produced on notice specifying them, and requiring their production on trial of the cause. When not produced, and they can be traced into the hands of the party, evidence may be given of their contents; but a bill of discovery, however, is preferable, as the party requiring the production may not have such evidence in his power. Bill to perpetuate testimony is allowed in Pennsylvania, on notice to parties in interest.

Specific performance of contracts is not yet enforced in Massachusetts; nor can any good reason be assigned why the defect has not been supplied by legislative provision as to contracts *inter vivos* in *Pennsylvania*, the power given to the courts of common pleas of the state,* extending only to the cases of *parol*, i. e. unwritten, contracts of deceased persons. So that with a few additions of chancery jurisdiction to the power now possessed by the common law courts in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, we see no good reason that would remain to desire the establishment of a separate court of chancery in those states: especially as the orphans' court, the register's court, and court of probates, take off so much of the burden assumed by the English court of chancery.

In South Carolina, where the chancery court has never been

* Act of 10th March, 1818, a further supplement to enable executors and administrators, &c., to convey lands contracted for with their decedents. *Purd Dig.* 125.

either very onerous or expensive, and now when there is no inconvenience to be dreaded from conflicting decisions, we should be sorry to see any attempt made to introduce the policy of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania in this respect. The system at present requires no innovation, except, perhaps, to reduce the number of chancellors to one or two persons at the utmost; and to make one of them stationary at Charleston, and the other at Columbia, instead of wasting their time in the useless journeys they are now compelled to take. In England, where their jurisdiction is so much more burdensome and extensive, the whole business of that kingdom is performed by a chancellor, a vice-chancellor, and a master of the rolls: surely the business of South Carolina, or any other state, may be well accomplished even by a single chancellor, on the plan proposed, at least until the refinements and the wants of society, shall introduce at some future day, the numerous niceties of trusts, powers, attendant terms, and the carving of estates, which have rendered marriage settlements, and testamentary devises so complicated in the land of our ancestors. Difficult as the knowledge and practice of the law are, and ever will be, whatever reforms may be adopted to improve it, it is simplicity itself in this country, compared to the state of it in England.

In the United States, New-York has taken the lead in respect to chancery decisions, chiefly from the ability with which Chancellor Kent presided, and Mr. Johnson has reported. In that colony, by an ordinance of the lords of trade, of September 2d 1701, the governor and council were erected into a court of chancery, which met with no countenance from the people, who were by no means friendly to the measure. A court of chancery was appointed during the revolution, by the Constitution of 1778. On the 17th October 1777, R. L. Livingston was appointed chancellor. On the 20th October 1801, he was succeeded by John Lansing, junr., and on the 25th February 1814, Chief Justice Kent was appointed chancellor, in which station he continued till he was sixty years of age, and, by legislative enactment, superannuated, just as his faculties were at full maturity, his exertion unimpaired, his experience improved, and his public utility at the greatest perfection. The chancery law of the United States may be said to have commenced with Chancellor Kent, and no English books of chancery decisions are more frequently, or more respectfully cited in the courts of South Carolina, than the seven volumes of Mr. Johnson's Reports of Kent's Decisions. The cases to be found in the reports of the Supreme Court of the United States, seem to be less known, except to the higher members of the bar there; partly because they have less bearing on the usual transactions of life in that state.

South Carolina has certainly maintained, if not an equal, (which

we see no good reason to doubt,) at least the second rank in chancery law. So early as 1721, she established a court of chancery, and authorized the governor and council to hold it, and "to hear, adjudge, and determine all causes and suits in equity, in as full and ample manner as any chancellor, or court or courts of chancery in America, can, may, or ought to do." This is a very indefinite assignment of jurisdiction, and it is not known to this day, whether that court issued original writs or not; (see 1. Dessauss. Rep. 65.) If they even did, the subsequent Act of 1769, commonly called the Circuit Court Act, abolished the practice. The court was also directed "to conform to the known laws, customs, statutes, and usages of the kingdom of Great Britain; and also as near as may be to the established rules of His Majesty's high court of chancery of South Britain."

By the present Constitution, the legislature is authorized to establish such superior and inferior courts of law and equity, as they should from time to time deem proper. By an Act passed in 1791, the old court (as it is called,) was established under the authority of the new Constitution. By this Act, witnesses were required to be examined in court, *viva voce*: circuits were established throughout the state, and commissioners or masters were appointed for each court. The judges were required to cause the principal facts and reasons on which the decree was founded in each case, to appear upon record: and it declared, that "suits in equity shall not be sustained in any case, where plain and adequate remedy can be had at common law."

By the Act of 1808, the state was again divided into circuits, and one chancellor required to ride each circuit; and, at the termination of their circuits, they were required to meet at Columbia and at Charleston, to hear appeals from their circuit-decrees.

In 1808, five chancellors were appointed, and the state was divided into three circuits. The court of appeals consisted of these chancellors:—

"Until December 1821, (says Mr. M'Cord, in his preface to the work at the head of this article,) there existed in South Carolina the strange anomaly of two courts of appeal, of final resort; the one of equity, the other of law. At law, the state was divided into six circuits; there were six law judges, who were required to ride these circuits alternately twice a year; at the termination of each of these circuits or terms, the judges met at Columbia, heard all appeals from the circuits in the upper and middle country, and then adjourned to Charleston, where they heard the appeals from the circuits of the lower country. In equity, the state was divided into four circuits, and there were five chancellors, who, at the end of their circuits, likewise, met in Columbia and Charleston, to hear the appeals from their circuits, twice a year."

"This system at length produced these evils. The two courts differed in opinion on many important principles of law; on the limitations in wills and deeds, the statute of limitations; on the law of interest; and on other questions of general jurisprudence, and of equitable and legal jurisdiction.

"To remedy these evils, the legislature in 1821 abolished both of these courts, and established in their stead the present court of appeals, of last resort in law

and equity, composed of three judges, having only appellate jurisdiction, who sit in Charleston and Columbia to hear appeals at such times as they may themselves direct.

"Instead of five chancellors two were appointed, and the state divided into four circuits, which they ride once a year; the lower circuits in the winter, and the upper circuits in the summer.

"At law the six circuits were still retained, and six judges appointed who ride these circuits alternately twice a year.

"These courts, with the justices of the peace, and an Ordinary for each district, constitute the whole judiciary system of South Carolina, unless we include the recorder's court of Charleston, from whom appeals are taken immediately to the court of appeals. His jurisdiction is confined to cases of contract arising within the city to a certain amount, and to all questions arising under the city ordinances. In all cases appeals to the court of appeals are brought up merely on the certificate of the judge who heard the cause."

Hence, it appears, that no cases in South Carolina were ever decided by a court of appeals, until 1808. The decrees from the commencement of the court, under the Constitution, until 1799, are contained in the first volume of Chancellor De Saussure's Reports. The third and fourth volumes of Chancellor De Saussure's Reports, bring the cases down to the year 1814; but there are no more reports of that court, except a small volume by Mr. Harper, of the year 1824.

In 1825, the new court of appeals, consisting of Justices Nott, Colcock, and Johnson, appointed both for law and equity, commenced its duties; and the volume before us, under review, contains the equity decisions during the two first years. What our opinion of these decisions is, will appear presently.

This court hears and determines nearly a thousand causes a year, owing, as we apprehend, to a want of some reasonable check upon the practice of appealing. Causes are brought up from the courts below very often, involving no difficulty about which a lawyer should hesitate; and the time of the judges is too frequently occupied in hearing questions proposed, and arguments urged, which a moderate portion of legal knowledge would have prohibited from further discussion, after the decision in the circuit courts. This court of appeals, we believe, has never taken more than six months to deliberate on any case, however difficult; and generally the decisions are delivered within a week or two after argument. The court sits while any cause remains on the docket to be argued. All this occupies full nine months in the year, of arduous and self-denying labour. All other business, all amusement, and, we might say, all comfort, must be given up to this exhausting and absorbing employment: and it is a relief to be able to imagine that the labour itself may become a pleasurable pursuit to the person so occupied. We know of no labour like it, except that which the judges of England undergo; in comparison of which, the life of a ploughman is one of very moderate exertion. It is true, the habitual acuteness ac-

quired by this incessant exertion of intellect, renders easy, much that to a by-stander would seem involved in great difficulty; it produces an intuition which enables a judge to see early into the nature and character of a cause; and where habitual patience does not restrain him, tempts a departure from that qualification so much appreciated by the bar, of a patient listener. Lord Bacon well observes, "patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice. An over-speaking judge, is no well-tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge, first to have found that which he might have heard in due time from the bar; or to show quickness of conceit in cutting off evidence or counsel too short, or to prevent information by questions, though pertinent."

Mr. M'Cord in this volume has reported fifty-seven cases. The arguments of counsel, are not reported so much at length as they are sometimes found in Wheaton, and some other American reporters; but the points made in the cause, the heads of argument relied on, and the cases cited, are given with brevity indeed, but with sufficient distinctness for consultation. The volume is not filled up with needless wordiness, nor is any material information omitted, that seems to have been in the reporter's power to obtain. It is a book which the lawyer will find more solid and substantial than it professes to be; and it contains much legal knowledge, as condensed as the nature of the questions would admit.

The volume contains decrees of five different chancellors; that is to say, of James, Waties, and Gaillard, chancellors of the former court, and De Saussure and Thompson of the present. Chancellor James had three decisions overruled out of six. Chancellor Waties heard but two, both of them affirmed; Chancellor Gaillard heard but one, which was affirmed. Of the present chancellors, *thirty-one* appeals were taken up from Chancellor Thompson, of which *thirteen* were reversed, *seven* were modified, and *eleven* confirmed. From Chancellor De Saussure, *fourteen* appeals were taken up, *four* were reversed, *one* modified, and the rest affirmed. Of the *four* reversed, when we come to comment on some of the reported decisions in the present volume, we shall state our opinion why one, at least, if not two, ought to be set down to the credit of that excellent judge.

In commenting upon some of the reported decisions, we shall use all the freedom to which any citizen of this republican country is entitled, of examining and criticising the public acts of the public functionaries. We have expressed sufficiently our sincere opinion of the high merits of the judges who constitute the court of appeals of South Carolina; and if we find reason to differ from them in opinion, we shall do it in terms of deserved respect, and without pretending that our opinions can be of more value, than as they are supported by reasonable arguments.

The first case we meet with that seems to call for observation, is the very litigated question involved in *Carr vs. Porter*, p. 60. The case was, briefly, this: the testator devised to his grandsons, *Thomas* and *Wilson*, the rest and residue of his estate, real and personal, equally to be divided between them, and delivered to them at the age of twenty-one years; *but should they die, leaving no lawful issue*, in that case he devised the whole of his estate, real and personal, to *Richard*, &c. *Wilson*, the grandson, died a minor, without leaving lawful issue. *Thomas*, the surviving devisee, who had a family, conveyed to *John Porter*, in fee, thereby excluding his children from any supposed benefit they might derive under the will, in the real estate of the testator. If *Thomas*, the devisee, took a fee under the will, as being a devise in fact to him and his heirs, then the prayer of the bill preferred on behalf of his children, must fail: if he took only a life estate, with remainder to his children, as *purchasers*, his conveyance in fee was void, and his children were entitled, notwithstanding the deed to *Porter*. This question depended on whether the words "should they die leaving no lawful issue," were to be considered as words of *limitation*, or words of *purchase*.

The same question came up before, in *Carr vs. Green*, reported in 2 M'Cord's Law Reports, 66 to 104. The law court of appeals had decided that these words were to operate as words of *limitation*, descriptive of the estate intended to be devised to *Thomas* and *Wilson*. The court of appeals in chancery, held them to be words of *purchase*, and not of limitation; and the testator meant by them to confer a distinct and substantial benefit on the issue, indefeasible by any act of their immediate parent.

This was one among half a dozen conflicting cases, in which the opinions of the common law judges and the chancellors, were at irreconcilable variance, and was one of the leading inducements to the change of system, under which the judges of the present court of appeals now sit; to whom final cognizance has been given of all litigated questions, whether in law or equity.

We have perused with great attention the elaborate arguments of Chancellor Waties, in *Carr vs. Green*, (2 M'Cord's Law Reports, 73,) and of Judge Nott, in the present volume, p. 66, in *Carr vs. Porter*. According to the great current of *English* decisions, we think the preponderance of authority is in favour of the opinion adopted by the present court of appeals: and that under the rule in *Shelly's case*, and the opinion of Lord Mansfield in the elaborate decision of *Robinson vs. Robinson*, 1 Burr. Rep. 38, manifestly founded upon that case, the words of the will giving by implication a devise to the heirs of the grandsons

of the testator, must be construed as words of *limitation*, and not of *purchase*.

The rule in Shelly's case, (1 Coke Rep. 104,) is this: "where the ancestor, by any gift or conveyance, takes an estate of freehold, and in the same gift or conveyance, an estate is limited either mediately or immediately to his heirs, in fee, or in tail, in such cases the word *heirs*, are always words of limitation, and not words of purchase." The remainder is said to be *executed* in the ancestor, where there is no intermediate estate, and *vested* where there is. In conformity with this rule, Lord Mansfield, in *Robinson vs. Robinson*, declares that by law, the testator could, by no form of words, make the father tenant for life, and the heirs male of his body purchasers.

In these cases, the ancestor, who has the remainder executed or vested in himself, can dispose of the estate in England, and bar his issue from any benefit, by suffering a fine or recovery. Doug. 323: and, according to the present decision, the ancestor may in such case defraud his children of any benefit intended by the devise, by selling the fee simple of the estate, as in the case of Thomas Wilson before the court. Hence, if a father have a dissipated and spendthrift son, and wishes to preserve the estate from being squandered, and his grandchildren from being impoverished, and for that purpose says, "I give and devise my real estate to my son A B, to be enjoyed by him during the term of his natural life, and after his death to the issue of his body then living, to take, not by descent, but by purchase, (Harg. Tracts, 562. 571. 568,) in order that the estate, after my son's death, may not be transferred and dissipated, but be enjoyed by them," he cannot do it. No such intention, however clearly and distinctly expressed, will supersede the technical construction that courts of law have given to the words in direct opposition to the testator's will and intention! Verily, this is a blessed state of things, where no land owner is permitted to make his own will, in words that allow no mistake as to their meaning, but it is to be made for him by a court of law, in conformity to a technical jargon, utterly unknown to every man *out* of the profession, and, as appears, not very distinctly known to those in it. Is there a citizen of good sense and good education in South Carolina, or any other state, not a lawyer by profession, who knows any thing of the rule in Shelly's case, or the difference between words of purchase, and words of limitation? No, not one. So that he must settle his affairs under the joint viaticum of the clergymen on one side of his bed, and the lawyer on the other; and even then, under the reasonable apprehension that his property will be dissipated in litigation, to ascertain the meaning of words that no

* See the cases in *Pearne*, 158 to 166.

man but a lawyer can possibly misunderstand! This is really, as it appears to us, gross injustice, and gross absurdity. We do not deny it to be the law of England. We believe that an English lawyer would assent to Judge Nott's conclusions, and incline to submit to that gentleman's very able argument; but the rule on which it is built, is, nevertheless, an abominable fraud on the public.

But is there no way in that country of putting in execution the real intention of the testator? Yes, there is: by the contrivance, vulgarly called in this country "whipping the devil round the stump." Let us see.—

Suppose Thomas Wilson, the testator's grandson, to have had two sons and a daughter: if the remainder over were limited to them under the term heirs, or heirs of his body, or issue, then, says the law, this remainder being contained in the same instrument, and expressed in general words of descent or succession, shall, by legal construction, be so united to the precedent estate devised to Thomas, the father, that both together shall constitute a fee, and enable the father to sell the property, defraud his children, and defeat the intention of the testator. But if, instead of these general words, the same children had been designated by their proper names, as Jonathan, Richard, and Abigail, then the testator's intention shall be in full force, and they shall enjoy the bequest as purchasers.* Hargrave's Tracts, 563; Christian's note to 2 Blacks. Com. 172. Or, if the testator employs a good lawyer, who is cunning enough to interpose, in due legal form, (no easy matter to a moderate lawyer,) a trust estate, after the death of Thomas, the father, then the remainders over will be preserved, and the children will enjoy the benefit of the testator's devise. This is what the lawyers call strict settlement. The chancellors who appear to have seen the injustice of the common law construction, consider the rule in Shelly's case not applicable to trusts, which, resting not upon the rules of feudal tenure, but upon intention only, are not to be construed on the same principles. See *Bagshaw vs. Spencer*, and the commentaries of Fearne on this class of cases, Conting. Rem. p. 121 et seq. Hence, if

* This wonderful efficacy of nomination, is a great mystery, and like all other mysteries not easily explained. Of Rabbi Akiba, Bayle says, (sub voce Akiba,) "the Jews gave him great eulogiums, as one who taught them all the *UNWIRTFEN LAW*. For instance: Dixit R. Akiba ingressus sum aliquando post Rabbi Josuam, in sadis secretæ locum, et ibi tua didici. Imo, Quod non versus orientem et occidentem sed versus septentrionem et austrum convertere nos debeamus. Didici 2do, Quod non in pedes erectam, sed jam considentem se retere licet. Didici 3tio, Quod podex non dextra sed sinistra manu abstergendus sit. Ad hæc objecit ibi Ben Hasas, usque adeo perficius frontem ad magistrum tuum cacentem observares? Respondit ille, legis hæc arcana sunt: ad quæ discenda, id necessariò mihi agendum fuit." Ex Barajetha in Massech. Berachos, fol. 62, apud Lent. p. 10.

a man of good sense and good education, who is no lawyer, draws up his will in words perfectly intelligible to himself and his neighbours, his anticipations of what may happen will be useless, his precautions unavailing, and his intentions defeated; but if he employs a lawyer to draw it up in technical phraseology, whose precise import is unknown to the testator and to men in general, with provisions and precautions, whose necessity none but a lawyer can foresee or understand, then, *perhaps*, the will may be effective! Doubtless this system may be very good for the profession: *is it so for the public?*

But we go further, and we say without hesitation, *that we doubt exceedingly whether the rule in Shelly's case is to be considered as law in the United States.* That other courts besides those of South Carolina have adopted it, we well know; for we well know the blind adherence to British precedent common throughout the profession in every state in the Union. We are well aware of the accusation of presumption to which this declaration may expose us, but we are now before the bar of the public; and claiming the right of free discussion, we shall exercise it without fear, and we hope without offence.

Mr. Fearné,* p. 124, says, "as to the soundness and reason of this distinction, (viz. that the rule in Shelly's case does not apply to trusts,) we are to consider that trusts were originally creatures of confidence between party and party, and totally distinct in almost every quality from those legal estates which were the subjects of tenure. They were in their nature independent of tenure, and therefore not the objects of those laws which were founded in tenure. They were rights arising solely out of the intent of the party who created them; and therefore, such intent was the great guide in executing them." This seems to us, not only good law, but good sense.† The proposition is true in all its extent: nothing can be subject to the rules by which tenure of estates in England is regulated, but what depends on that tenure. We cite Fearné's authority for the observation, and we can cite none better; but its own manifest truth would suffice to establish it.

Now, we say without fear of contradiction from any well-read lawyer, 1st, that no two things can be cited in more perfect opposition, than *feudal* tenure, and *allodial* tenure: they are exactly as distant from each other as slavery and freedom. 2d, we

* After Sir Edward Coke, Bacon, and Blackstone, there are compilers indeed in abundance; but no commentators of standard ability on the English law, except the three cotemporaries, Fearné, Hargrave, and Butler.

† There are some apparently contrary decisions, depending upon trusts, executory and executed, Fearné, 134—138, but we have not room to go at length into the niceties of the doctrine. The general rule on which conveyances, in strict settlement, proceed, and are supported, is as here stated.

say that every acre of land in Great Britain, is held as a fee: held subject to homage, fealty, and service. Even what is called free and common soccage, is subject to homage, fealty, and service: differing from the other tenures only in this, that the reditus, rent, or service, is certain, and not uncertain. 3d, that all the rules and regulations adopted by the law courts of England, for the government and guidance of landed property, and all the English doctrines of tenure, are founded on, and have reference to, the feudal system, and feudal principles, and that the rule in *Shelly's case* rests upon the same basis. We need not refer for the truth of this general principle, to the *Jus Feudale* of Craig, or even to the very neat abridgment of feudal law, by Corvinus: we refer the student to known elementary books, to Dalrymple, Wright, Blackstone, and Sullivan. 4th, we say, that not an acre of land in the United States is held by feudal tenure; the whole of it is allodial; none of the ingredients or incidents of feudality belong to it; none of the principles of the feudal system are applicable to our allodial lands; the two classes of tenure are in decided opposition; the whole system of English law relating to real property, so far as it is necessarily connected with, or deduced from, the feudal doctrine of tenures, or the spirit and requisitions of the feudal system, is out of harmony with our republican and allodial institutions. All the reasonings of English lawyers dependant on the harmony and spirit of English feudal regulations, have been improperly and ignorantly forced upon us, either by the inattention, or by the subserviency of the judges of our courts, since the Revolution, who, being bred in the English school, and having learnt from English books, and imbibed a reverence for English precedents and authorities, have been too much under the influence of that education. We hold it unnecessary to prove, by reference to authority, any part of the preceding remarks, except so far as concerns the rule in question; we are not aware that the respectable part of the bar will differ from our statement. The facts are well known to the profession; and, for the most part, our lawyers will dissent, only because they deem the course of decisions to have fixed the spirit of feudality so strongly upon our law of real property, that it would not now be advisable to shake it. That will depend on expediency: on a comparison of the mischiefs we are subjected to, with the apprehended mischiefs of a departure from common error.

However, as to *the rule in Shelly's case*. • In *M'Cord's Rep. Carr vs. Green*, p. 95:—

“I think,” says Chancellor Waties, “it must appear from this examination, that the rule which has been so strongly insisted on, is as much under the control of intention as any other rule; and is made to yield even in the English courts to words of necessary implication. But the operation of it in our courts must be still more limited, for another reason. Its chief object is avowedly to protect the

interest of the heir at law, who has always been so great a favourite with the law of England that almost all the technical obstacles opposed to intention, seem to have been created for his benefit. He is there, the representative of family pride, and the depository of a name and an estate which it is the policy of an aristocratic government to preserve "perpetual existence, and therefore every presumption is made in his favour. But here we have *no heir at law*. A more just policy, and one more suited to our republican institutions, has long ago abolished the unnatural claims of primogeniture. Real estate here, is no longer transmissible by descent. The act declares there shall be an equitable distribution of it: ~~and~~ it is placed on the same footing with personal estate. Every rule therefore incident to the right of primogeniture, must so far as relates to that right be necessarily modified, and the rule can only be recognized in our courts after being divested of this feudal principle."

We consider these remarks of Chancellor Waties to be sound American law; excepting that the rule if adopted must bend to intention, which we doubt. Let us see how they agree with the sentiments of eminent men in England.

Mr. Hargrave, a name of very great weight with every lawyer, whether in England or here, published among his tracts, *Observations concerning the rule, in Shelly's case*, chiefly with a view to the application of that rule to last wills. He observes, that there has been for a long time an obstinate and perplexing controversy, on each side of which very eminent judges and lawyers have arranged themselves; not concerning the existence but the extent of application of the rule. If the rule be applied to the entail of real property, it enlarges the estate for life into an inheritance, ~~and~~ enables tenant for life to defeat the succession of the heirs, and leaves the entail in their favour at his mercy. But, where a case escapes the rule, the entail is secure against the acts of tenant for life, who can neither charge nor aliene the inheritance. Hargrave laments the modern inroads made upon this rule in favour of the intention of testators. When it is recollected (he observes, page 556,) how frequently the rule must necessarily cross and interrupt one object *almost ever in view* in the entail of estates, it may easily be accounted for that the controversy should have taken a turn so connected with intention. In cases where in the question arises whether the rule should govern or not, it almost ever occurs that the testator doth not mean that tenant for life to the heirs of whose body the remainder is limited, should have the power to defeat the succession to them by an alienation to their prejudice. Hence an opposition necessarily arises between the rule, and the intention of the party entailing; and hence the difference of opinion as to the extent of its application. And he allows (p. 557,) that among the contested cases on the subject, there is scarcely one, in which a person unblinded by the frequency and mist of disputatious subtlety, could fail of seeing that the intention did not exist to invest the tenant for life with power to defeat the succession to his heirs. Even the single circumstance of giving an express estate for life leads to a conjecture of

such intent. But where an estate is given for *life only*, or for *life and no longer*, or with *prohibition of committing waste*, there is no room for conjecture, the intention to confine the tenant for life to his life estate is clear; more especially if trustees are appointed to preserve contingent remainders during the life of tenant for life. Either the rule is absolute, and in all cases imperative; or it cannot be brought against an intention so distinctly expressed.

Mr. Hargrave proceeds to state, that as the inflexibility of the rule can never be maintained if *Intention* be permitted to control it, some other ground of support must be sought for: and he suggests the following.

There are certain estates known to and recognized by the common law, with certain incidents uniformly considered as essentially belonging to them. For instance, after the judges had invented and created the kind of estate called estate tail in fraud of the statute de donis, and to invalidate its provisions as inconsistent with public policy, alienability by fine or recovery became an incident necessary to it: as in estates of inheritance generally, curtesy and dower were incidents irremovably coupled with the estate. Hence, no deed, no will, no contrivance of any private person for his own convenience, could set aside those incidents and accompaniments which the law had annexed to a known estate of its own creation; *oportet neminem esse legem sapientiores*: a deed or devise therefore by which a fee simple would be exonerated from curtesy and dower would be absolutely void quoad hoc. This is well established law: no man shall be permitted to create at his own pleasure and for his own purposes amphibious and non-descript estates. Hence, an estate limited to go in succession, can never by any construction be converted into an estate by purchase. The condition and the nature of the estate are incompatible: and this only is the true and sufficient reason for the unbending character of the rule in *Shelley's case*.

Mr. Hargrave then proceeds to shew that the rule in question, originated in the *feudal character* of the English tenures, and rests upon the basis of feudal policy (p. 666).

"It was another very important inducement to render impracticable the blending of the effects of *purchase* with title by *succession*, that the consequence must have been a continual source of fraud upon feudal tenure. When the heir came in by *succession* or *descent*, and was under age, the lord of the fee was entitled to those grand fruits of military tenure, *wardship and marriage*. But if the heir took by *purchase*, only the trifling acknowledgment of a relief, was due to the lord. It was therefore an object of the first magnitude in the consideration of feudal polity in England not to leave it to the intention and choice of the tenant, what should be a descent and what a purchase: for that would have placed the most valued rights of the lord at the mercy of him to the disadvantage of whose family they operated; and would therefore have been as absurd, as to have authorized the lord to make what he pleased a descent, for the sake of augmenting his seignioral profits.

Thus, to enforce justice between lord and tenant, and to guard the former against fraud, the latter against oppression, it became essential to both, that the boundary between descent and purchase should be raised on a standard of discrimination wholly independent of and unalterable by either."

That is, by adopting the rule in *Shelly's* case.

To all this very solid and satisfactory reasoning, upon the system of English law and feudality, we have nothing to object. But, what has all this to do with our allodial tenure, our republican institutions, and our rejection of primogeniture? This argument need not be addressed exclusively to the profession, because every reader of this Review can with reasonable attention comprehend it: to all the readers therefore of this Review we address the appeal, is the groundwork and basis of the rule in *Shelly's* case in harmony with the pervading spirit of our own republican laws? Is this a feudal country? do we hold our lands by homage and fealty, and burdened with the claims of seignorage? If not, then the rule in *Shelly's* case is *not* law here: and the chancery decision in *Carr v. Green*, is law here. The very able argument of Judge Nott to the contrary notwithstanding.

In thus stating for the consideration of the profession particularly, and of the public generally, our views of this much litigated and very important doctrine, as well as in other cases where we may differ from the present court of appeals, we make no apology to those gentlemen; they are too fair and too high minded to require any for an honest difference of opinion. But we are anxious the public should understand, that we advance our reasons of dissent with all that deference, which the acknowledged ability, faithfulness, and integrity of those useful servants of the public, are so well entitled to.

The next case in the present volume that seems to call for consideration is *Hampton v. Levy*, p. 107: an appeal from a decision rendered by Chancellor Dessausure. This case was tried before, in the Constitutional Court; which decided, that Hampton's defence against the payment of the bonds in question, was insufficient in law, and that his claim to relief was a proper subject of investigation in a court of equity. See 1 M'Cord's Law Rep. 145.

Bostick becoming the purchaser of lands sold under the direction of the Loan Office, on January 20, 1802, gave as security for payment, a mortgage of the purchased lands, and a bond where-

* There are some assertions in Judge Nott's opinion, that require to be taken with more limitation than he has expressed. Thus, when he says, p. 74, "*A man by will cannot create a perpetuity*," that is true: but when he says, "*he cannot put a freehold in abeyance*," it should be remembered that in England he may, as in church presentations. "*He cannot limit a fee upon a fee*;" it is laid down otherwise in cases of devise: "*nor can he make a chattel descend to heirs*;" the case of an heirloom, is an exception.

in *Hampton* became his surety as the act of assembly required. The mortgage was never recorded, owing to the neglect of the officer of the state, and *Bostick* sold the lands to persons who, having recorded their titles, defeated thereby the lien of the state. The mortgage was utterly neglected by the state officer, no bill filed to foreclose it, and nothing done to preserve the validity of this part of the security. Twelve years after the date of the bond, *Lery*, the defendant on part of the state, as treasurer, sued *Bostick* on the bond, who was then insolvent; and seventeen years from the date of the bond, it was put in suit against *Hampton* the surety, and a verdict obtained against him. *Hampton* filed his bill against *Lery*, to obtain an injunction, grounded on the *laches* of *Lery* as state officer; who, if he had done his duty, might have secured the debt by recording and foreclosing the mortgage, or by suing *Bostick* while he was solvent. It was agreed on all hands, that if a creditor actually does any thing that will prejudice the surety or increase his liability, the surety will be discharged; but the court (per Colcock) were of opinion, that *mere laches and neglect*, would not have the same effect, there being no case in the English books, where the courts had gone thus far. So that a man, according to the doctrine in this case, is amenable for sins of commission, but not for sins of omission; because the English books have not yet said otherwise!

There is no case in the books, that will warrant us in going farther says the judge! Well, why did not you make a case to reach the substantial justice of the parties? Was it ever heard of before that a court of equity were so strait laced that they could not enact a wholesome provision when the equity of the case manifestly required it? Is not the *whole* of chancery law, bench-enacted law? Are you not assigned as chancellors to do effective and substantial justice where the common law is deficient? Is not this the prayer of every bill; the very basis of chancery jurisdiction? Is it any excuse for Mr. *Lery*, that he was smoking his cigar, and enjoying his Madeira, when it was his bounden duty as the state's officer, to be on the alert, *ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat*?

Judge Colcock, p. 118, says, If mere omission or neglect could discharge the surety, it must be shown that such omission or neglect has operated to his injury: but in this case no injury could arise from neglecting to record the mortgage, for even if it had been recorded, the purchaser from *Bostick* could have held the land adversely after five years' possession. We deny this: the recording of the mortgage is notice to all after purchasers. *Lord Cholmondeley vs. Clinton*, 2 Merivale's Reports. The Judge moreover seems to have forgotten that he himself had acceded to a doctrine directly opposed to his present opinion, in *Thayer vs. Cramer & Gibbes* in this very volume, p. 395: where it is express-

ly decided, that a purchaser from a mortgager with notice, cannot claim a title by possession against the mortgagee; the mortgage recorded being legal notice.

We regret to see this case in the book. This severance between common justice, and legal justice, does no credit to the legal system of South Carolina. The mind of a man of plain sense and common understanding revolts at the distinction here taken. We hope that some occasion will occur of reconsidering this objectionable decision; which appears to others beside ourselves neither law nor equity.

In the case of *Galphin vs. M'Kinney, et al.* we are much in doubt whether the decision of Chancellor Déssaussure ought to have been overruled. The Court of Appeals were of opinion, that the delivery of the bond to M'Kinney, who appeared in the double character of *executor* of Galphin deceased, and *obligor* in the bond, amounted to a discharge of the bond, and therefore exonerated the surety. To us it seems, that the bond was delivered up to M'Kinney, not in his character of *obligor*, but in his character of *executor*, and in that character, it was his duty, had he been solvent, to pay whatever balance was due upon the bond, after reasonable deductions to himself as executor, and to make himself debtor and accountable to the Galphin estate for that balance. Being insolvent himself, it was his duty to sue the surety *Breithaupt*, who was no more exonerated, as we think, by the delivery of the bond to the executor M'Kinney, than if it had been delivered to any other person who might have been executor. The executor M'Kinney, received the bond by order of the court, to be accounted for to the estate of Galphin; and not to be cancelled for his own benefit, or that of his surety Breithaupt. What! is an executor discharged in equity from all demands the estate may have against him, because he happens to get possession of the evidence on which those demands rest? We may be mistaken, but we think in this case with the chancellor whose decree was appealed from; and a reference to Toller's Law of Executors, (6 Lond. edition, 349, 350.) and to *Winship vs. Bass*, in the 12th volume of the Massachusetts Reports, (p. 199,) will show pretty clearly how far we are sustained by authority.

In the case of *Rhame vs. Rhame*, p. 197, Judge Nott has convinced us, that according to the regular practice of the court on a bill for alimony, the chancellor can only direct or refuse the relief specifically prayed for: restitution of marital rights, must be sought specifically by a bill praying that specific decree.

We believe that if the law permitted the chancellor to decree in the alternative, it would save time, trouble, and expense, and would not interfere with substantial justice; but Judge Nott's able argument has set the question at rest as the law now stands.

In *Robertson vs. Bingley*, p. 333, the Court of Appeals are also right, inasmuch as the party might have resorted to the legal remedy of trover. Mr. Justice Nott, in delivering the opinion of the appeal court, seems to think, that equity may interfere to prevent slaves being carried away pending an action of detinue for them, but not in cases of trover, where the plaintiff sues only for damages. The distinction is nice, yet has its foundation in the legal character of the action. But, does not this shew, that an application to the chancery was justifiable? For, although the plaintiff might have resorted to the legal action of trover, it is an imperfect remedy, inasmuch as his security may be abstracted. However, since the delivery of this opinion, the legislature, by an act passed in December 1827, gives a lien in cases of trover on the property sued for, to satisfy the judgment of the plaintiff. Since that act, we apprehend, equity may interfere to prevent an asportation of the property beyond the jurisdiction of the court, and thereby protect the lien, or otherwise preserve the property.

We throw out this suggestion for the benefit of the profession, especially as Judge Nott says, "if the courts of equity can, consistently with the settled doctrines of that court, restrain the person in possession from transferring the property until the right can be determined, I am not disposed to be the first to say they shall not exercise it;" p. 346. We see no difference in the principle of exercising this power, from exercising a similar power by an injunction to stay waste. They are both prohibitions against the improper use of disputed property, *pendente lite*.

Moffat & Cochran vs. Mc Dowel & Black, 434. The great point worthy of remark in this cause, is the right acknowledged in an insolvent debtor to give a preference as he thinks fit to particular and favourite creditors. "If we were left to reason on this subject," says Judge Johnson, "without the aids which experience has furnished us, it would be difficult to resist the conclusion, that in an equitable point of view, this is a fraud against which the court ought to relieve. But beautiful and fascinating as a system built upon the basis of natural justice may be, and wide as the Courts of Equity in this and every other country, where they exist, have opened the doors to admit the idol, a necessity growing out of public expedience has compelled them to preserve a few land-marks by which their powers are circumscribed. Among these may be safely reckoned the principle, that they are bound by the rules of positive law. That a debtor may pay one creditor; that he may give him a lien on his property, or make an assignment for his benefit, are conclusions that admit of no controversy. It is the practice of every day, and universal consent has stamped it with its sanction."

We are sorry to find that the homage paid to "a system based on universal justice," is idolatry; but we know enough of Judge Johnson, than whom a more upright man does not exist, to conclude that this is a mere slip of the pen.

That preferences are the practice of every day, we admit; so are burglaries, larcenies, and other forms of robbery and plunder.

That universal consent has stamped with its sanction the practice of preferences, we utterly deny; we utterly deny that this fraudulent practice out of court (fraudulent in every instance,) has ever been sanctioned by any persons whatever, who were not participators in, or gainers by the fraud. Upon the matter of fact, then, we are at issue with Judge Johnson, and we are before the public. The courts of law in this country have sanctioned this disgraceful practice, because they knew not how to remedy it, without infringing on established rules. Let us examine the doctrine on principle.

A trader begins business with a stock, partly consisting of his own property, and partly of the goods and credit, which in confidence of his prudence and honesty, other persons have entrusted to him. This trust is committed to him, on the implied confidence that his exertions will be put in force to increase this joint stock, as being the fund to which the creditors look for payment of their debts; and that he will do nothing improperly to diminish it to their detriment. Thus entrusted, he continues in business, till from misfortune, imprudence, extravagance, or want of skill, he has dissipated all his own share in the common fund, and part of that committed to him and belonging to his creditors: no more remains belonging to himself.

The first question is, on the theory of abstract right and justice, ought he to claim and exercise unlimited control over the property of another, when he has dissipated all his own?

The second is, can he rightfully dispose of the property of other people without their consent? Can he dispose of it with a view chiefly to his own interest and inclinations, and the benefit of his friends and favourites? The principles of common justice and honesty say, no; call your creditors together to whom the remains of your stock in trade now exclusively belong, and ask them, "will you entrust me any longer to make the best I can of what remains, or will you take your own property in your own hands and divide it as you think right?" Undoubtedly this is the course for an honest man to pursue. The statement itself suffices without argument.

Now let us see whether courts of equity or courts of law, have ever enforced this honest mode of proceeding. There is a passage in Mr. M'Cord's argument in *Peek vs. Wakely* in this volume, p. 50, from Lord Kames' *Principles of Equity*, book

3, ch. 5, which is to the purpose. "A creditor knowing the insolvency cannot be innocent who is accessory to an act of injustice on the part of the debtor, by taking more than his proportion of the effects in consequence of such preference given to him by the debtor; and that equitable right to the debtor's effects, which upon his insolvency (in equity) accrue to his creditors, makes it a wrong in him to sell any of his effects privately without their consent. The sale indeed was effectual at common law, but the purchaser supposing his knowledge of the insolvency, was accessory to the wrong, and the sale is voidable on that ground." 4 Dessaus. Rep. 227. According to the principles of equity as adopted in Scotland (where the civil law prevails,) the evil in question is remediable.

In England, the main reliance for compelling an insolvent creditor to give up what remains of the creditors' fund to the creditors' disposal, is on their bankrupt law; which is built in toto on the equitable principles we have just now laid down. By that law, the insolvent debtor is deprived of the remaining property, no longer belonging to him who has dissipated more than his own share, but to his creditors; the assignees of the creditors take charge of it: and it is distributed without preferences, except as to physicians' fees and servants' wages. But we have no bankrupt law in this country; a grievous defect, if the mischiefs apprehended from enacting one were not likely to be of greater amount. Why each state may not enact one for itself *de bene esse*, until Congress shall do it for the whole country, we cannot divine.

But let us see if there be no other principles contained in English decisions of authority, that will apply to our case.

A conveyance made for the purpose of giving a preference to any one or more creditors at the expence of the rest amounts to an act of bankruptcy if it be by deed, and *is void, if it be not by deed*. In either case therefore the law declares it a void transaction. *Worsley vs. Demattos*, 1 Burr. 467, *Wilson vs. Day*, 2 Burr. 829. *Foxcroft vs. Devonshire*, 940 *ibid.* *Hague vs. Rolleston*, 4 Burr. 2174. *Alderson vs. Temple*, *ibid.* 2235. *Same case in* 1 Sir Wm. Blacks. 660. *Linton vs. Bartlett*, 3 Wils. 47. *Harmaz vs. Fisher*, Cowp. 117. *Rust vs. Cooper*, Cowp. 629. *Hassel vs. Simpson*, 1 Br. Ch. Cas. 99. *Dixon vs. Watts*, Doug. 91. *Cooke Bank. Law*, 110.

Every conveyance by deed in contemplation of bankruptcy (and such indeed are all our modern assignments, for they proceed on the facts of stopping payment, declared insolvency, and renunciation of trading) amounts to an act of bankruptcy. Even if not by deed, *it is still void as against creditors*. *Hague vs. Rolleston*, 4 Burr. 2174. *Linton vs. Bartlett*, 3 Wils. 47. Cowp. 124. *Harman vs. Fisher*, Cowp. 117. *Alderson vs. Temple*, 1 Sir

W. Blacks, 660. *Devon vs. Watts*, *Doug.* 86.; all these cases being subsequent to *Small vs. Oudley*, 2 *P. Wms.* 429, and *Cock vs. Goodfellow*, 10 *Mod. Rep.* 489, which look the other way, overrule these last named cases.

These numerous decisions support the principle, that preferences made by insolvent debtors knowing of their insolvency, cannot be supported against the general creditors; and that an insolvent has no right to dispose at his own will and pleasure of the property of his creditors, or to give preferences at other peoples' expense. It is true, these decisions are made on statutes of bankruptcy; but the principles adopted are equitable principles; which indeed is true of the whole system of bankrupt law, a mere creature in fact of the court of chancery. Perhaps if Judge Johnson had carefully read the class of cases above cited under this aspect, he would not have considered his legal landmarks quite so obvious and distinct as he seems to suppose them. For our own parts, we are willing to believe that the principles of moral honesty, are in fact sufficiently fortified by the long train of British decisions presented to our readers, to authorize our courts of law and equity to adopt and to act upon them. At this moment the trading interest of the United States labours under the imputation of fraudulent conduct so frequent, so extensive, and so strongly supported by the legal landmarks alluded to by Judge Johnson, that the national character is degraded; and accusations are made, unfortunately, too well founded, in very many notorious instances, to be denied.

That our legal decisions in this country, and the want of a bankrupt law, give countenance and effect to fraudulent preferences in case of insolvency, real or pretended, is manifest; and we fear that the current of decisions among us, will but too well justify Judge Johnson's statement of the law as it exists; and most sincerely do we regret it. If, then, the remedy cannot be applied by the bench, is it not a case for legislative interference? In truth, the frauds of insolvent debtors, the covering of property by voluntary conveyances, and the practice legalized among us of enabling a married woman to become a *feme sole* trader—have had, and will continue to have a most demoralizing effect on society; and the sooner the legislature will determine to lay the axe to the root of these poisonous growths, the better will it be for the honest part of community, who are liable to the legal depredations concealed under these pretences. Being admirers of the Gracchi, and detesting the cruelty, as well as the tyranny, of the Roman aristocracy, with the Scipios at the head of it, we are no advocates for a law *de debitoribus in partes secandis*; unless it be interpreted, by charitable inaccuracy, into an equitable distribution of assets: but it is our unhesitating opinion, that public morality must suffer,

when the tendency of the laws is hostile to the rights and remedies of a confiding creditor, and affords opportunities of concealment to a fraudulent debtor.

Laws of this description, weakening confidence, and diminishing credit, are drawbacks also from public prosperity; and they tempt to imprudent speculation and extravagant expense, by the impunity they hold out; making the creditor the victim instead of the debtor.

Since writing the above, we find, by the following paragraph from a Connecticut newspaper, of the winter of 1827-8, that the evil we complain of has been felt and remedied there:—

“In the legislature of Connecticut, now in session, a bill respecting fraudulent conveyance in cases of failure and assignment, after some discussion and various attempts at amendment, was passed by an almost unanimous vote. This bill gives the same privileges to all the creditors of an insolvent debtor, without reference to confidential claims.”

In *Faux vs. Nesbitt*, 352, the court very properly recognized the doctrine, that an alien may take and hold, until office found. Where the law has appointed a specific proceeding, to try a specific question, nothing can be presumed *a priori*; let the law take its course, and if any disqualifications ensue, it is time enough to declare and enforce them, when you possess evidence of their existence on record. Prejudice respecting foreigners, would be ignorance and folly, in this country. Every accession to the strength and wealth of a country, where land is plenty, where population is sparse, and where all kind of capital and industry may find full employment for centuries to come, is conducive in its degree to national prosperity. Nor can the influx of a thousand foreigners per annum, in a country of twelve millions of people, do any injury whatever. If they hold opinions we disapprove, refute them; if they bring an accession of knowledge, as well as of capital, make the best use of it. They may do us good in a degree; they can do us no harm. Nor are our institutions in danger from men who usually come here because they approve of them. Hence, the alien laws require a strict construction. The prudence and policy of shutting out industry, or wealth, or knowledge, is very dubious at the best.

Furley vs. Furley, p. 506. Can a court of equity entertain suits for the delivery of specific negroes; or must their value be recovered by an action of trover? The court of appeals prescribe the latter course. But if the possession be fiduciary, as where tenant for life dies, and his representatives retain possession, where is the mischief of considering them trustees for the real owner?

There are, moreover, so many causes of preference of particular negroes, as of personal attachment, of family attachment, of

peculiar aptitude for certain employments, which mere money cannot be a perfect substitute for, that we wish a court of equity could have retained cognizance of this class of causes. Are not the kind and useful prejudices in favour of a particular negro, or a family of negroes, as worthy of consideration in South Carolina, as the prejudices in favour of certain pictures or toys in an English family? And are not the one set far more worthy of protection than the other? If there be any objections to detain, and any superior facilities in trover, we see no good reason why chancery should not be a substitute for the former action. Favouritism as to slaves, is a feeling so common among the South Carolinians, and productive of so much good to that class of people, that it ought not to be suppressed or discouraged.

Iley vs. Niswanger, p. 518. This sound opinion of the court of appeals, receives so much countenance from the very able argument of the late Judge Duncan, in Pennsylvania, a lawyer inferior to none upon any bench, that we are tempted to extract the following report, (in brief,) of Judge Duncan's opinion, reported 12 Serg. & Rawle's Reports, p. 418.

Thompson vs. Dougherty, March term, 1826, Philadelphia, was in substance as follows:—*Mercer*, a wealthy man, proposing, on April 4th 1818, to go into partnership extensively with *Steel*, an auctioneer, did, on the 27th of April in that year, and on the 28th of November following, convey to his wife, Elizabeth Mercer, real estate in Philadelphia, to the value of from 20 to 25,000 dollars, his whole property being at the time worth 45,000 dollars. The subsequent failure of *Mercer & Steel*, brought under discussion the following principles, which were decided by the court in the affirmative:—

1st, That a man indebted can make no valid conveyance of his property without a valuable consideration. That mere voluntary conveyances for the benefit of a man's family, by which existing creditors are liable to be defeated of their debts, or delayed in the payment of them, are fraudulent and void, under 13 Elizab. ch. 6, which is in full force, and sound law, in this country.*

The debts here contemplated, are not the petty debts for sugar or coffee, or bread or meat, for mere domestic purposes, which no man, however wealthy, can keep house without incurring. These furnish no obstacles to the conveyance.

2d, That all conveyances of property, without valuable consideration, in contemplation of incurring future debts, though made by a person solvent and wealthy at the time, are fraudulent as against future creditors: for, the fund to which they reasonably look for payment, and on the faith whereof they are induced to give credit, is privately diminished by such a conveyance.

* See a very late decree of our appeal court, in the case of Samuel Colleton Graves's M. Settlement.

3d, That all conveyances of so large a part of a man's property, as to incapacitate him from carrying on a contemplated business advantageously, furnish reasonable ground to infer a fraudulent intention; as Lord Northington held in *Partridge & Wife vs. Gopp & Others*, Ambler, 599. It is tempting and inducing creditors to give credit on the strength of apparent property, privately withdrawn from the creditors' fund.

4th, That a conveyance void for these reasons, as against existing creditors at the time of the deed, is void also as against subsequent creditors, who are let in to claim the estate so voluntarily conveyed away, as assets for the payment of debts generally.

5th, Such a voluntary conveyance, though void as against creditors, is valid as against the grantor.

6th, That a man not indebted, and not contemplating any business, occupation, or engagement, by which debts must be incurred, may make a voluntary settlement for the benefit of his family, which will be valid, if not liable to any of the objections before recited.

Judge DUNCAN quoted the following authorities in support of his opinion. *Sexton vs. Wheaton*, 8 Wheaton's Rep. 229, per Ch. J. Marshall. *Gilman vs. Bank of North America*, and *Lessee of Ridgeway vs. Underwood*, per Washington, Justice, Wharton's Dig. 291, pl. 24. *Reed vs. Livingston*, 3 Johnson's Ch. 372. per Kent. *Anderson vs. Roberts*, 18 Johnson 526, per Ch. J. Spencer. 8 Rep. 82. Cowp. 431. 2 Atk. 405. Ambler, 599.

This coincidence in principle between these two high authorities will, we hope, settle the law on the basis that justice and honesty so imperatively require.

We have now observed on all the cases in the present volume which appeared to us to require notice.* In so doing we have exercised that freedom to which we apprehend every citizen in a free country is entitled, when the acts of a public officer are subjected to his notice. Where we have differed from the law as laid down or countenanced by the court, we have done so with a sincere feeling of high respect for the character and opinions of the able and honourable men who compose it. We know of no published volume of reports any where, that would not furnish ground for equal animadversion. Upon the whole, we have no doubt that this volume will do honour to the court whose decisions it contains, to the reporter who has so faithfully contributed his share of duty, and to the state of South Carolina, which has no cause to regret the selection she has made.

ART. VI.—*Memoirs of John Horne Tooke, Esq.: together with his valuable speeches and writings—also containing proofs, identifying him as the author of the celebrated Letters of Junius.* By J. A. GRAHAM, LL. D. New-York, 1828.

Two of the mysteries which have perplexed the ingenuity of the literary world, the man in the iron mask, and the author of *Waverley*, have been set at rest; the third, the author of *Junius*, after a concealment of sixty years, has yielded to the *Œdipus*, whose labours are prefixed to this article.—John A. Graham, LL. D. to whom the world is indebted for this discovery, we are proud to say, is an American: his *effigie*, which adorns his book, and the motto "*Justitiæ generesque humani advocas.*" inscribed below it, sufficiently proclaim to the world, both the character and the pretensions of the original.

His work is dedicated to the late Chief Justice of the state of New-York, who is pathetically entreated to give it a place in some corner of his library, "that when I shall have *shuffled off* this mortal coil, this volume may sometimes *catch your eye.*" The worthy advocate of the human race then proceeds to state, "that it must be understood, that he does not claim the originality of the suggestion, that *John Horne Tooke* is *Junius*; but hopes, without subjecting himself to the imputation of vanity, he may be allowed the merit of having contributed to change mere suspicions into enduring and unalterable belief."—As our object in bringing the subject before our readers, is by no means to lessen the merit of one who simply "seeks by his own humble labours, not to weave the wreath, but merely to bind it on, having first ascertained the brows destined to wear it," we shall cite his proofs, and leave them to find their way down to posterity through the incredulity of the present age. They consist of certain admissions made by Mr. Tooke himself to Dr. Graham in the years 1794 and 1797, at which period, he had "the honour of being sent on a mission to England, by the Episcopal convention of the state of Vermont, upon ecclesiastical affairs, connected with the courts of Canterbury and York," and are as follows. "In the summer of 1797, I held a conversation with him upon the subject of his controversy with Junius, in which after mentioning my admiration of the style of Junius, I added, with a smile, that I of course excepted his harsh epithets and coarse invective against *Parson Horne*; upon which, Mr. T. replied, smiling, '*Junius is the best friend I ever had on earth.*'"—"On another occasion, in a similar conversation, I put the question directly to Mr. T. Do you then know the author of Junius? 'Yes,' replied he, 'I do know him better than any man in England.' 'Pray, Sir, is he now living?' 'Yes, my dear sir, he is yet

alive.' 'He must then be an old man, do you know his age?' Mr. T. instantly replied, 'Strange as it may seem, I can assure you, that Parson Horne and Junius were born on the same day, in the city of Westminster.'"

The inferences to be drawn from these confessions, in conjunction with the other matters contained in the doctor's essay, seem in his judgment conclusive of the fact, "that John Horne Tooke is Junius." The remainder of the doctor's octavo, of two hundred and thirty-eight pages is made up of the writings of Mr. Tooke and other matters of equal notoriety, that have long been familiar to readers of every description. These comprise the "proofs" drawn from the dim obscurity of thirty years' concealment in the doctor's bosom, which are to stamp his name perhaps with the glory of a second Christopher Columbus. We must not omit to inform our readers that the essay contains fac similes of the autographs of Junius and of John Horne Tooke; moreover the oath of the lithographer, attesting the resemblance of the hands writing, but which, we are compelled to say, with unfeigned sorrow, bear marks of utter dissimilarity.

We are far from intending to disprove the hypothesis thus asserted; but we owe it to the world and to ourselves to state, that we have one, which we claim to be our own; in a word, we have our reasons for believing that his late Majesty George the Third, was the sole author of Junius, and probably "the sole depositary of his own secret." This discovery we freely bequeath to the doctor, because we think his proofs are rather stronger in making out our case than in establishing his own.

Having thus disburdened ourselves of a secret, that has for many years weighed heavily upon us, we shall devote the remainder of our article to the life and character of John Horne Tooke, esquire.—In compiling an abstract of the principal events of the career of this extraordinary political adventurer, we shall be guided by his friend and biographer Alexander Stephens, whose work has never been published in this country, and is probably very little known to most of our readers. The name of John Horne Tooke is connected with the history of the times in which he lived, and in which the independence of our country was achieved. Nearly the whole of his life was devoted to what he denominated "a constitutional struggle with official despotism." He possessed a powerful and highly cultivated mind, an invincible spirit of opposition to established authority, whether in law, literature or in politics. No sufferings could appal him, and no power awe him into a moment's submission. That "Horne's situation did not correspond with his intentions," we believe to be the honest confession of his heart. Nature had endowed him with qualities fitted for a leader in the active scenes of public

life, and he burned with ambition to wrestle with the master spirits of his age in fair and legitimate contest for fame; but these dispositions were fatally counteracted by the humble sphere of life in which he was born, and the adverse circumstances that thwarted his efforts to gain distinction: irritated and disappointed in his designs, his mind was seized with a settled hatred to all that opposed his progress, and he wasted his existence and his talents in unavailing struggles with political power. Wilkes was undoubtedly the prototype of Horne; his *beau idéal* of a political adventurer; in his daring and successful example, he beheld the only means left him to attract the gaze of the multitude. They have taught the world how much it lies within the power of the humblest individuals, to brave the punishments and set at defiance the highest authorities of a government upheld by settled laws. In France, under the old regime, such spirits would have expired, without the least public sympathy, in the dungeons of the Bastille; under our own government, their intolerance and hatred of settled forms would have soon become neutralized by the total absence of restraint and persecution. England was the only state in Europe in which they could have waged war under the protecting shield of its constitution, and with its highest ministerial and judicial agents. We think there is a significant moral to be gleaned from the example of these political heroes, not less striking than that drawn from their illustrious original the hero of *Paradise Lost*.

John Horne, for the cognomen of Tooke was long afterwards assumed, was born in Westminster, in the year 1736; his father was a poulterer, whose name is known in the law reports, for his manly resistance and triumph over the then heir-apparent of the crown of England, in an illegal attempt to force a passage through his premises. Theorists may see shadowed in this victory of the father the subsequent disposition to resist power that distinguished the life of the son. The natural turbulence of his disposition indeed displayed itself sufficiently early: he lost the sight of an eye, by some unlucky affray with a schoolboy; and before he had reached his tenth year, he absconded from his pedagogue and actually made good his retreat to his father's house, twenty miles distant from the school, without a penny in his pocket. Upon being sternly interrogated by his father, the future grammarian observed, "that his master was utterly unfit to instruct *him*; for although he might, perhaps, know what a noun or a verb was, yet he understood nothing about a preposition or a conjunction; and so, finding him an ignorant fellow, he had resolved to leave him." Whilst at Westminster and Eton, he was of course in association with the sons of patricians, and being aware of the ridicule that attaches to humble origin, he contrived to avert the mortification of their questions by answering "that

it was indeed true, he could not boast of any titles in his family, but that his father was an eminent *turkey* merchant." After a creditable residence of three years at Cambridge, he obtained the degree of bachelor of arts. He now officiated in quality of a tutor for a year or two, but at the earnest request of his father he entered into holy orders and was ordained deacon, but did not qualify himself for the priesthood, until some time afterwards. The law, was always the profession most congenial to his taste, and to the latest hour of his life, he never ceased to speak of it with admiration. Conscious of his ability to excel in this pursuit, he suddenly abandoned the church and entered himself a member of the Inner Temple in the year 1756; here he became intimate with Dunning and Kenyon. Neither of the parties was rich, and they lived with a degree of frugality which forms a ludicrous contrast to their subsequent wealth and celebrity; they used to dine together during the vacation at a little eating-house in Chancery lane, for the sum of seven-pence half-penny each. Horne was accustomed to add; "*we were generous, for we gave the girl who waited upon us, a penny a piece; but Kenyon, who always knew the value of money, sometimes rewarded her with a half-penny, and sometimes with a promise.*" It appears, that his father never sanctioned his partiality to the bar, and he was now reluctantly obliged to resume the duties of his first profession, by fresh entreaties and promises of future provision. In 1760 he was admitted a priest in the church of England, by the bishop of Sarum, and in the course of the same year, obtained the living of New Brentford in the county of Middlesex, which was purchased for him by his father, and came to yield about three hundred pound per annum. In 1763, he accompanied a son of the eccentric miser Elwes to the continent, and remained abroad for a year.

His prospects of advancement in the church at this time stood high; his connexions possessed influence, and he performed his official duties faithfully; he even studied the healing art, and established a dispensary in the parsonage house, that he might relieve his poorer parishioners by supplying them with medicines. He used to say, "that although physic was said to be a problematical art, he believed that his medical were more efficacious than his spiritual labours." He now began his career as a politician. He early imbibed exalted notions of public liberty, and these operating on a sanguine temperament, produced a degree of zeal, which, before it was corrected by experience, at times verged upon political fanaticism.

The misguided influence of the favourite, Lord Bute, had irritated the public mind almost to a state of phrenzy. Pitt was the idol of the people, and the undisputed leader of the opposition. The arrest of Wilkes, for a libel, under the illegal pro-

cess of a general warrant, with his subsequent discharge, by the solemn decision of a court of law, rendered him the most popular man in the kingdom.

Such was the feverish crisis of public affairs, when Mr. Horne, dazzled by the triumph of Wilkes, first appeared upon the scene of action. It was his settled belief, that the young monarch, under the pernicious influence of his favourite, meditated the entire destruction of the constitutional liberty of England; this belief, which he never relinquished to the end of his days, may be regarded as the main spring of all his future opposition to the government. He opened his battery in an anonymous pamphlet, aimed at Lord Mansfield, against whom, like another Hannibal, he had sworn eternal warfare. Unfortunately he escaped the pillory, an honour which he seemed most ardently to covet.

In 1765 he again accompanied a young gentleman on a tour to the continent. Upon his arrival at Paris, he eagerly sought an introduction to his idol Wilkes, and was graciously received by him, as a brother patriot. This celebrated character, was then wearing out his exile in the elegant dissipations of a luxurious metropolis; all the world knows, that he united the refined taste of a scholar with the vices of a fine gentleman and the courage of a hero. Perceiving the superior talents and aptitude of Mr. Horne, as well as the uses to which they might afterwards be converted, he readily obtained his confidence, and exacted from him a promise of correspondence. They separated, and Mr. Horne, after visiting the chief cities of Italy, returned with his companion, to pass some time at Montpellier; here, he seemed first to recollect his pledge to the banished patriot, and he accordingly addressed to him a letter, which had a material influence upon the subsequent events of his life.

After casting obloquy upon his clerical profession, and protesting that he was not yet an ordained hypocrite, he ventured upon some shrewd political surmises, as to certain negotiations of the patriot with the English ministry, the design of which, was, either to obtain a pension, or an embassy to the Ottoman Porte, as a boon for his unmerited persecutions.

No answer was given to this singular epistle, and Mr. Horne upon his return to Paris, demanded from the patriot an explanation of his silence; but the gallant colonel of the Buckingham militia skilfully parried the inquiries of his friend, by endeavouring to turn the affair into a joke. Finding him not disposed to share in his merriment, he at once satisfied his offended pride, by a positive denial of the receipt of the letter.

Mr. Horne now returned to England, previously confiding to his friend Wilkes his fashionably wardrobe, consisting of sundry suits of scarlet embroidered with gold and silver, which

it appears he was accustomed to assume upon his continental tours. He returned to the discharge of his clerical functions, when, very soon after, a memorable event occurred that shut out all future prospects of church preferment.

His friend Wilkes had now become a candidate for the county of Middlesex, and the minister of New Brentford espoused his cause with his usual ardour, pledging himself in every possible way to his support. Wilkes, whose fortunes were desperate, and whose person was liable to arrest, was elected, and, as if by magic, was thus enabled to return, at once an outlaw and the knight of the shire. Mr. Horne exerted himself with similar warmth in all the succeeding elections of his friend.

We pass slightly over his dispute with Mr. Onslow, and trial for a libel, which resulted in his obtaining the victory, by getting the verdict rendered against him set aside by the unanimous declaration of the judges, in favour of his exceptions.

In 1770 the lord mayor of London obtained the honor of a statue, by a vote of the corporation, in commemoration of his memorable answer to the king upon the throne. This unprecedented incident was preconcerted by Mr. Horne, who is said to have furnished his lordship with the reply, in anticipation of the recorder's answer to the address of the mayor and corporation.

He was accustomed to say, "that he could not be deemed a vain man, as he had obtained statues for others, but none for himself." On this, as upon former occasions, he published in the papers, a description of the procession, the speech of the recorder, and the rejoinder of the lord mayor, concluding the whole with the following *nota bene* :—

"The writer of the above account, having given offence to some persons, by inserting in a former paper, that 'Nero fiddled whilst Rome was burning,' and an information having been filed by the attorney general against the printer in consequence; he takes this opportunity to declare, that it was not his intention to falsify an historical fact, or to give offence to better memories; he hopes, therefore, that it will be admitted as a recompense, if he now declares, that Nero *did not* fiddle whilst Rome was burning."

Soon after this exploit, we find him a leading member, as well as the founder of "The Society for supporting the Bill of Rights." The funds of this association were to be expended in supporting the rights of printers, and in maintaining Wilkes; but by the art of that gentleman's friends, its purposes were converted to his exclusive benefit. This was indignantly resisted by Mr. Horne, who had formed more extended views for promoting the great cause of liberty. Hence arose his second conflict with Lord Mansfield, in the case of Bingley the printer, who had been prosecuted for publishing a letter from Wilkes,

reflecting upon the administration of the courts of justice. Upon this occasion Lord M. adopted a novel, and as it turned out, an illegal mode of proceeding. The evidence being insufficient to convict Bingley, the judge made a rule of court, appointing a day for him to appear, and answer interrogatories, on failure of which he was to be committed for contempt.

Horne rejoiced in this opportunity of braving the authority of the Lord Chief Justice, and qualified himself for the contest by tracing the stream of the laws to the fountain head. He converted the obscure printer into a perfect hero: flaming with zeal, and in obedience to the counsels of his friend and adviser, he persisted in refusing to answer the interrogatories of the judge, and voluntarily suffered three years' imprisonment by the arbitrary mandate of "attachment."

In a cause maintained with such signal intrepidity, even Lord Mansfield himself was finally obliged to give way. Tired of a struggle which, whilst it laid his conduct open to gross accusations, on the part of his enemies, seemed to tarnish the lustre of his reputation in the eyes of his friends, he at length reluctantly consented to yield. The attorney general was instructed to move the court of king's bench for the discharge of the prisoner, who was immediately restored to his liberty, neither ruined nor dismayed by a personal contest with the greatest chief justice since the days of Lord Coke. When it was moved in "the society for the support of the bill of rights," that a subscription of £500 should be voted to Bingley, for his manly resistance to injustice, the patriotic Wilkes found means to defeat it, which led to the dissolution of the society and the institution of another, "The Constitutional Society," from which the Wilkites were excluded.

The immediate consequence of disagreement, was the famous paper contest that ensued between the two chiefs. Indeed, it was impossible that two such men as Wilkes and Horne could agree in any given pursuit for a long period; both acted mainly from personal motives; both were gifted with uncommon talents, and the most avaricious thirst of fame: each regarded himself as fittest for command; the one could not brook a superior, the other disdained an equal; it was the rivalry of Pompey and Cæsar, not, indeed, for the empire of the world, but for the rule of a numerous and powerful political party. The minister of New-Brentford affected to separate the private vices of the patriot from the common cause. Viewing him rather as the instrument of the public, in contending against power, he rebuked him for his injustice and extravagance, in not satisfying his creditors with the large sums that he had acquired from the public. Wilkes affected to despise the Americans, and their pretensions to an independent right of internal taxation. Horne was vehement in up-

holding their claims; but no sooner did the patriot receive a flattering letter from the Bostonians, accompanied with a valuable present, than he saw fit to change his mind, and transmitted to them a flaming reply, in which he maintained, that the colonies were the “*propugnacula imperii*,” and himself a friend to universal liberty. This glaring change of opinion, was defended by the ready weapons of wit, sarcasm, and irony, until a breach became inevitable, and, indeed, was sought for, on the part of Wilkes. The correspondence, which lasted for several months in the newspapers, led to a disclosure of the whole, private as well as public, motives of the parties, and at length ended in rendering Mr. Horne one of the most odious men in the kingdom.

Wilkes was declared to be the victor: although his talents and learning were confessedly inferior to those of his adversary, yet by means of superior dexterity and wit, united with a more intimate knowledge of mankind, he succeeded in vanquishing the Reverend Mr. Horne, as he always persisted in designating him.

In the midst of this political conflict, Mr. Horne was not unmindful of the value of academical honours; he soon after repaired to Cambridge, and became a candidate for the degree of master of arts. Here, as upon all other occasions, his political creed proved an obstacle to his pretensions; he was opposed by Paley, but, in the end, succeeded honourably in obtaining his degree. He now turned his attention to the liberty of the press, and was mainly the cause of the well-known victory over the House of Commons, in their violent proceedings against the lord mayor, and aldermen, Oliver, and Wilkes; which resulted in a silent acquiescence, on the part of the House, to the publication of the debates, from that memorable period down to the present day.

Mr. Stevens remarks, in his account of those transactions, “that it was an astonishing circumstance, indeed, that the Commons of England, who had so often punished the ministers of the crown, and but a little more than a century before, had contended with, and overcome, a king of England, should now be braved by three justices of the metropolis; and it would have been still more humiliating, had they known, what was really the fact, that the whole had been planned and contrived by a country parson, who had left the mere execution alone to the lord mayor and the two aldermen.” We are inclined to think, that the merits of Mr. Horne are somewhat overrated, in this instance, by his biographer.

He was now determined to take the field against Junius: the ground of attack chosen by that celebrated writer, upon this occasion, was untenable, and the result, as all the world knows, redounded to the credit of his adversary. We stop for a moment to remark, that Mr. Horne was not fond of alluding to the sub-

ject of Junius, and that his biographer mentions only two occasions on which he heard him advert to it. "Some conversation occurred to-day at dinner, relative to Junius; he laughed at the idea of Mr. Boyd's being the author, as affirmed by Almon. On being told that Henry Sampson Woodfall had intimated that he was in possession of several letters from him, he observed, 'that Mr. W. was a very honest man, but he doubted the fact. They had all been surrendered.' One of the company now asked if he knew the author? On the question being put, he immediately crossed his knife and fork on his plate, and assuming a stern look, replied, 'I do!' His manner, tone, and attitude, were all too formidable, to admit of any further interrogatories."

Having now arrived at the age of thirty-seven, he resolved to begin the world anew; he retired from the public view, resigned his living of New-Brentford, which he had held for eleven years, and recommenced the study of the law. Wilkes had reached the zenith of his popularity, whilst Horne had become one of the most marked men in the kingdom, owing to the treacherous publication of his fatal letter, from Montpelier, by Wilkes, the receipt of which the latter had positively denied. When prosecuting his resolution, Horne was called upon to engage in one of the most characteristic transactions of his whole life. His friend, Mr. Tooke, had purchased the estate of Purley, and was threatened with the loss of the best part of it, by an impending inclosure bill in the House of Commons; the bill, in fact, had been ordered for a third reading, and there existed no doubt of his opponent's influence in Parliament, to obtain the final assent of the House. In this exigency, he sought the interposition of his friend, assuring him that every thing had already been done, by way of petition, without effect. Mr. Horne observed, "your case is desperate, and there being no hopes, you prefer a quack to a regular physician, and so you come to me; but I have a plan, although a desperate one, for your relief. It is absolutely necessary, Sir, in this case, by some popular act, to excite the attention of the house, and if the facts have been correctly stated to me, the bill shall not pass; to accomplish this end, I intend to begin by writing a libel on the speaker." A libel on such a man as Sir Fletcher Norton?—"Yes, precisely on him; for I well know that inquiry will then be made, and that he will not sanctify a dishonest act: as for the consequences, I am well aware, and take them as upon myself."

Mr. Horne then sat down, and, in an address, consisting of a few spirited paragraphs, drawn up in the form of a letter, signed "Strike, but hear!" detailed the leading facts. He endeavoured to render the letter as offensive as possible, and it was inserted in the Public Advertiser. In the evening, both the House and the gallery were full; and soon after the speaker took the chair,

the newspaper just mentioned, was handed up to him. Instead of proceeding, as usual, with the order of the day, which comprehended the inclosure bill, there was a general cry of privilege! privilege! move! move! Upon this, a member arose, and after descanting upon the outraged dignity of the House, moved, that "Henry Samson Woodfall, printer, do attend, at the bar of the House, on the succeeding day." Accordingly, the order being served in due form, he appeared, and was introduced with the usual ceremonial, when, being interrogated as to particulars, he admitted, "that he had received and printed the letter in question, and that he was then, and is now, fully authorized by the author himself, to give up his name and place of abode." The speaker having desired him to proceed, he said, "it was Mr. John Horne, who was at that very moment in the gallery, ready to answer for himself."

The name and talents of the offender, the avowal of the act, and his known intrepidity, were all calculated to produce a certain degree of astonishment; and, as the supposed culprit was hated by all parties, it was matter of no small triumph, that this literary Samson had delivered himself up, seemingly bound hand and foot, to the Philistines. Amidst this conflict of passion, Mr. Horne was ordered to the bar, where, in an able speech, in the course of which, all disrespect, either personal or official, to the speaker, was disavowed, he fully declared his motives; and frankly owned, "that he had been urged beyond the usual bounds of discretion, by hatred to oppression on the one hand, and zeal for his friend on the other." After a long debate, he was remanded from the bar, in custody of the serjeant-at-arms, and brought up again on the 17th, by which period some additional evidence had been obtained, and, as the proof was inconclusive, he was discharged on paying his fees. Time had now been fully given for the House to pause; the necessary steps were taken to stop the further progress of the bill, and the advocates for it, being heartily ashamed of their proceedings, all the obnoxious clauses were either omitted or withdrawn.

The news of the first blood that was shed in defence of American liberty, excited Mr. Horne to an act of generous sympathy; he immediately summoned a meeting of the Constitutional Society, and urged a subscription "for the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of our beloved American fellow-subjects, who, faithful to the character of Englishmen, preferring death to slavery, were, for that reason only, inhumanly murdered by the king's troops, at, or near, Lexington and Concord;" and actually acknowledged a donation of *fifty* pounds, in the newspapers, using those words, signed John Horne. No notice was taken of it at the time: at length the attorney-general, Thurlow, was directed to commence a prosecution for a libel upon the honour

of his Majesty's troops, and Mr. Horne, who was peaceably eating his commons in the hall of the Inner Temple, oblivious of his misdeeds, was arrested. He was soon after tried before Lord Mansfield, found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of *two hundred pounds*, and be imprisoned for the space of twelve months. During his confinement in the King's Bench prison, he addressed a letter to his friend Dunning, in which he endeavoured to prove the illegality of his conviction, and the ignorance of the court in dismissing a motion made by him in arrest of judgment. He concludes, by affirming that he has been made "the miserable victim of two prepositions and a conjunction." Upon this letter he subsequently grafted his celebrated "*Diversions of Purley*."

Having kept the requisite number of terms, he determined to apply for a call to the bar, but his political opponents found means to reject him by the casting vote, upon the ground that the "clerical character was indelible," and that he was therefore disqualified and ineligible. This cruel refusal to give him his gown, embittered nearly all the remaining portion of his existence; he found himself driven from a profession which he hoped might exalt him to the highest distinction, in common with his friends Dunning and Kenyon: instead of treading in a path so honourable, and in which he was singularly qualified to excel, he was doomed forever after to vex the nation with party broils. Still he found the means, even within his narrow sphere of action, to fill a wide space in the public transactions of his times, and by his own individual exertions, to succeed in muddling the stream of events, which under better auspices, he might have been enabled to direct and control. It is said that Lord Kenyon shed tears in trying one of the causes of his old friend.

The next three years of his life were spent in the midst of political affairs, in many of which he took a leading part. In 1786, he published the first volume of his "*Diversions of Purley*," in the dialectic form: himself and his friend Dr. Beadon were the two principal speakers, the third, Mr. Tooke, being merely admitted in compliment to his friend, whose name he had now assumed, and whose fortune he expected to inherit. The names of the interlocutors were altered in the second edition, and that of his friend Sir F. Burdett was substituted for Mr. Tooke's. The next year he published a letter to a friend on the reported marriage of the Prince of Wales, which subject he introduces by observing, "that after amusing himself with a number of critical discussions during the last summer, on the subject of nouns, pronouns, adverbs and prepositions; in order to give a variety to his studies during the present, he had taken a political, but a very un-

courtly view of the nature, the extent, and the true signification of the *conjunctive copulative*."

He declared against Mr. Fox upon the ground of that gentleman's coalition with Lord North, and offered himself in opposition to him as a candidate for Westminster. In this contest he is said to have displayed great talents for popular oratory, and was decidedly the hero of the hustings, but doomed as usual to suffer defeat. Upon Mr. Fox's retiring one day, and leaving the hustings in charge of his friend Sheridan, Tooke remarked, "that when the quack doctor withdrew, he always left his merry andrew behind him."

He then retired to Wimbledon, and upon the breaking out of the French revolution, he engaged warmly in its defence, but stoutly resisted its contagious effects upon the constitution of England. Being a suspected person, he was arrested upon charges of high treason and committed to prison, where he suffered severely, previous to his subsequent trial and acquittal. As it was ever his maxim to omit no public opportunity of signalizing himself, he displayed in the course of his defence the greatest abilities, and had the satisfaction of handling the premier, Mr. Pitt, very roughly in the course of his examination as a witness. He afterwards declared, that if the *song*, produced on the trial of Har-~~dy~~, had been brought forward to criminate himself, he would have stated, that as nothing treasonable had been hitherto discovered in the words, something of the kind might be supposed to lurk in the tune, and therefore he would *hum* it before the court and jury. "Thus I should have afforded the first example of a prisoner tried for his life, who had ever dared to sing a song in open court."

His biographer affirms, that he had even been anxious to offer his life a sacrifice to his political opinions, and was disappointed, that he had not fallen in what he considered to be the cause of his country, rather than sink ingloriously to the tomb by the pressure of age and disease.

From the ~~moment~~ of his acquittal he seemed to grow more cautious and wary, and in a great measure withdrew himself from his turbulent associates and their dangerous intrigues. Finding his income had become too small for his house, he resolved upon a rigid system of economy; his friends, however, prevented his design, and by a munificent subscription for his future support, enabled him to continue in his residence at Wimbledon. The current of life now, for the first time in many years, glided smoothly on; he devoted himself to the education of his two daughters, whom he caused to be instructed in every useful branch of art, in order to secure their future support and independence. The one, he used to say, possessed as much Latin as most of the bench of bishops, and the other was perfect in all the mysteries of the

household department. On the dissolution of the Parliament of 1796, in defiance of age and the gout, he once more offered himself unsuccessfully a candidate to the electors of Westminster, in opposition to Fox and Gardner. The most singular incident that occurred in this memorable election was, that early on the first day of the poll, the chamberlain of London, Mr. Wilkes, appeared in front of the hustings, and after paying an elegant compliment to the virtues, talents and fortitude of John Horne Tooke, gave him his *sole* vote.

At length in 1800, and in the sixty-fifth year of his age, this sturdy reformer of the rotten borough system, condescended to accept a seat in the House of Commons, as the representative of Old Sarum and its six electors: before he would consent to the nomination, he determined upon being better acquainted with the character and views of his patron the eccentric Lord Camelford, and actually sat up three days and three nights with him, expressly for that purpose. Here again he had the mortification of finding the "clerical character indelible;" Lord Temple, on the first day of his appearance as a member of Parliament, gave notice of his intention to move for his expulsion on the old ground of disqualification; it was immediately followed by a declaratory act, excluding all persons in priest's orders from becoming members of the House of Commons; but permitting Mr. Tooke to retain his seat until the dissolution, which happened soon after. He combated this measure with his usual ability; affirming that the committee employed in searching for precedents in his case, did not understand the Saxon characters, and in quoting *twenty-one* cases, they had made no less than *eleven* mistakes. He concluded his address to the House by protesting, that his only crime was his innocence; his only guilt, his not having scandalized his order. "I feel, Sir, exactly in the situation of the girl who applied for reception into the Magdalen, who, on being pressed as to the particulars of her misfortune, answered, 'I am as innocent as the child unborn;' the reply was, 'then you are unfit for admission, you must go and qualify yourself before you can be received here.'"

In 1802, he took public leave of the electors of Westminster and withdrew from the bustle of political life, to his favourite residence at Winbledon, devoting himself to rural employments, literature, and the offices of friendship: being in the enjoyment of a competent income, and possessing an exquisite knowledge of the *savoir vivre*, he delighted in thronging his bounteous table with the greatest medley of guests and adherents. The observation of James I. in regard to Lord Coke, might be well applied to the present state of Mr. Tooke's affairs, "that he made the best of a disgrace, and when he fell, it was like a cat, always on his feet."

He was in truth looked upon by many persons as an oppressed and innocent individual; by others as the last survivor of the old English school of politicians: all were eager to behold a man against whom the strong arm of the government had been so often arrayed, and who was in himself a living chronicle of the great political events of his age.

Having thus given an abstract of the chief incidents of Mr. Tooke's political life, we shall devote the remainder of this article to the exhibition of some of his characteristic opinions and tastes, expressed in conversation and recorded by his friend and biographer Mr. Stevens.

Retaining all the faculties of his mind unimpaired, he was always ambitious of displaying them in conversation, by an eager desire to triumph over his adversary. He would listen to his arguments patiently, waylaying him with an occasional doubt, exciting him to display his utmost powers of defence; he would then strive to entangle him in the toils of his own assertions, and in the end endeavour to vanquish him by an overpowering array of argument, learning, wit, and sarcasm. Nothing could provoke him to betray the slightest emotion or want of temper; after defeating his antagonist, he endeavoured, by the utmost amenity of manner, to soften his mortification, and generally concluded by the relation of some apposite story or adventure, that would "set the table in a roar," preserving to the end his habitual gravity of face. He was scrupulously nice in his dress, which was of the old school; he usually wore a coat and small clothes of brown cloth, destitute of the modern appendage of a collar, whilst the cuffs were adorned with formidable rows of steel buttons and long ruffles at the wrists. Until a short period previous to his death he wore his hair tied and powdered. In the midst of his conversation he reverted freely to his box of Strasburg, managing it with a dexterity which seemed to give point and effect to whatever he was saying. In short, no one could more readily assume the courtly elegance of a man of high breeding, or assimilate to persons of the highest distinction of either sex, with more ease and grace than John Horne Tooke. At his table were often assembled, the attorney-general, (Lord Thurlow,) who had prosecuted him for high treason; officers of the Guards, who had conducted him to prison; and men of every station and profession illustrious for their talents and virtues. Upon humbler occasions, he was surrounded by dependents and adherents, men who had been tried with him for high treason, and others who were endeared to him by common sufferings and services in the cause of liberty, and who regarded him as their friend and oracle. As an instance of his singular mode of baiting his adversaries, it is related that Mr. Holcroft, being assailed and irritated by the wit of his host beyond the point of endurance, suddenly arose, and in a paroxysm of rage, ex

claimed, "I am sorry, Sir, to say to a gentleman in his own house what I now tell you, that you are the greatest rascal in the world." Mr. Tooke, who by this time began to think that he had carried his joke too far, and imagining that this act of fury was a just return for his unseasonable raillery, without altering a single muscle of his face, turned round and calmly addressing his acquaintance, said, "Is it Friday or Saturday next, that I am to dine with you?" "Saturday, Sir." "Then you may depend upon it that I shall be there at the hour appointed."

In a dispute with Dr. Geddes on the subject of the origin of government by kings, Tooke maintained that princes were originally the *hands* of society, being employed merely to fight for them. Dr. G. asserted, that they were the *heads*, from being accustomed to think for mankind. Both parties exhausted definition in compelling the word king to support his respective opinion—history was next resorted to. Tooke inferred from its unvarying testimony, that in the early ages of society, kings were selected merely for the purpose of leading their tribes to battle, and that this was the universal practice among the northern nations, as we learn from Tacitus. Even after the introduction of hereditary succession, that practice was only set aside when the king happened to be very young, and consequently unable to become the *hand* of the community, the uncle being in that case preferred, as he was more able to combat for the common interest. Geddes, on the contrary, contended, that as wisdom rather than strength constituted the essential quality of a sovereign, it was the primitive cause of selection, quoting in turn from Tacitus—

"Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt ;"

to show that kings were selected from the chief families, who were supposed to possess the most knowledge; whereas the leaders in war were chosen from the inferior consideration of *virtus*, valour, or personal bravery. At a later period, too, when society became more refined, and the whole community did not, as before, engage in war, the king ~~also was~~ the *head*, and not the *hand*, as it is wisdom rather than valour that is required, because command is generally delegated; whereas the first magistrate, who seldom goes to battle in person, is always required to think for the common interest, and to be the *head*, rather than the *hand*. Here Mr. T. interposed, in order to show, that the question now raised, related solely to the meaning of the word *king*, and that it was fair to interpret its signification by going back to the structure of society at an early period, when the office was first instituted; but very irrational to refer to the manners and customs of the present age for elucidation, when an entire alteration had taken place in the forms of

society; he, however, begged to observe, that wisdom as well as valour were now delegated alike, for if kings did not go out to battle as formerly, they also ceased to decide in person on disputed property; and that judges and magistrates, of all kinds, who might be said to represent the *head*, were as frequently appointed as generals, who constituted the *hands* of the state."

"Imprisonment for debt," he observed, "was first introduced in favour of the barons, 'to enable them to bring their stewards to book.' Arrest on mesne process, or previously to trial, on the simple oath of the plaintiff, originated in a mere fiction of law, and was an assumed power on the part of the courts of justice. 'The frequent acts of insolvency all tend to prove, that this is an impolitic and injudicious connivance; but it was no less strange than true, that all the great law lords, with one only exception, constantly 'bristled up' whenever the Earl of Moira, with his usual goodness and humanity, proposed a general statute for the relief of insolvents. As for the present system, it was culpably and flagitiously wrong, being calculated to give a legal form to fraud; and to confine the means of oppression to the rich, the profligate, and the unjust. In fine, it operated as an illusory satisfaction to the injured, contributed to the ruin of innocence, as well as the triumph of guilt, and was essentially beneficial to none but marshals, turnkeys, and attorneys."

His favourite author was Shakspeare; he had read his works when only seven years old, before he could understand the meaning of the word "*avaunt!*" which, he said, always appeared to strike him with undefinable terror. There is reason to believe that Shakspeare was the last book opened by him previously to his dissolution, and that the last effort of his mind was employed in correcting his text. He revered him both as a poet and a moralist; no work in his opinion was better fitted to teach the duties of private life, or displayed in greater perfection the inmost recesses of the heart of man, and revealed all its hidden springs of action.

He defended the character of Bacon; his judgments in his own court, he observed, were always dictated by equity, and never once complained of. "He was the victim of a court intrigue; the accusations against him, compared with the severity of the sentence, were minute, frivolous and vexatious. The sums stated to have been received, not by him, but by his servants, were nothing more than presents, under the name of fees, and both the chancellor and the judges, even at this moment, take perquisites in the name of fees." He held Milton in the highest admiration, both for his genius and lofty mode of thinking. Of Locke, he used to say, that he had written enough to justify the assumption of the government by king William, and

no more. He admired and imitated Swift, whom he resembled, not only in his original profession, but in many of his peculiarities. Like him, he detested foreign idioms, and upon all occasions, gave a decided preference to his native language, which he considered fully competent to disclose the meaning of any rational creature. Like him, too, he was accustomed to define party "the madness of the many for the gain of a few," and to declare that of the two great political parties of this country "the tories were the most honest." As for the whigs, the dean himself could not have hated them more cordially, but the motives upon which they founded their hatred, were entirely different. They had, in Tooke's opinion, "superadded hypocrisy to a factious spirit, by having constantly pledged themselves, when out of office, to what they never meant to perform when in power." He held the constitution of England in the highest veneration, but luxury had been followed by corruption, and the government was now full of impurity. The political system had become an immense and complicated machine, the rapidity of whose movements rendered it ungovernable. With regard to what was urged of the wealth and ease of the people, this proved, in his opinion, nothing. In France during the time of Law, the situation of the state was desperate, and yet the period of the regency was notorious for luxury and dissipation.

One of the great evils of the times, he said "was the want of rational occupation for our opulent youth, who, after they had left school and college, had absolutely nothing to do, and were therefore obliged to resort to degrading amusements and pursuits; and that neither private morals nor public liberty could long survive such times and such practices." The experience of many years had taught him to distrust public men: of the people he thought favourably: they only wanted instruction, for the bulk of mankind always mean well, even when they are in the wrong.

He considered Mr. Jefferson a great man, but regarded his countrymen, generally, as of a very inferior cast; "a prodigious number of *pigmies*, and but few giants: a man who knew but little, thought himself an extraordinary character there, and was actually so, when compared with the common herd."

"The depreciation of the currency," he maintained, "was but little felt by the poorer classes, as the price of labour constantly rose with the depression of the circulating medium. Widows, orphans, capitalists, &c., those who had money to lend on interest, were the principal sufferers. In its last stage, it operated powerfully against the morals of the people, to the utter exclusion even of common honesty. In some cases it was equivalent to an agrarian law; for the *legal tender* of a depreciated paper,

peaceably effected in America, that community of wealth, or rather of poverty, for which the Gracchi had bled."

Paine was for some time a guest at Wimbledon; but his principles never accorded with those of Mr. Tooke; the latter possessed high notions of the aristocracy of learning, and conceived but a low opinion of those whom he held to be "ignorant men, better fitted to pull down, than build up, governments." He took great delight in vanquishing Paine, whenever he presumed to engage in argument.

A good deal of the character of a humourist was mingled in his domestic affairs. His house at Wimbledon was once entered through the roof, and nearly the whole of his plate carried off: having presented to his friends what remained, from that day no article of silver was kept or seen in his house: and this gave rise to the following ludicrous circumstance. "A lady of title and fashion in the neighbourhood, hearing much of his dinners, and being about to give an entertainment, sent him a civil note, to request the loan of his plate for a single day; observing, at the same time, that relying upon his politeness, she had sent her butler and a couple of footmen on purpose to fetch it. They accordingly entered the hall with great ceremony, bearing trays along with them for the conveyance of their charge. After the most solemn promises on their part, to be careful of his property, and return it as soon as possible, a green cloth was confided to their charge, which they were enjoined to carry home, without disturbing its contents; and, on its being opened carefully, in the lady's presence, as had been desired, the whole consisted of a few dozen of spoons, which did not contain a single ounce of the precious metals." He was a kind but exact master to his servants, never permitting their followers to enter his gates. He constantly inculcated and practised good faith in all his transactions, and frequently quoted the Italian proverb—

"Ogni promessa è debita."

He excelled in horticultural pursuits, and was enabled to supply his hospitable board from his own garden, with the choicest fruits that were congenial to the climate of England.

He was born with an iron constitution, but used to say, that when in the King's Bench, for an attack on the authors of the American war, he first took to wine, and continued to indulge in the use of it. Sometimes he would confine himself for a whole month to water; and then he would descant on the advantages to be derived by drinking freely of the unadulterated element.

His wit seemed to improve with his sobriety, and he would boast of his early abstemiousness.—

—In my youth, I never did apply
Hot and rebellious liquors to my blood;
Therefore my age is as a lusty winter,
Frosty, but kindly."

He then exclaimed against wine, and indulged in commendations of Mahomet, who, with a code infinitely beneath that of Christianity, had been fortunate enough to prohibit and prevent the two greatest evils of modern society, drunkenness and gaming. On the other hand, he could readily find classical authorities for ebriety itself, when he was disposed to be merry. In the latter years of his life, he became particularly abstemious. From the gout, or rather its attendant diseases, he suffered almost without intermission; he used to say that he believed it possible to *wear it out*; for his neighbour, Sir Francis Burdett's grandfather, had actually outlived the distemper for several years! Upon being told by some one that the gout was an undoubted sign of wealth, he replied, "that it was like many other *signs*, exceedingly false, for his first fit occurred when he was poor, a prisoner, and with a rigorous sentence suspended over his head." A gentleman present, asked, why it was, that no man pitied a friend affected with this malady? It was answered, that Adam Smith, in his "*Theory of Moral Sentiments*," maintained "that pain never calls for any lively sympathy, unless when accompanied with danger." To this, Mr. Tooke, although seemingly suffering from pain, replied with a smile, "I wish this same Scotchman had been stuffed into my skin for the last twenty-four years, and then he would have discovered, that it is not the *fear*, which may be childish, but the agony, which is assuredly distracting, that entitles any one to sympathy."

During his last illness, he formed the resolution of destroying all his manuscripts, and every other paper or writing, title deeds and account books only excepted. The operation was performed in an apartment above stairs, and lasted during a whole month. An incessant fire was kept up for that purpose, and on this occasion he burned the MS. for a third volume of the "*Diversions of Purley*," all his valuable correspondence, and a treatise on moral philosophy, written in opposition to the doctrines of Paley. It is not a little remarkable, that the life of the author had nearly been sacrificed at the same time with his works; for the combustion became so violent as to extend to his clothes, and actually scorched his coat to such a degree, as to render it unfit to be worn again.

The spirit of opposition that had embroiled nearly his whole life, manifested itself in his retirement, upon two singular occasions. "In the autumn of 1809, I beheld at Wimbledon the two letters, O. P., finely embroidered in silver, on a blue ground. On inquiry, I was told that the late Mr. Clifford, having been presented with this emblem of his successful opposition to the new prices at the Covent Garden theatre, had immediately presented it to Mr. T. I now discovered that our host, while stretched on his couch, racked with pain, had been one of the most zealous

supporters of the O. P. war, declaring, 'that he was not only the friend to old prices, but also to old players.' " The other instance happened only a year before his death, upon a demand being made by the taxgatherer of an extra four-pence half-penny, under the denomination of "tenantry;" of which the only explanation given, was, that the charge had been made by order of his Majesty's commissioners. This was exactly one of those public questions which he had ever been desirous to agitate, throughout the whole course of his existence; he immediately began to contemplate it in the light of a national concern, affecting not one solitary individual, but a whole kingdom; he accordingly deemed resistance not only proper, but highly meritorious. The example of Hampden was before his eyes; he held out to the last, and set an example which was successfully followed by the whole parish.

During the winter of 1812, his disorders increased to an alarming degree; he said that his end was fast approaching, without betraying the least appearance of dismay; to his mind, death had always been regarded as the natural escape from pain and evil, and he therefore met his final doom with firmness and resolution. Having lingered for some time in a state of intense but patient suffering, his daughter discovered a livid spot on one of his feet, which was at once regarded as the sign and the effect of a mortification. This intelligence was immediately conveyed to his friend Sir F. Burdett, who repaired to Wimbledon. Although he was sensible that his fate could not be long protracted, he eagerly inquired concerning the effect produced in the House of Commons by the motion relative to the *punishment* of soldiers. He now became speechless and nearly insensible, yet as he had once before been relieved by a cordial, the member for Westminster, although told that it was in vain, prepared to administer it with his own hand. Having knelt for that purpose, his dying friend opened his eyes for the last time, and seeing who it was that presented the potion, he swallowed it with avidity, and soon after sunk into eternity. He died on Wednesday, March 18th 1812, in the seventy-seventh year of his age—a man equally singular in his character, his opinions, and his fortunes.

ART. VII.—*The History of Pennsylvania, from its discovery by Europeans, to the Declaration of Independence in 1776.*

By THOMAS F. GORDON. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea & Carey: 1829. 8vo. pp. 628.

THE separate or private history of several of the principal states of the Union has been written with a fulness of detail, that leaves little to be desired on the score of information, however distant most of the annalists may be from the elevated position of a philosophical historian. Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-Hampshire, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, have no reason to complain of the obscurity of their annals, or the historical insignificance of their *dramatis personæ*. Maine, Vermont, New-Jersey, and Maryland, have also found historians, such as they are, for at least a portion of their career. Of New-York and Pennsylvania, however, the most considerable of the United States, in reference to population and resources, the recorded annals are barren and meagre in the extreme. A brief and unsatisfactory sketch, by William Smith, of the early years of the state of New-York, was until lately, the only attempt to make known even her provincial history. Mr. Moulton's recent work promises, in a measure, to supply the desideratum: but it is to be feared, from its slow progress, that a considerable period of time will yet elapse, before a complete history of that great commonwealth can be expected.

It certainly cannot be averred of these principal states, that their annals are deficient in historical interest. Pennsylvania, at least, the scene and subject of what her founder denominated "an holy experiment" upon the capacity of the people for self-government, the theatre of novelties in legislation and jurisprudence, which at one period afforded the singular spectacle of a government administered by a religious sect, who anxiously eschewed the doctrine of the lawfulness of an union between the church and state, and at the same time repudiated some of the principal theories by which governments had been previously maintained, viz. the lawfulness of war and of oaths, and the necessity of sanguinary punishments for offenders; Pennsylvania, whose almost unbroken prosperity called forth the eulogiums of Voltaire and Burke, and excited the special wonder of political economists in general, cannot with justice be denominated a barren field for the historian. It is a field, however, into which few labourers have entered. The dull, though honest pages of Proud, furnished for a long time the only attempt to give a general view of her history. As far as he goes, he is generally accurate, and certainly impartial, although he gropes too much among minute

events, and his lumbering style is any thing but attractive for the reader. His history, as it is called, comes down only to 1760, and leaves untouched the preliminary movements as well as the proceedings of the Revolution. Within a few years, a work purporting to be a *Compendious History of Pennsylvania*, has been published in Germany, by Professor Ebeling, who has also given to the European world, a summary of the annals of the other states of the Union. It is understood that a translation of that portion of the labours of the professor which relates to Pennsylvania, has been completed by the learned and venerable Mr. Duponceau, and we believe that some chapters of it have been published in a respectable weekly journal. Whatever may be its merits as an European production, we doubt whether Professor Ebeling possessed sufficient materials for a complete history of the state, and a competent understanding of the genius and character of the primitive settlers.

The history of Pennsylvania has also received partial illustration, at different times, by dissertations on particular passages of her annals, and by the memoirs of some of her distinguished inhabitants. Of the former, one of the most considerable is Dr. Franklin's *Historical Review*, which, although it exhibits too much of the temper of a partisan, is nevertheless of great value for the historical inquirer, and some interest for the general reader. Great assistance has, within a few years, been given to the development and illustration of our annals, by the labours of the *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*—an institution which deserves more full and special notice than can be afforded to it on the present occasion. Its memoirs, of which we believe two volumes have been published, contain many articles important not only for Pennsylvania, but for the Union in general. We might particularly specify the correspondence respecting Washington's valedictory address. The Society has done the state some service, too, by exciting public attention to the preservation of the numerous manuscripts illustrative of its history, which exist in private repositories, or public offices, where time and accident are rapidly destroying them. Among these may be mentioned the curious and valuable correspondence of Secretary Logan and Governor Hamilton, some of the most important of which have been communicated to the Society.

A kindred institution, the Society for commemorating the Landing of William Penn, has also done something to rescue the annals of the state from oblivion, by a series of anniversary discourses, in which the character and results of the advent of the founder have been discussed. The most recent of these* has not we think

* "Sketches of the primitive settlements on the River Delaware, a discourse delivered before the Society for the Commemoration of the Landing of William Penn, on the 24th of October 1827 By James N. Barker"

received the attention and commendation it justly deserves. Treating neither of the tariff, nor of the election of a president, steering clear of the coal trade, the penitentiary system, and the currency, and dwelling only on the recollections of an obsolete age and the vestiges of the primitive and scriptural people who made the wilderness to blossom as the rose, and the waste places to be glad, it was perhaps hardly to be expected that its topics would find favour with a community whose attention seems chiefly directed to the present and the future. And yet a work which enlightens the obscure passages of our history, and gives to the localities about us that kind of classic interest which the recollection of memorable events inspires, and throws the charm of a rich poetical imagination over the labours of antiquarian learning, ought not to pass into rapid oblivion with the ephemeral offspring of the day. Such, however, seems to be the destiny of all the orations, discourses, and other occasional addresses of which the age is so prolific. *Cito peritura* seems to be written on each of them, no matter how felicitously conceived or laboriously concocted. The society, or other public body before which it is delivered, pass a vote of thanks, and requests a copy for the press: the author modestly complies; in due time the publication is announced; some half a dozen copies are purchased by particular friends, and "the remainder of the impression," after lying a suitable time on the bookseller's shelves, are gathered to their brethren, and seen of men no more; unless perchance some traveller, while arranging the garments in his trunk, should pause for a moment, as he glances at the pages in the lining, to sigh or smile, as the case may be, over the fleeting existence of the flowers of rhetoric, "frail," to use Dr. Darwin's idea of the stars, "as their silken sisters of the field."

Mr. Gordon's historical work is upon the whole very creditable to his industry and research, and goes a great way to supply the deficiency we have suggested in the annals of Pennsylvania. It is generally well written and well arranged; the style, although not particularly attractive, is unpretending, and free from the besetting sin of meretricious ornament. His sentiments are just, liberal, and indicative of good sense and good feelings. He bestows very lofty praise upon the founder and his associates, without concealing their failings or mistakes, or hesitating to express his dissent from their measures when truth requires it. Biographical notices, which serve to add an agreeable variety to history, and relieve the monotony of her march, are occasionally introduced, and we should have been glad to see more of them; although we think Mr. Gordon was right in omitting the reminiscences of Proud, who was as particular as a tombstone in commemorating the dates of the birth and death of the early settlers.

"It would have been a source of pleasure to me," he remarks in the preface.

"had I been enabled to add considerably to the collections of this kind made by Proud and Smith; but I had very little that was new to offer: and what can there be interesting to the public in the lives of men, whose chief, and perhaps sole merit, consisted in the due fulfilment of the duties of private life. The names of the first settlers are interesting to us only because they were the first settlers. We have no affecting tale to relate of them; no perils by flood or field; no privations induced by the crimes of others, or their own imprudence. The most that could be said of them is, that they were moral, religious, prudent, quiet people, who, with admirable foresight, made the best advantage of their situation, and who lived in comfort, begat children, and died. All this has been said by Mr. Proud, and I have not deemed it necessary to repeat it. Due attention, however, has been paid to those persons who have distinguished themselves in Pennsylvania History, and such information as I have been able to obtain in relation to public men, has been given in the text, or in the appendix to the work."

Mr. Gordon's narrative of events is sufficiently full to give a comprehensive view of the course of Pennsylvania history, without descending to unprofitable details. We must except from this latter commendation, however, a great portion of his account of the French and Indian wars in other provinces, which, if it was necessary to mention them for the purpose of illustrating and connecting the operations in Pennsylvania on this subject, might have been despatched with much more brevity. We have surely had quite enough, for instance, of General Wolfe and his capture of Quebec. It is impossible to open a volume of American history without meeting with the most elaborate account of it, generally related in the same terms; and it really seems to us that the public is sufficiently familiar with his obituary declarations without having them detailed for the hundredth time in a history of *Pennsylvania*. General Wolfe was no doubt a brave man and a good officer, and he died at a period when military skill was not so common as it has been of late years; but he has been quite equalled in patriotic devotion by many whose names have long since been consigned to oblivion, and whose memories ought not to be the less verdant in consequence of having perished in *defence* of their country.

We shall have occasion presently to point out some few inaccuracies in Mr. Gordon's narrative, which do not, however, materially affect the general correctness and value of his work. With the exceptions we have mentioned, we consider it deserving of liberal commendation, and of what we fear it is not likely to receive, a large share of pecuniary patronage.

Desirous, as far as we are able, to aid in exciting public attention to the study of our national annals, and believing that lessons as valuable for moralists, or even politicians, may be drawn from it as can be found in the newspapers and party pamphlets, we shall endeavour to indicate some of the principal features and characteristics of the history of Pennsylvania; availing ourselves of Mr. Gordon's work, and such other materials as happen to be accessible to us.

The shores of the Delaware were visited and perhaps settled by Europeans at a much earlier period than is generally supposed. Mr. Gordon seems to give the credit of the first visit to *Mey*, the Dutch navigator, who sailed up the bay in 1623, and has bequeathed his name to one of the Capes; but if we may credit the allegations of a bill in chancery, not the best evidence in all cases certainly, a settlement was made by the Swedes, even earlier than 1609.* According to *Purchas*,† in 1626, a certain *John Pory* “adventured sixty miles over land,” from the Chesapeake bay, “through a pleasant and fruitful country to the *South* river,” (or Delaware,) “on whose margin he was received with friendly entertainment by the ruling sachem of the land,” &c. However this may be, and it is of little importance now, its green and fertile banks attracted several visits from different European nations and soon became an article of traffic and a subject of contention. The Indians, who, with all their simplicity, seem to have furnished a model for the race of land speculators of later times, sold the same territory half a dozen times over, to Swedes, and Dutch, and English, and received on each occasion a *consideration* as Trapbois in the *Fortunes of Nigel* calls it, doubtless satisfactory for the time to themselves. The diplomatic intercourse between the Dutch and Swedes, respecting this debatable land, and their bloodless battles for its possession, have been recorded with infinite humour by Diedrich Knickerbocker, who has associated the history of “New Sweden” with the more enduring memories of Peter Stuyvesant and Jan Risingh.

In addition to these conflicting titles were the pretensions of Lord Baltimore, who sought to extend the boundaries of Maryland to the bay of Delaware: and a fourth claim was put in by some of our eastern brethren. So early as 1650, it appears that this adventurous part of our population professed that “they were *streightened* in their respective plantations, and *finding this part of the country* (i. e. New-England!) *full*, did resolve to remove to the Delaware.‡” They founded their claim to this territory upon the allegation that “*divers years since* several *marchants* and others of New-Haven, with much *hazard*, charge, and loss, did purchase of the Indian sagamores and their companies, the true proprietors, severall large tracts and parcells of land on *both* sides of Delaware bay and river, and did presently begin to build up factories for trade, and purposed to set up plantations within their own limits, whereby the Gospel alsoe might have been carried and spread among the Indians,” &c.; and among

* This is asserted in the bill filed by the Penns. against Lord Baltimore, in the court of chancery of England. See Bozman's History of Maryland, p. 243, note

† *Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. iv. page 1734—7.

‡ See a curious collection of documents on this subject in the 2d volume of Hazard's State Papers.

their inducements for removing hither we find it stated, that "Delaware, in the judgment of those that have often and *seriously* viewed the land, and considered the climate, is a place fitt for the enlargement of the English collonies at present, and hopfull for posteritie, that wee and they may enjoy the *ordinances of Christ* both in *sperittual* and *civill* respects." With these views a considerable party set forth from Connecticut, well furnished with arguments in support of their title; but being compelled to put into New-York, they were arrested by William Kieft, who was no stranger to their manner of construing the ordinances of Christ, either in *sperittual* or *civill* respects; and kept in durance vile until they signed an agreement not to proceed further with their enterprise. We almost tremble, while we write, to think what might have been the fate of our worthy founder and his amiable companions, had the attempt been successful, and had they found the shores of the Delaware in possession of an eastern colony. If they had escaped the penalties of the law of Massachusetts, which imposed for the first *offence* of belonging to "that cursed sect of heretics, commonly called Quakers," the punishment of being immediately sent to the house of correction, whipped twenty stripes, and afterwards kept at hard labour until transportation; they might at least have undergone the dispensation approved of by the learned Cotton Mather, as an amelioration of the penal code; viz. "to have their heads shaved;" and being compelled to attend "the congregational meetings," under the penalty of "five shillings for each absence," our worthy ancestors, thus shorn of their beams, might have had an opportunity to testify stoutly against the enforcement of "the ordinances of Christ in *sperittual* and *civill* respects." If, with the fear of these visitations before their eyes, the future founders of Pennsylvania had fled to Maryland, they would have encountered an "ordinance" by virtue of which any justice of the peace had authority to cause them to be "apprehended and whipped." In Virginia a less humiliating but equally oppressive penalty awaited them in the shape of a fine of "five thousand pounds of tobacco each;" and in New-York imprisonment and flagellation were provided for their heinous offences. Thus hunted down by penalties, or shut out, by a *cordon sanitaire*, from the greater part of the continent, it is probable that the fair colony of Pennsylvania would have perished in embryo.

Fortunately for William Penn he found the settled parts of the country in possession of an European colony of somewhat different character. The quiet and gentle Swedes had never drunk from the bitter fountain of persecution, knew little of the *odium theologicum*, and, in the simplicity of their minds,

* Passed in 1661, after the humane government of the Calverts had been overthrown.

saw nothing like crimes or misdemeanors in the broad brims and scriptural phraseology of the new comers. They received them with a cordial welcome, and in a short time, all the European races became united into one harmonious family. The facility with which this was effected, and the rapid growth and prosperity of the province, are easily accounted for. The Adam and Eve of Pennsylvania, whatever foreign slander may say, were neither emigrants from Newgate, nor the vagrants of a superabundant population, "the cankers of a calm world and a long peace;" nor yet of that tribe of dreaming or scheming enthusiasts, half knave and half fool, who cross the Atlantic to try on our virgin soil some wild experiments in religion and morals—panaceas for all the disorders of the social system, which they boast of as discoveries, but which, in fact, mankind have over and over again repudiated. They were generally persons of the middle classes in their native country, of good education, of industrious and thrifty habits, of a pacific and tolerant disposition, as well by temperament as principle; but at the same time of unconquerable stubbornness in defence of civil or religious rights, and thus admirably qualified to become the founders of a prosperous republic. The scrupulous honesty of Penn forbade them to indulge in any flattering anticipations of an earthly paradise on the Delaware. He set before them, in their true colours, all the hardships as well as the advantages they were likely to experience, and took especial care to caution all unstable spirits and effeminate dispositions from attempting the enterprise. Of his plain dealing, in this respect, we are tempted to offer an instance, which we do not remember to have seen quoted. It is extracted from one of his Epistles to the Emigrants. "Now for you, who think of going to Pennsylvania, I have this to say by way of caution. If an hair of our heads fall not to the ground without the providence of God, remember your removal is of greater moment. Wherefore, have a due reverence and regard to his good providence, as becomes a people who profess a belief in providence. Go clear in yourselves and of all others. Be moderate in expectation; count on labour before a crop, and cost before gain; for such persons will best endure difficulties if they come, and bear the success as well as find the comfort that usually follow such considerate undertakings."

Of the genius and disposition, however, of the founder and his companions, the best evidence is furnished by their government and legislation, of which we shall proceed to give a short account.

1. It is evident from the writings of William Penn, that his

* From a rare book entitled "The Present State of his Majesty's Territories," &c. London, 1687.

mind was deeply impressed with the value of free institutions. He had witnessed, and even experienced in his own person, the evils of arbitrary power, and anxiously sought to exclude every source of it from his colony. He dwells upon the abstract and positive beauty of freedom in the eloquent language of a lover, and with the faith of a pious devotee. Every where, however, he seems equally sensible of the mischiefs and dangers of licentiousness. "Liberty," he says, in the preamble to one of his constitutions, "without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." It was not so much the form as the effects of government that he contended for. "Every government," he says in another passage, "is free, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to the laws. And more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion." We find him in several passages of his works intimating that he had mixed up with his constitutions as much of the popular element as he thought they would bear. His political barque carried an unusual proportion of canvass, and perhaps in the serene atmosphere of a Quaker population, he thought this might safely be indulged. It is not to be denied, that some few of his suggestions were more fanciful than practical, but, considering the spirit of the times and the course of his studies, it is rather remarkable that he avoided such errors as were afterwards committed by Locke.

His constitutions were altered several times before they supplied the wants or suited the taste of the people, and he lived long enough to be satisfied that there is no earthly Utopia. Very soon after the organization of the government, he discovered that a popular assembly, even of his own excellent sect, had its infirmities. Human nature, he perceived, was very much the same, whether shadowed by a broad-brimmed hat or decorated with a coronet. At the earliest sessions, symptoms were perceived of the formation of an opposition and administration party, which grew with the growth and strengthened with the strength of the province. Some factious debates irritated the worthy proprietor exceedingly. "For the love of God, and of the poor country," says he, in a letter to Thomas Lloyd, "be not so *governmentish*, so noisy," &c. Party spirit naturally produced contested elections, and we read of several instances in which the peace of the city of brotherly love was disturbed by the violence of conflict at the polls.

The first constitution, which was agreed upon in England, in April 1682, divided the powers of government between the executive and the people. The popular authority was represented in a council and general assembly. The former, who were seventy-two in number, were to be chosen by the freemen at large, and like the senate of modern times, vacated their seats

in rotation. After the first seven years the members were incapable of reelection, to the intent, as the charter expressed it, "That all may be fitted for government, and have experience of the *care and burthen* of it." The first assembly was to consist of the whole body of the freemen, afterwards of a number not exceeding two hundred. The initiation of legislative measures was to be confined to the governor and council; and it was provided that the assembly should meet yearly "in the capital town" of the province, where they were to confer together *for eight days*, and on the *ninth* they were to give their assent or dissent to the laws proposed by the council. The object of this singular clause was, probably, to guard against hasty legislation, and, at the same time, to provide a check upon excessive debating, an evil of scarcely less magnitude. The final decision upon the passage of laws was to be *by ballot*, a provision exactly opposite to our present system of yeas and nays. The power of establishing courts of justice, and of appointing the judges, was given to the governor and council.

It seems that this constitution was not in all respects the work of the proprietary. His lieutenant, Markham, declares that he was overruled in many particulars by his associates. Defects were discovered in its frame from the outset. For so limited a population the number of the council was evidently too great, and the people were too much scattered to be brought together with convenience in one assembly. Dissatisfaction soon arose, as might be expected, with the clause which confined the power of originating laws to the council. On the journals of the second session of the assembly we find the following entry recorded in the primitive phraseology of the times: "a very good proposal was made to the House by a member; viz. that the House might be allowed the privilege of proposing such things as might tend to the benefit of the province, which possibly the governor and council might not think of," &c.

The first constitution, therefore, scarcely survived its transportation across the Atlantic. A second, which was framed by a committee of the council and assembly, was adopted on the 2d of April 1683, and contained some valuable improvements. The number of council was reduced to *eighteen*, and that of the assembly to thirty-six, but the principle of rotation as to the first was preserved. All *elections* were to be *by ballot*. By the first charter the governor possessed a treble vote in the council, which was now abolished. Perhaps the most important and valuable provision was that which established the tenure of the office of judge during *good behaviour*. Another clause provided that the charter might be altered on the concurring vote of the proprietary and governor, and of six parts in seven of the freemen in council and assembly met. The government was administered

under this second constitution for about thirteen years, and generally it was found to work well and to require few amendments. These, which were mostly on the popular side, were provided by the third constitution, which had been framed by the assembly and adopted in November 1696, by the Lieutenant Governor Markham, though not without considerable reluctance. The principal alterations in the preceding charter consisted in the organization of the council and assembly, the former of which was to be chosen triennially, two from each county, and the latter annually, four members being elected by each county. The right of the assembly to originate laws, to sit on its own adjournments, and to be indissoluble during the period for which it was elected, was distinctly established; and the powers and duties of the several officers were accurately defined. These features seem to testify an increasing disposition to restrain the proprietary's authority. On the other hand, the elective franchise was narrowed by a clause which limited it to the persons who were of the age of twenty-one years, and possessed fifty acres of land, or were otherwise worth fifty pounds. So general was the possession of property, however, that there were probably few excluded by this restriction.

The consent of the proprietary to this constitution, which was enacted during his absence in Europe, was never given. Indeed on his return, in 1700, he seems to have acted as if it had no binding operation on him. He summoned an assembly consisting of six members from each county; and that body, to save appearances, caused an entry to be made on the minutes declaring that the call was made with their advice and consent. In the succeeding year the *fourth* constitution was adopted, and proved to be of more durable texture than its predecessors. It recognised in principle, and sought anxiously to guarantee the exercise of, the civil and religious rights of the people. The power of legislation was vested in the assembly with the concurrence of the governor. The council was not adopted as a part of the legislature, and seems from this time to have exercised the functions only of a cabinet or body of advisers to the governor. The assembly was annually elected; four members being returned from each county. It had authority to choose a speaker and other officers; to judge of the qualifications and elections of its members; to sit upon its own adjournments, to prepare bills, impeach criminals, and redress grievances: and generally possessed the paramount authority in the government. The power of appointment to offices, however, was retained by the governor. There was no provision relating to the establishment of the judiciary, an unfortunate omission, which left this important branch of government to the discretion of the legislature.

The constitution thus adopted, was to be unalterable in any

respect, without the consent of the governor for the time being, and six parts out of seven of the assembly met: "but," it was added, "because the happiness of mankind depends so much upon the enjoying of liberty of their consciences," the first article of the charter which secured perfect freedom of religious worship, and eligibility to office for Christians, of all denominations, was declared to be inviolable for ever.

Under this constitution the government was administered until the period of the Revolution, with as large a dispensation of freedom to the inhabitants of the province as they could have desired in their colonial state, and certainly with barriers as effective against the power of the crown as any of the other provinces possessed.

2. The legislative history of Pennsylvania, prior to the Revolution, is curious in many respects, and, perhaps, as edifying for political philosophers, as it is creditable to the provincial statesmen. It is a history of reformation begun and completed by men of plain but strong sense, who certainly felt no repugnance to eradicate evils, because they were covered by the mantle of antiquity, but who at the same time did nothing for the mere love of change, and effected all they did without violence or extravagance. It exhibits, besides, an integrity and firmness of purpose in these primitive lawgivers, which, although thwarted often by the proprietary governors, and still more often by the crown and its privy council, and compelled sometimes to yield partially, and sometimes to procrastinate, yet never lost sight of a projected reform, and seldom failed to accomplish it in the end. It is not intended to assert, that all their legislative measures were either judicious in their object, or commendable in their temper. Party spirit prevailed, with greater or less malignity, during the whole provincial history, and many things were done, and many more said, which can only be accounted for, or excused, by the excitement of this fever, which, however, must perhaps be taken as the natural and necessary concomitant of free legislation. With exceptions arising from this source, which, however, were neither numerous nor important, the statute book of the province might furnish lessons for lawgivers of older and more pretending nations.

The journals containing the proceedings of the assemblies from the earliest period, are fortunately preserved, and display, with characteristic simplicity of language, the plain and unsophisticated manners of the primitive legislators, their straight forward honesty, and occasionally their amusing ignorance of, or, perhaps, indifference for, the refinements of politics. It is entertaining, and perhaps not less instructive, to observe in these authentic memorials, the growth of the infant republic, to witness the development of legislative capacities, and the rise and progress of the

factions by which the tranquillity even of a commonwealth of "Friends" was occasionally disturbed. The reader will not fail also to remark with how much facility and convenience reformations were carried into effect, which in more ancient governments have caused years of doubt and anxiety. If we hear of no debates lasting through entire sessions, or of speeches made *for* newspapers, and *to* empty benches, we find some compensation in reflecting that their laws, and even their constitutions, were adopted at sessions which seldom continued more than twenty days, and that the *Great Law*, emphatically so called, was passed by a three days' legislature. If they met at *five* in the morning, and adjourned to dinner at *twelve*, it is some relief to this bad taste, to believe that their faculties for business were not impaired by early rising, and that the transaction of private concerns and the franking of political pamphlets formed no part of their occupation.

Perhaps, some of that commendable brevity of discourse which facilitated the progress of their legislation, may be attributed to one of their first rules of order, which enacted literally, that "superfluous and tedious speeches may be stopt by the speaker;" a regulation from which modern assemblies might derive a hint. The subjects of their discourse were not always political merely, as will be seen by the following extract, which exhibits a governor in a new light:—"17th December 1682, the house met. The governor, assuming the chair, expresses himself *after an obliging and religious manner* to the house. The president consults with the governor upon divers material concerns, which ended, the governor again urges upon the house his *religious counsel*." The governor having returned, "The speaker endeavours to affect the people with the governor's condescension, and that, *after a divine manner*."

Occasionally they were troubled, as some later legislatures have been, with unruly members, and were under the necessity of exercising the power of expulsion, a specimen of which is found in the case of a certain John Bridges, "who, having spoken some contemptible words against the assembly, being at that time in the assembly, and the assembly upon his submission showing themselves willing to remit the offence, the said member expressing in the house that he would die before he would submit, was therefore by major votes of the house cast out of the house during that session of the assembly." The next day, however, this valiant person "submitting himself, was readmitted into the house." A few years afterwards, a case occurred which is not without its parallel within the walls of St. Stephen, or of the American Capitol, though the journals of the Parliament, or Congress, have not recorded it with the same frankness and simplicity as are displayed in the following passage:—"1692, 2d month

11th. *Simon Irons*, member from Kent, was fined five shillings for being disordered with drink."

The case of another member from Kent seems to us rather a hard one, unless the virtue of the legislature was to be put on the same footing with that of Cæsar's wife.—"1700, Feb. 1. James Brown, a member from Kent, was expelled, as *unfit* to sit there, being *suspected* of piracy." The county of *Kent* seems to have been unlucky, in its representation, since we find that a certain William Moreton, having been elected a member, refused to appear, "for that he, *being a Scotchman*, thought himself not capable of serving as a member of the house;" a degree of modesty which has not found many imitators.

On another occasion, we find the worthy members sorely puzzled with the contumacy of a certain Patrick Robinson, whose acquaintance with the Latin tongue, "the sisters three, and such branches of learning," seems to have given him prodigious elevation in his own esteem. Having been called upon to produce the records of the provincial court, of which he was clerk, he at first declared "that there *was* no records:" and after some excuses, averred, "that his minutes of the proceedings of the said court, were written some in Latin, where one word stood for a sentence; and in *unintelligible* characters, which no person could read but himself; no, not an angel from heaven; or words to that purpose." Neither his Latin nor his hieroglyphics appear to have availed much for Patrick Robinson; since we find that the assembly voted him a public enemy, and requested the council to make him incapable of exercising any public office in the province. It would hardly be fair to attribute the severity of this visitation to any jealousy of the accomplishments of the unfortunate clerk: but it is very evident, from a passage in the journals about the same period, that a profound knowledge of geography, at least, was not among the acquirements of the members. On the third reading of a bill to prevent piracy, in which there was a clause forbidding trade to "*Madagascar and Natoll*," two of the members were despatched to the governor and council "to be informed of the place called *Natoll*;" in other words, to know where it was situated; and shortly afterwards, "the members return, and report that *Natoll* is a place on the *main* near *Madagascar*," with which valuable information the house professed themselves satisfied.

The magnificence of the Capitol at Washington, and of some of the dwellings of the state legislatures, both in architecture and decorations, may well be contrasted with the simplicity of the apartments provided for the first assemblies of Pennsylvania, upon which some light is thrown by the following passages:—

"1695, 7th month 9th. It was moved that three members should treat with *Sarah Whitpain* for to hire her room to set in.

"1699, 12th month 7th. Adjourned to Isaac Morris's house (*by reason of the extrem cold*) for an hour.

"1705. The petition of Thomas Makin was read, complaining of the loss of several of his scholars, by reason of the assembly's using the school-room so long, the weather being cold: Ordered that in compensation for his damage aforesaid he be allowed the sum of *three pounds*," &c.

We have cited a passage which shows that the governor occasionally favoured the house with some of his religious experience, which was reciprocated by the speaker. The same amiable temper, however, did not prevail at all times. In August 1701, it seems, the proprietary delivered a speech at the opening of the session, of which the assembly desired a copy; but he prudently answered, that "it was not his usual way to deliver his speech in writing," and twice afterwards refused, saying it was *extempore*. The fact was, that he had transmitted to the house a requisition of the king, for a sum of money to complete the *fortifications* of New-York, and backed it with his own recommendation, that the supply should be granted; but this step not being exactly in keeping with the pacific tenets of the Friends, he preferred leaving the advice to the uncertainty of recollection, rather than to give it the permanency which the *literæ scriptæ* possess; and the house naturally enough, but perhaps a little maliciously, made several attempts to have it put on record. In 1707, a long and sharp controversy took place between Governor Evans and the assembly, in consequence of the speaker having taken a chair, while the governor was addressing the house at a conference between the assembly on one side and the governor and council on the other: which distressing breach of etiquette the governor warmly resented. The only excuse that can be imagined for the speaker, is, the insupportable length of the governor's address, which, however, we venture to say, was a mere epigram, compared to some of the executive messages of modern times.

We might select for the amusement of our readers, many more specimens of the *naiveté* of the provincial assemblies, but it will be more profitable to furnish some examples of the character and course of their legislation.

The charter granted by Charles II. to William Penn declared that "the laws for the regulation of property as well as for the descent of lands, and for the enjoyment of goods and chattels, and likewise as to felonies, shall be and continue the same as they shall be for the time being in our kingdom of England, until the said laws shall be altered by the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, and by the freemen of the said province, their delegates or deputies, or the greater part of them." The code of civil and criminal law brought over by the first settlers was that which prevailed in England previously to the revolution of 1688, with all its blemishes and incongruities, its sanguinary denun-

ciations against offenders, its imperfect sanctions for political rights, and its inconvenient doctrines of property. Born and nurtured under these laws, however, the emigrants, though they had experienced some of the evils of their operation, felt of course all the influences of habit, and the anxieties which arise from the uncertain consequences of change. They began nevertheless the task of reformation at a very early period. The first effort at *codification*, as it is now called, was made before they had left home. Under the title of "laws agreed upon in England" there is extant a collection of ordinances, forty in number, remarkably concise in expression; but sufficiently comprehensive for the wants of a young colony. Of their spirit and texture the reader may take the following examples:—

"XXVII. To the end that all officers chosen to serve within this province may with more care and diligence answer the trust reposed in them, it is agreed that no such person shall enjoy more than one publick office at one time.

"XXVIII. That all children within the province of the age of twelve years shall be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end that none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich if they become poor may not want.

"XXX. That servants be not kept longer than their time, and such as are careful be both justly and kindly used in their service, and put in fitting equipage at the expiration thereof, according to custom.

"XXXV. That all persons who confess and acknowledge the one almighty and eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in noways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever."

The principal of these ordinances were subsequently incorporated with THE GREAT LAW, as it was termed, but which was more in the nature of a code or system of regulations, as it consisted of sixty-one distinct ordinances, all adopted at the famous three days' session at Chester, in December 1682. Additions were made at the succeeding sessions, but the principal provisions of the Great Law continued in force until 1700, when a general revisal of the statutes took place. Most of the old laws were reenacted with some alterations of phraseology, and some new ones were added. Some of the acts thus passed remain in force until this day, no general revision having taken place since that time.

It appears to have been the wise policy of the founders of the commonwealth to throw open the doors of entrance, as wide as possible, for freemen of every European nation, of good principles and industrious habits, and to close them, as far as they had the power, against the slave and the dissolute. The laws of England imposed disabilities upon *aliens* which were both harsh in their character and unsuitable for the condition of a new colony. One of the first measures of the emigrants was to assimilate in a material point all classes of inhabitants. In the charter of 1683 and 1696, an important provision secured to the children of aliens

dying before naturalization, all the lands purchased by them in the province. One of the earliest laws conferred the rights of citizenship upon all strangers holding land in freehold, who should promise allegiance to the king and obedience to the proprietary. This act was repealed in 1705, and special laws of naturalization were passed at subsequent periods until 1740, when an act of parliament introduced a general law upon the subject into all the colonies, which continued in force until the revolution. The statute book of Pennsylvania contains many laws passed with the view of limiting the increase or mitigating the evils of *slavery*. How, when, or by whom negro slaves were first introduced into the province, cannot be gathered from her history. It is probable that some of this unfortunate race had been brought hither prior to the landing of William Penn, and it is evident that their number was considerable no long time afterwards. So early as 1705 an act was passed, which, by an odd concatenation of subjects, laid "an excise on *sundry liquors and negroes imported* into the province," and in 1711, the legislature, still bent on uniting and extirpating these fruitful sources of evil, enacted a law, the title of which is literally, "an act for laying a duty on *negroes, wine, rum, and other spirits*." In the same year, an act "to prevent the importation of negroes and Indian slaves" was adopted, but, like a law of the succeeding year, laying a duty which amounted to a prohibition, it was repealed by the king in council. While the provincial legislature, however, did all within their constitutional power to prevent the growth of slavery, they were not so inconsiderate as to let loose upon the community the persons already held in bondage. We find in the journals, that in 1712, a certain *William Southbe*, one of that class of persons who are said to possess zeal without knowledge, presented a petition praying for the general emancipation of slaves, upon which the following proceedings took place. "To William Southbe's petition, relating to the enlargement of negroes, the house is of opinion, that it is neither *just*, nor *convenient*, to set them at liberty; also to the petition for discouraging the importation of negroes, (sign'd by many hands,) the house agrees that an import of twenty pound per head, be laid on all negroes, imported into the province, and that the clerk provide a bill and bring the same to the house." None of the Indian race were ever reduced to slavery in Pennsylvania. It appears, however, from the preamble of a law passed in 1705, that Indian slaves had been introduced into the province from Carolina; a practice which was effectually prevented for the future by that act.

One of the most striking improvements upon the English code, consisted in the abandonment of all those provisions which attached disabilities to any religious creed. The great and sublime truths which the Founder inculcated in his political and po-

lemical writings, and which he perpetuated in the fundamental laws of the province, have rendered its legislation, or, as we might more properly say, its abstinence from legislation, with respect to religious rights, sufficiently celebrated. It is worthy of note, however, as a proof of the steadfastness of principle in the provincial statesmen, that in 1734, at a period when fears were entertained of danger from the Roman Catholics, in consequence of the encroachments of the French from Canada, and the influence of the ministers of that faith with the Indians on the frontier, when the most severe penal laws were rigidly enforced against them in England, information was given by Governor Gordon to the council, that a Roman Catholic chapel had been erected in Philadelphia, in which mass was openly celebrated, contrary to the statute of William III., which extended, as he supposed, to his Majesty's dominions on this side of the Atlantic. The council replied that in their opinion the statute did not extend to the province, and that the Roman Catholics were protected by the charter of privileges, and the law "concerning liberty of conscience." This answer, which seems to have put an end to the governor's design, deserves particular remembrance when contrasted with cotemporaneous proceedings in a neighbouring province. Those who are accustomed to the religious equality which now prevails throughout the entire union, will find it difficult to believe, that a law of New-York, passed in the early part of the last century, and which continued in force until a comparatively recent period, ordained that every Jesuit and popish priest who should continue in the colony after a certain day, should be condemned to *perpetual imprisonment*; and if he broke prison and escaped and was retaken, he should be put to death! The pious historian (Smith,) who records this law, adds, that it was worthy of perpetual duration!*

If the laws affecting persons were essentially improved, those respecting the descent and transmissibility of real property underwent reforms no less important; and which, perhaps, may be deemed necessary under the scheme of government proposed.

The law of primogeniture, however valuable in Great Britain, was as little adapted to the republican principles as it was calculated for the circumstances of a new colony. Accordingly, the Great Law, in language as concise as it was decisive, directed that the lands of a person dying intestate should be divided among *all* his children, and, at the same time, authorized the disposal of it by will. Some modifications of this rule were afterwards made, but the principle of distribution continued to prevail during the whole of the provincial government. An absurd rule

* Smith's History of New York, p. 111. See Chancellor Kent's Commentaries, vol. ii. p. 63.

of the English law, which to this day forbids the *ascent* of real property to the *parents* of an intestate, was abolished by an act passed in 1684. Nor did the entailment of estates upon particular heirs, find more favour in the eyes of these sturdy reformers. One of the earliest laws dispensed with the complicated machinery of fines and common recoveries, by providing, that deeds acknowledged in open court and recorded in the prescribed office, should have the same effect in barring estates tail as those elaborate contrivances. The transfer of real estates *inter vivos* was greatly facilitated by several judicious enactments, among which we may mention a law adopted in 1683, providing a form of conveyance of land, which in six lines expresses as much of any real consequence as is to be found in the voluminous parchments of English conveyancing, which Mr. Humphreys, and other jurists of that country, are now labouring to abridge. The act, it is true, was repealed not long afterwards, but its effects are still visible in the comparative simplicity of conveyances in Pennsylvania. Not less important for the security of titles and the convenience of commerce were those provisions of the early laws, which gave publicity to all transfers or incumbrances of land, and thus avoided a glaring, but still existing defect in the jurisprudence of the mother country. Among the laws agreed upon in England, we find it enacted that "all charters, gifts, grants and conveyances, (except leases for a year and under,) and all bills, bonds and specialties, above five pounds and not under three months, made in the province, shall be enrolled in the public enrolment office within *two* months from the making, or else to be void in law: and all deeds made *out* of the province to be enrolled within *six* months." Subsequent laws narrowed the subjects of registry to deeds of conveyance, mortgages of land, and leases of greater length than three years; and by this means established a system of record and notice, the advantages of which are daily experienced by all classes of the community. A distinct registry was also established by the first code of laws, for recording "all births, marriages, burials, wills, and letters of administration." The two latter of these only have been provided for by the succeeding laws. We agree with Mr. Gordon in regretting the omission of the others. Great inconvenience is now frequently experienced in judicial investigations from the difficulty of proving the fact or date of a birth, marriage, or death; a defect which an official registry would furnish an easy means of correcting. A provision of more questionable utility, in the first laws, directed that "there shall be a register for all servants, where their names, time, wages, and days of payment shall be entered."

Having removed the obstructions which the policy of the

English code had thrown in the way of the transfer and distribution of real estate, it was a natural step for the colonial lawgivers, to render that species of property accessible to creditors.

In England, even at the present time, freehold estates are exempted from the payment of debts after the death of their owners, except under special circumstances, as where the heir is bound by deed, or the land is devised for the purpose. A restriction of this nature was suited neither to the principles nor condition of the colonists; but they proceeded gradually in the business of reformation. The laws agreed upon in England, provided, that in case of legal issue *one-third* of all the land of the deceased debtor should be liable. The Great Law extended the liability to *one-half*, and the act of 1688 threw open the whole to the just demands of creditors. Subsequent enactments facilitated still more the recovery of debts, by making lands, like goods, *assets* (as the lawyers term it,) in the hands of administrators, for the payment of debts.

Had we space and opportunity we might point out many other valuable improvements upon the English laws of property. More, however, was attempted than actually effected. The journals of the early assemblies exhibit frequent instances of controversies, long and warmly pursued, between the legislature and the governor for the time being; in which the former struggled hard to simplify the forms of law and facilitate its proceedings; and the latter, like the Eldons and Newcastles of the present era, as regularly opposed to every projected reform the *vis inertiae* of good old prejudice. The action of ejectment, in particular, as transmitted to Pennsylvania by "the wisdom of our ancestors," became the subject of more than one assault from the early legislature. Its intricacies confused the heads of the provincial lawyers, and its fictions were held in holy horror. Mr. Gordon relates, that in 1762 David Lloyd, "a distinguished attorney," refused to plead to the declaration in this action, assigning as his reason, that he should thereby "confess a falsehood;" and his refusal was sustained by the court. There are so many fictions in the law, some of them equally flagitious with the confession of lease, entry, and ouster, as they are termed, in ejectment, that it is surprising the conscience of honest David was not scared before he reached the perilous elevation of "a distinguished attorney." What, for instance, are John Doe and Richard Roe but fictions of the first magnitude, perennial impostors, whom he must have avouched as pledges every time he drew a declaration, knowing their utter inability to satisfy the demands upon them, or even to render their shadowy persons in discharge of the defendant's just claims. We cannot ascertain how the difficulty in this particular ejectment was surmounted, but it is gratifying to the tender consciences of the profession of

the present day, to be relieved by an alteration in the form of the action, from making the confession so particularly eschewed by David Lloyd.

The laws regulating the process against debtors were so modified as to leave the person of the defendant at liberty in most cases, while they subjected his property of every description to the compulsory payment of his debts. The arrest of the body to compel an appearance to the suit seems not to have been contemplated by the early laws; and, when afterwards permitted, it was only under special circumstances and with frequent restrictions. Imprisonment of the person after judgment was discountenanced by repeated enactments in the nature of general insolvent laws, which displayed as much liberality and tenderness of feeling for the debtor as was consistent with the just rights of creditors. We are the more emphatic upon this point, because Mr. Gordon has misstated the provisions of the colonial law in this respect, and thrown an unjust censure upon the legislature. The passage we allude to is to be found at p. 560, as follows:*

"By an act of 1705, any person arresting another, was required to be ready on the next day after, with his declaration and evidence, and to give security to pay the charges and damages of the party arrested, should there be no cause of action. persons of known estates, arrested and imprisoned, were detained at their own expense, until security for payment was given, or satisfaction made; and persons without estates could not be confined longer than the second day of the next term after their confinement: they were compellable, however, to make satisfaction by servitude, according to the judgment of the court—if unmarried, and not above fifty-three years of age, for seven years; if married, and under forty-six years of age, for five years. From this servitude, commercial policy exempted masters of vessels trading to the province from other ports. This *barbarous provision*, inconsistent with the general humanity of the Pennsylvania law, polluted the statute book, not only during the whole of the colonial government, but until so late a period as 1808."

Now there are several mistakes in this passage, some of which have arisen, we presume, from Mr. Gordon having neglected to examine the original act. The clause to which he alludes is in the following words:—

"*Provided always* that no person shall be kept in prison for debt or fines longer than the second day of the next sessions after his or her commitment, *unless the plaintiff shall make appear that the person imprisoned hath some estate that he will not produce*, in which case the court shall examine all persons suspected to be privy to the concealing of such estate, and if no estate sufficient shall be found the debtor shall make satisfaction by servitude according to the judgment of the court where such action is tried (not exceeding seven years of a single person, and under the age of fifty and three years, and five years if a married man and under the age of forty and six years) if the plaintiff require it: but if the plaintiff refuse such manner of satisfaction according to the judgment of the court as aforesaid, then and in such case the prisoner shall be discharged in open court." Ed. 1714, p. 84, 5.

Instead of compelling to servitude all "persons without estates," as Mr. Gordon supposes, it is obvious that the law was intended

* The same misstatement occurs also at page 218

to provide only for the case of "fraudulent insolvency," as it is denominated in modern codes, which in most commercial countries have inflicted upon the offenders punishments of a far more grievous character than that simple servitude for a limited period which the merciful law of the province allotted to it. This act continued in force *until 1729 only*, when it was expressly repealed by an act "for the relief of insolvent debtors." It is true that a supplement to the last mentioned law passed in 1731 revived the act of 1705, but it was only so far as to *permit* insolvents, whose debts were *under twenty pounds*, and who were under forty years of age, unmarried and without children, to make satisfaction for the balance of the debt by servitude, where such debtors were willing to do so, and *petitioned the court for the purpose*. In all other cases insolvents were entitled to their discharge upon giving up their property to creditors. Except, so far as its provisions applied to the case of a voluntary application under the circumstances we have mentioned, the act of 1705 continued to be abrogated. In 1810, and not in 1808, as Mr. Gordon has it, the legislature repealed the act generally, whereby the provisions respecting voluntary servitude, which in fact had long been obsolete, ceased to exist even in name. It is to be hoped, that, in the event of his work coming to a second edition, Mr. Gordon will at least modify the epithets he has applied to this passage of the provincial law.

The reformation of the penal laws forms one of the most distinguished pages in the annals of Pennsylvania, as it is perhaps the brightest gem in the diadem of her great Founder. The subject has, however, been so often and so fully treated, that we are not called upon to enter into it at present.

The judicial history of Pennsylvania, is by no means the least interesting or instructive portion of it, either for the professional student, or the general reader. It may be gathered from some of William Penn's writings and legislative recommendations, that he was not a very ardent admirer of the profession of the law, in which respect he seems to have been followed by later generations of Pennsylvania lawgivers. In the earliest acts, we find various provisions devised for the purpose of enabling men to plead their causes without professional aid, and to facilitate the adjustment of controversies out of court. Among these attempts, which may be classed with some of the projects recorded by Swift in the voyage to Laputa, was the establishment of a board of "peace-makers," as Penn was pleased to denominate them, consisting of three persons in each county, to whom all disputes were to be referred. The experiment was, however, short-lived, and like its modern resemblance, the system of arbitration, failed in its intended effect of arresting the growth of litigation, and thinning the ranks of the profession. Few of the *records* of the board

of "peace-makers" have floated down to our time. We have seen but one or two, which display an equal and happy indifference for the rules of grammar, and the principles of jurisprudence, and a characteristic attachment for that "natural equity," which, according to a learned person of our own days, "abhors the sharp points of the law."

Jurisdiction in civil suits of a small amount, was also given to justices of the peace, by the earliest laws, an innovation upon the English system, which has been greatly extended in modern days. The bench of the county courts, and even that of the supreme court, in its first periods, were occupied by laymen, whose honest simplicity was as often puzzled by the intricacy of the causes, and the subtlety of the lawyers, as was ever the worthy governor of Barataria. We find in an amusing volume published a few years ago in London,* an account of this primitive judiciary, from a source entirely unexpected. We mean the celebrated Mordaunt, earl of Peterborough. He is reported in this book, (p. 155,) to have said,—

"I took a trip once with Penn to his colony of Pennsylvania. The laws there are contained in a small volume; and are so extremely good, that there has been no alteration wanted in any one of them ever since Sir William made them. They have no lawyers. Every one is to tell his own case, or some friend for him; they have four persons as judges on the bench; and after the cause has been fully laid down on both sides, all the four draw lots; and he on whom the lot falls decides the question. 'Tis a fine country, and the people are neither oppressed by poor's rates, tythes, nor taxes."

This marvellous story of the balloting on the bench, would render the whole account of the visit to Pennsylvania at least apocryphal, were it not for a confirmation which it derives from the following passage of Voltaire's *Siecle de Louis XIV.*:—"Il (Lord Peterborough) avait, à vingt ans, commencé la révolution d'Angleterre, et s'était rendu le premier en Hollande auprès du Prince d'Orange: mais de peur qu'on ne soupçonnât la raison de son voyage, il s'était embarqué pour l'Amerique; et de là il était allé à la Haie sur un vaisseau Hollandais." Now, if we are to depend upon this account of Voltaire, Lord Peterborough's visit to Pennsylvania must have taken place about 1687, or in the fifth year of the colony; and yet in Mr. Spence's *Anecdotes* he speaks of accompanying Penn, whose second visit was not made until 1699; and his admiration of the permanency of the laws, would seem to refer to a much later period. It was said of this eminent person, that he was acquainted with more kings and postillions than any other individual in Europe; and Swift, in his verses beginning—

* "Anecdotes, observations, and characters of books and men, collected from the conversations of Mr. Pope, and other eminent persons of his time, by the Rev. Joseph Spence." London, 1820.

“Mordanto fills the trump of fame,”

says that he was—

“Ne’er to be matched in modern reading,
But by his namesake Charles of Sweden,”

but, if his report on the judiciary be correctly given by Mr. Spence, he will be entitled to the additional distinction of being the first of a series of British travellers who have made discoveries respecting our institutions and habits, of which we never dreamed.

The courts of common law were organized, as nearly as circumstances would permit, upon the plan of those in England; but the establishment of a distinct tribunal for the administration of *equity*, was long a bone of contention between the successive governors and assemblies. The latter appeared to have entertained some vague idea of danger from the supposed arbitrary authority of a chancellor; and while they made various efforts to combine the powers of a court of equity with the functions of the ordinary tribunals, they resisted stoutly for many years the attempt of the former to establish a separate jurisdiction. At length, in 1720, Sir William Keith, the most popular of the proprietary governors, succeeded in obtaining a resolution of the assembly, authorising him to open and hold a court of chancery, which he was not slow in carrying into execution. He constituted *himself* the chancellor; took to his assistance certain members of the council, whom he appointed masters in chancery; and promulgated his decrees with the gravity and deliberation, if not with the learning, becoming to so exalted a functionary. The court existed in name at least for fifteen years, when the assembly of the time, relapsing into their ancient anxiety on this portentous subject, came to the resolution, “that the court of chancery, as at present established, is contrary to the charter of privileges granted to the freemen of the province.” No further proceedings took place in this tribunal, although some efforts seem to have been made to obtain a sanction for its continuance. We have before us the manuscript opinions of the attorney-general and solicitor-general of England, (Sir John Willis and Sir Dudley Ryder,) in answer to a series of questions propounded to them on the part of the proprietaries, which, we believe, have never been published. The attorney-general, after stating that “the power of determining cases in equity was originally vested in the king of England, and that the chancellor only acts by virtue of a delegated power from him; being appointed at first as his assistant, when causes in equity began to be so very numerous, that the king could not despatch them himself,” and that the resolution requesting Governor Keith to open a court of chancery, was a sufficient authority for the establishment of that tribunal, gave it as his opinion, that “it will not be contrary to

the charter of privileges, or unlawful to continue to hold the same, until the whole legislature have passed an act to the contrary." Sir Dudley Ryder was more explicit and positive in respect to the power of the crown, holding, "that a court of equity is a *necessary* part of the English constitution, that relates to the administration of justice; and that the chancellor appointed by the king, or the keeper of the great seal, are, by virtue of their office, entitled to exercise that jurisdiction;" and that "King Charles II. might by law grant power to William Penn and his deputies, to erect a court of equity in Pennsylvania, without the consent of the legislature thereof:" And he coincided in opinion with the attorney-general, that the continuance of the court would be lawful, whatever might be the resolutions of the assembly. The current of public opinion was, however, too strong for the executive, although supported by such eminent authorities. Since the year 1730, equity has been administered through the tribunals of the common law; very imperfectly, indeed, as to the mode of application, but upon the same principles as are recognised in the English chancery; and, perhaps, when the equity forms of proceeding shall be authorized by the legislature, it may be found that the ancient assemblies of the province were not very greatly mistaken, in supposing, with the jurists of the continent of Europe, that a single tribunal was competent to answer all the purposes of justice.

We have occupied so much space with these suggestions, as to leave ourselves room for only two or three general remarks suggested by the perusal of Mr. Gordon's History. In the first place, whatever may be the intrinsic excellence of those doctrines of peace and non-resistance inculcated by the Society under whose auspices Pennsylvania was colonized, it is obvious, that their practical value and their suitableness for the present constitution of human nature, have derived no great support from the history of the province. Undoubtedly the first step of William Penn, the memorable interview with the Indians under the elm, afforded a striking proof, that the pomp and circumstance of war were not necessary in negotiating treaties of cession with the Indians; and the long period of harmonious and beneficial intercourse that succeeded, argues strongly in favour of the *policy*, as well as the positive justice, of pacific and gentle relations with that unfortunate race. But, unhappily for the system of non-resistance, it had to deal also with *civilized* communities; and the province was not many years old, before it was discovered that foreign cupidity and ambition were not to be restrained by texts of Scripture, however illustrated and enforced by the learned and pious tracts of the Founder. The dependent condition of the colony, which necessarily involved it in all the wars of the mother country, must of course be taken into considera-

tion, and great allowances should be made for the embarrassments which their position in this respect created for the provincial legislature. Very soon after the organization of the government, it became evident that some means of resistance to foreign encroachments were necessary, and a distinction was taken, obvious enough in itself, but which the Friends had repudiated in their previous writings, between wars of conquest and invasion, and those passive hostilities which consisted in the mere protection or defence of the soil against foreign aggression; just, it was said, as a member of the Society might bolt and bar his door against a robber and felon, without violating any rule of Scripture or doctrine.

We have already alluded to the speech made by Penn to the assembly in 1700, recommending a grant of money to assist in completing the fortifications of New-York, and to his ingenious method of avoiding the demand made by the assembly for a written copy of it. It may be gathered from parts of his correspondence and other writings, that he thought some of the Friends pushed this and other matters of conscience a little too far. In a letter, dated in England in 1695, of which Proud has given us an account, he blames the assembly for refusing to send money to New-York, for what he calls "*a common defence.*" The charter of Charles II. gave him express power, by himself or his captains, "to levy, muster, and train all sorts of men, and to make war and pursue their enemies, and, by God's assistance, to vanquish and take them; and *being taken to put them to death by the law of war*, or to save them at their pleasure, and to do all and every thing which unto the office of a captain-general of an army belongeth," &c.; and his enemies did not fail to remark, that he bore upon his coat of arms the three cannon balls, which were appropriately assumed by the admiral his father, but formed rather a singular contrast with his own motto of "*Mercy and Justice.*" His friend and secretary, Logan, seems to have entertained similar sentiments with respect to the legality and expediency of using means of defence against a public enemy. He addressed a communication to the Society in support of this doctrine, which was read at one of their meetings, and became the subject of considerable discussion. We do not know that it has ever been made public, though it is often alluded to in the correspondence of those days. The situation of the province, indeed, justified some modification of the religious tenets of the Friends in this respect, or required that they should give place to statesmen who had no conscientious scruples upon the point. Pirates hovered on the coast, and the French and Spanish privateers, encouraged by the condition of the pro-

vince, ventured up the Delaware bay, and alarmed even the citizens of Philadelphia for their safety. Voluntary associations were formed of persons willing to bear arms; batteries were erected by voluntary contribution; and the assembly were compelled, by the remonstrances of the crown, the proprietaries, and the people, to join in measures for the public defence. In 1745 they were even under the necessity of granting money to assist in maintaining the troops raised for the invasion of the French provinces. It is true, that, by the terms of the grant, the subsidy was to be expended in the purchase of "bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat or *other grain*," but Dr. Franklin assures us, that the words "*other grain*," were intended to authorize the application of part of the money to the purchase of *gunpowder*, and that Governor Thomas actually expended a part of it for this black grain, and was never accused of misapplying the fund. Finally, in 1756, the privy council of England, having been appealed to on the subject of a general militia law, declared their sentiments that—

"The legislature of Pennsylvania, as of every other country, was bound, by the original compact of government, to support such government and its subjects; that the measures intended by the assembly for that purpose were improper, inadequate, and ineffectual; and that there was no cause to hope for other measures, whilst the majority of the assembly consisted of persons whose avowed principles were against military services; who, though not a sixth part of the inhabitants of the province, were, contrary to the principles, the policy, and the practice of the mother country, admitted to hold offices of trust and profit, and to sit in the assembly without their allegiance being secured by the sanction of an oath."

Thus assailed by remonstrances from their constituents, and by censure from abroad, the Friends who continued in the assembly were placed in a trying situation.

"The Quakers had been greatly exercised by their labours in the assembly. In declining to exert themselves to procure an election, they were willing to think they had done all that was necessary to avoid a situation incompatible with their principles, and they suffered themselves to be returned, especially by the Germans, who sought in their religious scruples a protection against taxes and military labours. But, whatever their consciences might dictate, they saw that men and money were absolutely necessary to resist the enemy, and were, for a season, content to vote for money bills, unequivocally intended to maintain the war, because the special object was not expressly designated, and to enact a militia law, permitting, but not compelling, the people to bear arms, though it was avowedly designed to render the military force of the country more effectual. But these things were not done without some wincing. The Quakers protested against the payment of war taxes, and some Friends, members of the house, entered their dissent on its journals against the money bills, and finally resigned their seats; some declined a re-election, while others still flattered themselves to reconcile their consciences with the measures of the assembly. But, when the opinions of the ministry, on the conduct of the Quakers, were communicated to the house, a portion of these deemed it prudent to retire; and writs were issued for filling the places of Mahlon Kirkbride, William Hoge, Peter Dicks, and Nathaniel Pennock."*

Another thing which strikes us in the provincial history, is the

* Gordon, p. 339.

perpetual bickering between the proprietaries, or their governor, and the assemblies. Shakspeare says, that "the course of true love never did run smooth," and the remark might be made, with equal justice, of the history of republics. It is especially true of Pennsylvania. Disputes began, as we have already intimated, in the cradle. The first source of dissension was the proprietary estate and income. Penn expected a considerable revenue from his lands, but was soon and sadly disappointed. His quitrents were payable in very small sums, were with difficulty collected, and reluctantly paid. Silver and gold being scarce, and bank notes not even existing in imagination, the purchase money of the lands was slowly obtained. He and his successors reserved valuable tracts, under the name of manors, but they afforded no relief to their necessities. On the other hand, the assembly was disposed to exaggerate the landed income of the proprietaries, and, professing to believe that they derived a sufficient support from this source, they were backward in granting supplies, from the public treasury, for the maintenance of the executive office. When it became necessary to impose taxes upon land, they conceived that they had a right to include the whole of the proprietary estate in the assessment; and this was the source of a dispute, which lasted through the whole of the provincial government. The proprietaries resisted stoutly this encroachment, as they termed it, upon their vested rights, the assembly as stoutly maintained their ground, and long were the speeches, and tedious the pamphlets, that were written upon the subject. A sort of compromise finally took place, not long before the revolution, in which the assembly carried their point, at the expense of some trifling concessions. Another subject of dissension arose from the peculiar situation of the proprietary government. On the return of William Penn to England, he appointed a lieutenant governor, by whom the executive power was administered, subject to his revision, and afterwards to that of the crown; and the instructions given by his successors to their deputy, forbade him expressly to give assent to certain species of laws, until their approbation was obtained. The assembly complained, and not without reason, that they were placed in a worse situation by this system, than if they were subjected, like most of the other colonies, to the immediate government of the crown, since they found three successive obstacles, to the passage of just and necessary laws: 1st, the negative of the governor; or, if he should approve, 2d, the dissent of the proprietaries; or, if that were removed, 3d, the veto of the king in council. The controversies flowing from these, and other sources, rose to a great height. We may judge of the tone and sentiments prevalent at one period, by the following passage from the "Historical Review," in which Dr. Franklin contrasts the government of the time with what it once was:—

"A father and his family, the latter, united by interest and affection, the former, to be revered for the wisdom of his institutions, and the indulgent use of his authority, was the form it was first presented in. Those who were only ambitious of repose, found it here; and as none returned with an evil report of the land, numbers followed, all partook of the haven they found; the community still wore the same equal face; nobody aspired; nobody was oppressed; industry was sure of profit, knowledge of esteem, and virtue of veneration.

"An assuming landlord, strongly disposed to convert free tenants into abject vassals, and to reap what he did not sow, countenanced and abetted by a few desperate and desisting dependants on the one side; and on the other, all who have sense enough to know their rights, and spirit enough to defend them, combined as one man against the said landlord, and his encroachments in the form it has since assumed."*

We are induced to quote another passage from the same work, from its appositeness to the present era. Every one must be struck with the applicability of the remarks to some of the ex-functionaries of the United States:—

"There is no man long or much conversant in this overgrown city, (London,) who hath not often found himself in company with the shades of departed governors, doomed to wander out the residue of their lives, full of the agonizing remembrance of their past eminence, and the severe sensation of present neglect. Sir William Keith on his return, was added to this unfortunate list; concerning whom the least that can be said, is that either none but men of fortune, should be appointed to serve in such dignified offices; or otherwise for the honour of government itself, such as are recalled without any notorious imputation on their conduct, should be preserved from that wretchedness and contempt which they have been but too frequently permitted to fall into, for want even of a proper subsistence."†

These provincial governors, indeed, do not appear to have been always selected for their moral or intellectual fitness. Mr. Gordon tells us, that *Gookin*, was appointed by the proprietary because, being a *bachelor*, it was supposed he would make a *cheap* governor. He was allowed only two hundred pounds a year without any fees or perquisites. In 1706, a representation was made by the assembly, to the proprietary, touching the abuses in the government, which is rather singularly worded, for a state paper. "We further entreat," says this worthy body, "what effectual care be taken for the suppressing of vice, which to our great trouble, we have to acquaint thee, is more rife and common among us, since the arrival of thy deputy and son, &c. . . . and, the roast is chiefly ruled, by such as are none of the most exemplary for virtuous conversation," &c. It is remarkable that Penn appointed no member of his sect to the office of lieutenant governor, aware, perhaps, of the difficulty he would experience in carrying on some of the operations of government; and his heirs, none of whom were Quakers, followed the precedent set them. Some of the deputies were military men; and most of them by their habits and disposition, the very antipodes of the honest and simple assemblymen. Little pains were taken to conciliate, on either side, and

* Historical Review of the Province, &c Introduction, p. xxvii

† Historical Review, p. 63.

sharp messages, and angry answers, diversified the columns of the provincial journals. With all this bickering, however, the province waxed strong in numbers and resources. As it has been somewhere else remarked, the agitation was only on the surface of the waves, while the great current of prosperity went rolling on with irresistible force. Population and commerce increased in an extraordinary ratio. Every year witnessed the substitution of agriculture and civilized life, for the gloom of the primitive forests. The number of vessels of trade, which departed from Philadelphia in 1723, was eighty-five, while in 1749, to 1752, they exceeded four hundred per annum. The imports from England, increased from £15,992 sterling, in 1723, to £191,833 in 1749, and the exports of wheat, and other grain, from £62,473, to £187,457. The population was found to have nearly doubled itself in *twenty* years, and, perhaps, to no community was ever before vouchsafed so ample an allotment of the blessings of domestic and social life. It was in view of this condition of the province, that Edmund Burke described it as, "a commonwealth which in the space of about seventy years, from the beginning of a few hundreds of refugees, and indigent men, has grown to be a numerous and flourishing people; a people, who from a perfect wilderness, have brought their territory to a great state of cultivation, and filled it with wealthy and populous towns; and who in the midst of a fierce and lawless race of men, have preserved themselves with unarmed hands, and passive principles, by the rules of moderation and justice, better than any other people has done by policy and arms."

Perfect freedom of religious faith and practice, produced, as might be expected, a great variety of creeds, and some extravagancies, both of faith and life, which, however, for want of the aliment of persecution, were mostly shortlived. The principal denominations of Christians increased and multiplied with great rapidity, and built numerous places of worship, and supported their ministers without the help of tithes, or any assistance from the government. We find in Mr. Gordon's history a curious account of one of the sects which sprung up in the state, with which extract we shall close this article:—

"The *dunkards*, *tunkers*, or *dumplers*, are another species of German baptists, now almost extinct. Their religion was more mystical, and their practice more ascetic and fanatic, than of any other sect in the province. The word "*tunker*," from which their other names are derived, means a baptizer by immersion. With the Quakers and Menonists, they refuse to swear, or bear arms. They trace their origin to the baptism of John, and admit no other confession of faith than the New-Testament. They adopt the eucharist, which they administer at night, in imitation of our Saviour, washing, at the same time, one another's feet, agreeably to his example and command. They convene on the first day of the week for public worship; but those at Ephrata kept the Jewish sabbath. They wore their beards long, and dressed in plain and coarse garments, of an ancient fashion."

"The property of the society consisted of about two hundred and fifty acres of land. Its labours and profits were in common. Marriage and sexual intercourse were forbidden to the members of the community; but such as were disposed to enter into matrimony were permitted to withdraw, taking with them their proportion of the common stock. The sexes dwelt apart. They lived on vegetables solely, and slept on wooden benches, with blocks of wood for pillows, and attended worship four times in the twenty-four hours. This life macerated their bodies, and rendered their complexions pale and bloodless. Their dress consisted of a shirt, trousers, and waistcoat, with a long white gown and cowl, of wool in winter, and linen in summer. The dress of the women differed from that of the men in petticoats only: with the cowls of their gowns they covered their faces, when going into public. When walking, they all used a solemn steady pace, keeping straight forward, with their eyes fixed to the ground, not turning to give an answer when asked a question. On their occasional visits to their friends at Germantown, forty or fifty thus strangely accoutred, with sandals on their feet, were seen following each other in Indian file. On the death of Beissel, his authority devolved on one Millar, who, wanting the vigorous mind and influence of his predecessor, was unable to preserve the society from rapid decay.

"All-engrossing as religious fanaticism usually is, and attractive as it sometimes proves, by its singularities, nature and reason proved too strong for it in Pennsylvania; and the tunker sect has been almost extinguished in the unequal conflict. Ephrata still exists, but the peculiarities of its inhabitants are no more: they marry and are given in marriage; eat, drink, and dress, like their neighbours; but are still remarkable for the simplicity of their manners, and fervour of their devotion. Their religious principles are not precisely known: they denied the doctrine of original sin, and the eternity of punishment; and believed that the day of judgment would be a day of light and instruction, when the whole human race would be restored to happiness: contention with arms, or at law, they considered as inconsistent with Christianity. They had no set form of worship, but sang, at their devotions, hymns composed by the brethren, and were distinguished by skill in vocal music. A mystical union in love with God and Christ, they deemed the great object of their life, and the reward of their labours and sufferings, to attain which, self-denial, and withdrawal from the world, were essential. Baptism they adopted, not as an initiation to Christian fellowship, but as a rite, like that of purification in the Mosaic law, to be repeated as often as the believer was defiled by the world. Their sensual affections, driven from their natural channel, were poured forth on this mystical union with the Redeemer. By the unmarried of both sexes, he was considered as an object of more than spiritual love: he was the bride of the one, and the bridegroom of the other: in their songs and hymns, as in those of the Moravians, he was sometimes addressed in the strong, and frequently not most delicate, language of passion. 'Some of their writers of spiritual songs possessed well-regulated minds, and a portion of poetic spirit. The mysticism of these, created an imaginary world, instead of that which they had abandoned, where they permitted their affections to roam unchecked. The figure or image dearest to passion, was enthroned in their hearts: that was their God, their Lord, their Redeemer. But the effusions of others were a jargon of inconsistent connexions; turtle-doves and lambs in conjugal union; cultivated fields, on which were sown pearls, and wine, and music; burning hearts united in keeping silence, and singing at the same time songs of joy.' The whole number of tinkers in Pennsylvania, in 1770, was estimated at four hundred and nineteen families, consisting of two thousand and ninety-five persons. They had four meeting-houses in different parts of the province." P. 573, &c.

ART. VIII.—FEMALE BIOGRAPHY.

- 1.—*Female Biography; or, Memoirs of Illustrious and Celebrated Women, of all Ages and Countries.* By MARY HAYS. Philadelphia, from the London edition.
- 2.—*Histoire de Christine, Reine de Suede, par J. P. CATTEAU-CALLEVILLE.* Two vols. 8vo. Paris. *The History of Christine, Queen of Sweden, by J. P. CATTEAU-CALLEVILLE:* Paris.

THE biography of the female sex has been treated from the earliest period of modern civilization, almost as amply as the other. Dictionaries have been devoted specially to the commemoration of the virtues and demerits of the ladies; they occupy much space in all the great biographical compilations; and the separate lives, sketches, notices, and eulogies, of which they are the subjects, may be pronounced innumerable. They cannot complain of neglect, on the part of either poets or prose writers, philosophers, or legendaries. They almost crowd the martyrologies—much to the dishonour of *mankind*, in one respect—and modern piety has canonized a multitude, shining like galaxies among the saints. The ancients, though liberal in exalting and spreading them in the invisible or mythological world, invested them with less importance in real life, or yielded them less attention when they treated of human characters and affairs, than the Christian generations have done. As they are indebted to Christianity for superior usage and estimation in domestic and social relations, they owe it, also, far greater prominence and diffusion in public annals, and the ability which they have freely employed, of commemorating their own deeds and merits.

The attempts of female writers, by which the end of the last century was marked, to assert the mental equality of the sexes, if not the superiority of the softer, were far from being new or original. Mary Wollstonecraft was scarcely more than a plagiarist, with all her pretensions:—the example and the doctrine which she followed had been provided centuries before, in a more elegant form and erudite strain; and by women who, from their consciousness of intellectual power, and the depth of their recondite studies, were entitled, in a higher degree, to dispute the palm, or contend against the prejudice of inferiority. We shall proceed to cite a few instances, which may not be known to the major part of even our female readers, and which, as we have touched this topic, may be an acceptable offering, therefore, to laudable curiosity and pride. So early as the year 1675, the Abbé Gallois stated, in the *Paris Journal des Savants*, that one virtuoso of his acquaintance, had collected *four hundred several*

works which the republic of letters owed to learned females; and Ménage's *Historia Mulierum Philosopharum*, dedicated to Madame Dacier—whom he styled *Fæminarum, quot sunt, quot fuere, doctissima*—afforded another body of cogent examples for the argument in behalf of the female mind. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Modesto Pozzo, a Venetian lady and ripe scholar, gave to the world an able treatise on the merits of women, *de Merita delle Donne*, in which she asserted the equality of the sex. Another, of the same city, *Marinelli*, more celebrated, published, in 1601, a book, with the title *Nobility and Excellence of Women, with the defects and faults of Men; La Nobiltà e l'Excellenza delle Donne, con difetti et mancamenti degli Huomini*. Her object was to demonstrate the superiority of her own sex, in every intellectual and moral respect; which the erudite damsel of Cologne, Anna Maria Schurman, (1641,) reprehended as an exorbitant pretension, though she printed herself a Latin dissertation on the side of equality—*Dissertatio de Ingenii muliebris ad doctrinam et meliores literas aptitudine*. *Marinelli's* theory became, however, popular with most of the Blues of her age and the succeeding century. One of her French disciples issued at Paris, in 1644, an octavo, called "The Generous or Courageous Woman, manifesting that her sex is more noble, deeply political, learned, virtuous, and economical, than the male." Another, *La demoiselle Jaquette Guillaume*, produced, in 1665, a larger work of a similar purport—*Les Dames Illustres, où, par bonnes et fortes raisons, il se prouve que le sexe féminin surpasse en toute sorte de genres le sexe masculin*. The spinster *de Gournay*, Montaigne's adopted daughter, whom the amusing philosopher signalizes, on account of her zeal for the rights and wrongs of women, restricted herself in her ingenious Discourse, to the question of the equality of the sexes.

Italy contained a number of females, who, after gaining distinction as authors or professors, in the sciences and ancient languages, exerted their attainments and faculties to fortify the unqualified claim of the Venetian literary amazon. They ransacked pagan history, for the cases of female ascendancy and prowess, in government, in arms, in arts, in morals, in the practical virtues, and the useful qualities; and explained with the most industrious subtilty and zeal how it happened, through the operations of brute force and blind chance, that the more spiritual and ethereal of the genders had fallen under the dominion and in the wake of the other. They threw back caustic contempt on the Greek and Roman satirists, who made the female nature and career in general, responsible for prodigies of folly and dissoluteness, which were immediately created or occasioned by the extreme degeneracy and monstrous turpitude of the usurpers, self-cycloped lords of the creation. Old Eubulus, Euripides, and Juvenal, were understood in

the original, and scorned; just as, in later times, the ladies of France revenged themselves on Boileau, and those of England might have retorted, by accounting for the spleen of Pope. We do not concur with Warburton in his remark, "that the men bear a general satire most heroically; the women, with the utmost impatience;" and we deem the reason assigned still more questionable and derogatory than the allegation itself—"the women fear that such representations may hurt the sex in the opinion of the men; whereas the men are not at all apprehensive that their follies or vices would prejudice them in the opinion of the women." But the sentiment of Warburton recurred to our memory with some force, as we looked into the pages wherein the Italian female champions have expressed the indignation and resentment due to the classic libellers, and when we thought of the feeling and language, with which they would have treated such compositions as the Epistles of Pope, from which, according to Warburton, the great moral is, that the two rarest things in all nature, are a disinterested man and a *reasonable woman*.

It seems to us that the ladies of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and the first quarter or half of the eighteenth centuries, had more plausible and immediate reasons for their jealousy of intellectual reputation, than exist for those of the present times. Science and erudition were less general among the men, particularly in the two first periods; and eminence in classical and abstruse knowledge was more common and brilliant with the other sex, than it is in our age, notwithstanding the frequent introduction of Latin studies into the prevailing system of female education. Female acquirements and authorship are now generally confined to the vernacular languages; to works of fiction, elementary treatises, and compositions for the improvement of ordinary life, social and domestic. But, in England, for example, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, it was the *fashion* to give a learned education to women. We are told by the annalists, and know from the biographical records, that the study of the higher sciences and ancient tongues, was the occupation of the most "gorgeous dames" and beauteous damsels of the court. The subjoined extract from an interesting book entitled "Lady Jane Grey and her Times," will show the state of the case at a still earlier period.

"In an elegy, written after the death of Lady Jane Grey by Sir Thomas Chaloner, she is commended not only for her beauty, but also for that which was a greater charm, her intelligent and interesting style of conversation. He speaks too of her stupendous skill in languages, being well versed in eight, consisting of the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, French, and Italian, besides that of her native land, in which she was well grounded.

"He further observes that she had a natural wit, and that much improved by art and study. She played well on instrumental music. She wrote an excellent hand; and she was as excellent at her needle.

"Notwithstanding all these endowments, Chaloner affirms, that she was of a

mild, humble, and modest spirit, and never showed an elated mind until she manifested it at her death.

"To boarding-school misses of the present day it may seem strange, that young ladies in those times should have troubled themselves with so many tongues, but the fact is not the less certain; as we are told by Udal, in his dedication to Queen Katherine Parr, of the translation of Erasmus's Paraphrase on the four Gospels; that a 'great number of noble women at that time in England were given to the study of human sciences and of strange tongues.' In short, he says, that 'it is no uncommon thyng to see young virgins so nouzled and trained in the study of letters, that they willingly set all other vain pastymes at nought for learynge's sake. It was no news at all to see queens and ladies of most high estate and progenie, instede of courtely daliaunce to embrace virtuous exercises, readlyng and writyng, and with most earnest studie both erlye and late, to apply themselves to the acquiring of knowledge as well as all other liberal arts and disciplines, as also most specially of God, and his most holy writ. And in this behalf, like as to your highnesse, as well for composyng and setting forth many godly psalms and diverse other contemplative meditations, as also for causing these paraphrases to be translated into our vulgare language. England can never be able to render thanks sufficient.' Not only did languages form a great part of female education, but philosophy also; such as it was at that day, bursting from the trammels of the schools and of superstitious ignorance."

On the continent, the *fashion* was as positive and broad as in England, and dignified by a proportional number of shining examples. We shall cull a few of these for edification and entertainment, without observing a strict chronological order or any rule of gradation. We may begin with the *Dutchess of Retz*, who died at Paris in 1603, and of whom, and the Italian *Savante* Catherine Cibo, Rapin said—

"On les voyoit sur un tome
Ou de saint Jean Chrysostome
Ou bien de saint Augustin,
Passant et soir et matin,
Dessus la sainte Ecriture,
En priere ou en lecture.
Puis extraire de Platon,
De Plutarque et de Caton,
De Tulle et des deux Sénèques
Les fleurs Latines et Grecques,
Mélant d'un soin curieux
Le plaisant au sérieux.
De-là leur esprit agile
S'égayoit dans le Virgile,
Dont la pure netteté
Ne sent que la chasteté."

We cannot furnish a suitable translation of the rhymes, but may quote in English the statements of the biographers that the Dutchess, though so deeply and variously erudite, gave birth to ten children; lost nothing of her exquisite beauty; managed the highest diplomatic concerns; gained victories in the field at the head of her husband's vassals; built castles and churches; founded monasteries, and enjoyed perfect health of mind and body until her sixtieth year. The lady *Cornara Piscopia*, of Venice, (A. D. 1646,) a doctor of the University of Padua, earned her cap, (*bonnet*), and her splendid public admission, by prodigious

acquirements, as the rival of the first Greek, Latin, and Hebrew philologists, and a theologian of the transcendental class. She knew seven languages: was thoroughly versed in mathematics and music; trod the paths and practised the austerities of a saintly virgin, and died at the age of thirty-eight, the admiration of her contemporaries.

Madame Dacier's learning, career, and renown are much better known, and certainly for ever memorable. Her editions and translations of the most difficult Greek and Latin authors, her critical dissertations and copious notes, her Latin epistles, and Greek scholia, retain no small share of authority, and are monuments of extraordinary scholarship and diligence. Her notes and many of her readings were adopted by Pope and Colman, in the translations of Homer and Terence, and the English translators of Aristophanes have levied abundant contribution on her version and elucidations of the Greek dramatist. Born in 1651, she commenced her classical studies at the age of ten, and from her eighteenth year, pursued them without the aid of a master. Some idea of her resolution and perseverance as an author, may be formed from the following passage of one of the biographical sketches.

"The reputation which madame Dacier had acquired by the comedies of Plautus and Aristophanes, inclined her to turn her attention to those of Terence, a design which one circumstance only seemed to oppose. A man of erudition and of piety had, by the version he had given of three of these comedies, carried away all suffrages. Amidst the prepossession of the public for this performance, to persuade them it could be excelled would be a task of some difficulty. Madame Dacier, however, who understood better than most persons all the perfection of which certain works are capable, and who, in the most finished was enabled to detect errors which escaped minds less penetrating and acute, resolved to essay her powers in private on an author so worthy of her labours. For this purpose she rose every morning at four o'clock, and pursued her task with so much application and diligence, that, in four months, she completed a translation of the four first comedies of Terence. But, after a time, having reperused them, she perceived them to be so little conformable to the genius of the author, that, in a fit of vexation, she threw them into the flames. Disappointed, but not discouraged, she still persevered in her design, with which she occupied herself for three months, during which interval she studied her author without ceasing transfusing into her own mind his genius and spirit: having thus surrendered herself to her purpose with new ardour, she made a second translation so superior to the first, that those among her friends who had been most prejudiced in favour of the ancient version, agreed, with one accord, that it was not comparable to that which was now presented to them. Their encomiums were justified by the approbation with which this performance was received by the public."

This lady married a great scholar, a man of similar tastes and pursuits, with whom she lived in full harmony and affection during the *forty* years of their union. It is difficult to conceive a more exalted and delightful association, than one wherein the friendship and the congeniality were of the heart and the mind together, refined and enriched in the highest degree by the same culture. For many years they pursued their literary labours separately, or rather, executed distinct tasks, with kindred suc-

cess and reputation, but at length they united their talents, first in a translation of the Moral Reflections of Marcus Antoninus with a biographical preface, and then of Plutarch's Lives, with an ample and profound commentary. On one occasion, she quitted her studies to settle, at a distance for her husband, the affairs of his father's estate, and the letters which she addressed to him during this absence contain the most exact details of business, the tenderest sentiments of conjugal affection, and remarks equally erudite and acute on the books which she perused in the intervals of leisure. When Louis XIV. nominated the husband his librarian, the monarch associated Madame Dacier with him in the office, annexing a sight of survivorship in her favour. This compliment to a woman was quite unexampled. Her complete translation of the Iliad, on which she was engaged for fifteen or sixteen years, and her explanatory notes, gave rise to a controversy respecting the merits of Homer, that served to display in a manner equally signal her comprehensive learning, and her spirit, taste, and skill, when opposed to the ablest literary disputants of France. The contest between her and La Motte divided the republic of letters, and the distinguished negotiator, who terminated it by mediation, solemnized the reestablishment of peace by a grand festival. Madame Dacier died in the sixty-ninth year of her age, of a stroke of palsy, without having suffered any disorder or decline of her mental faculties. She bore three children, two of whom preceded her to the tomb. Her husband proved inconsolable for her loss, and soon sunk under the misery of the separation. Several of her contemporaries belonging to the social circle which she frequented, have testified that "her virtue, her firmness, her benevolence, and her equanimity procured her still more honour and esteem than her literary pursuits and triumphs."

The famous *Madeleine de Scudery*, whose high-wrought novels enraptured all France, and indeed Europe, for more than a generation, deserved the title *illustre savante*, which she bears in the French biographical works. She was born in 1607, of noble parents, and educated with all the advantages of classical and scientific instruction which an accomplished mother and learned uncle could supply. Her brother had already acquired renown as an author before she took up the pen, and her first compositions passed under his name. But the secret soon transpired; all Paris admired her volumes of *Female Harangues*, her *Cyrus*, and her novel of *Clélie*:—the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*, the focus of genius, wit, and knowledge,—the sovereign tribunal, by which all claims to those merits were determined,—pronounced that she was peerless for invention, style, dialogue, purity and elevation of sentiment, nobleness and variety of characters, in short for "the useful, the agreeable and the elegant combined."* The

* In *Meiner's History of the Female Sex*, vol. ii. there is a satisfactory account of the origin, composition, and influences of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*.

vogue of her historical romances was not less than that of the Waverley novels has been in our times; they supplanted in like manner fictions of a licentious cast and vulgar alloy. Her chief object was to teach the loftiest style of heroic virtue and magnificent sentimentality, and to furnish adventures and scenes which might refine the taste and purify the heart, while they amused the fancy. Richardson took her for his model, and has experienced the same fate, which, possibly, even Sir Walter Scott may undergo, before as many years shall have elapsed as make up the respective intervals between their popularity and comparative oblivion. We may indeed tremble for the Waverley novels, when we consider the repute and currency which Richardson's Sir Charles Grandison and Clarissa Harlowe enjoyed, and attend to what is related of the original rage for de Scudery's *Céline*, *Mathilde*, and *la Promenade de Versailles*, tales which "possess all the beauty, without the length, of the great romances." In 1671, her discourse on Glory carried the prize of eloquence proposed by the French Academy. The Academy of the Ricovrati, at Padua, elected her into their body, and every other academy of Europe, into which women were admissible, became ambitious of enrolling her among their members. Mighty monarchs, queens, and cardinal-ministers bestowed medals and pensions upon her, with formal acknowledgments for the pleasure and pride which her writings had afforded to them and the world. Her own mansion at Paris eclipsed even the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*, in the rank and lustre of the votaries, and the authority of its decrees. It was designated and revered as the court of the muses. Mademoiselle de Scudery reached the advanced age of *ninety-four*, and published more than eighty volumes. Two churches contended for the honour of possessing her remains; which were regarded as those of a saint, her habitual and severe piety having been nearly commensurate with her intellectual excellence. Among the anecdotes of this lady's life, there is one which we shall proceed to quote, that may be taken as a caution by joint play and novel-wrights in general.

“On a journey which Mademoiselle de Scudery made with her brother, at a great distance from Paris, their conversation one evening, at an inn, turned upon a romance which they were then jointly composing, to the hero of which they had given the title of Prince Mazare. ‘What shall we do with Prince Mazare?’ said Mademoiselle Scudery to her brother: ‘is it not better that he should fall with poison, rather than by the poniard?’ ‘It is not time yet,’ replied her companion, ‘for that business; when it is necessary, we can dispatch him as we please: but at present we have not quite done with him.’ Two merchants in the next room, overhearing this conversation, concluded they had formed a conspiracy for the murder of some prince, whose real name they disguised under that of Mazare. Full of this important discovery, they imparted their suspicions to the host and hostess, when it was unanimously determined to inform the police officer of what had happened. The officer, happy to show his diligence and activity, put the travellers immediately under an arrest, and had them conducted, with a strong escort, to Paris. It was not without difficulty and expense that

they procured their liberation, and permission for the future to hold an unlimited right and power over all the princes and personages in the legends of fiction."

We cannot leave the name of Scudery without copying some paragraphs of the original text of the best biographical tribute to her memory. They express with peculiar raciness, the estimation in which the author and her productions were held.

"Tous ses ouvrages, dont la plupart ont été traduits presque en toutes les langues polies de l'Europe, et même en quelques-unes de celles de l'Orient, ont répandu dans tout l'Univers le nom de celle qui les avoit faits, malgré les précautions de sa modestie. Ses Lettres, et une infinité de vers ingénieux, qui lui échappoient à tout moment pour le Roi, pour toute la maison royale, ou pour répondre aux louanges que ses illustres amis lui donnoient, ont produit le même effet. Les étrangers qu'une louable curiosité attiroit à Paris, n'y trouvoient rien d'aussi rare ni d'aussi merveilleux que notre héroïne. On a vu des Souverains ne recommander autre chose aux Princes leurs enfans qui venoient en France, que de ne point retourner auprès d'eux sans avoir vu mademoiselle de Scudery. M. le Prince de Paderborn, Evêque de Munster, la régala de sa médaille et de ses ouvrages. La Reine Christine de Suede l'honora de ses caresses, de son portrait, d'une pension, souvent de son amitié. Si les étrangers marquaient tant de vénération pour mademoiselle de Scudery, la France, charmée de posséder un si précieux trésor, lui en témoignoit encore d'avantage. Tout ce qu'il y avoit dans le royaume de grand, et de distingué par la naissance, par le rang, par les emplois, par la vertu, faisoit volontiers les avances pour être connu de cette rare personne, et feue Madame lui fit l'honneur de lui dire un jour; "C'est moi qui suis l'amant dans notre commerce; car c'est moi qui vous cherche avec mystère." Comme le goût et le mérite de mademoiselle de Scudery n'ont jamais baissé, sa réputation et son crédit se sont toujours soutenus. Elle a toujours écrit avec le même feu, la même justesse. Elle a conservé jusqu'à la fin de sa vie toute la force, la solidité, l'agrément, la vivacité de son esprit, et lorsque ses infirmités lui ont fait prendre le parti de ne plus recevoir qu'un petit nombre d'amis éprouvés, son nom, ses vers et ses lettres ont fait encore tout l'effet qu'ils avoient coutume de produire lorsqu'on jouissoit sans obstacle de sa présence et de sa conversation. Dans les derniers temps l'esprit saisoit presque ses fonctions sans le secours des organes, et sembloit ne se plus servir du corps que par cérémonie, ou par habitude. Le corps usé par les travaux de l'esprit, et courbé sous le poids des ans, s'affoiblissoit de jour en jour. L'esprit toujours serin, toujours lumineux, s'élevoit au-dessus des faiblesses de la nature, et s'enrichissoit des pertes que faisoit le corps. Elle mourut l'ornement de son sexe, l'admiration du nôtre, et la merveille du siècle de Louis le Grand."

The renowned *Christina*, Queen of Sweden, was a contemporary of the literary wonder just described, and among her enthusiastic admirers. We must allot a few pages to the Swedish Queen,—herself a prodigy in various respects; in abilities, erudition, eccentricities, and enterprises,—the most extraordinary woman of an age abounding in anomalous and adventurous personages. Her history is but imperfectly treated in the Biographical Dictionaries. We shall use a work before us, which is ample enough, and on the whole well executed;—we refer to Catteau-Calleville's authentic "*Vie de Christine, Reine de Suede*," in two volumes. The principal events of her career, and traits of her character, being included necessarily in the public annals of Europe for the seventeenth century, are doubtless known to the majority of our readers. Our notice, therefore, will embrace only particulars and comments material or subsidi

ary to our main purpose. Christina was the daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, and born to the throne of Sweden, in the year 1626. Her person was injured in her infancy by the carelessness of her nurses. Gustavus perished in the field of Lutzen when she was but six years old, and the infant daughter was immediately proclaimed, and received, as their liege monarch, the homage of the generals and states. Chancellor Oxenstiern virtually governed the kingdom, and directed her education upon the broadest scale. She soon displayed powers of intelligence, memory, and imagination, and a spirit of industry and ambition, adequate to any studies and purposes. At the age of eight she was proficient in Latin, French, and German, and generally acquainted with history. Her subsequent application to Greek, Italian, Spanish, philosophy, and mathematics, was still more ardent and successful. She seemed to have a distaste for the society and common occupations and pleasures of her own sex; her delight consisted in athletic exercises and the pursuits of scholarship and politics. *Oxenstiern*, consummate and supreme in what he taught, gave her daily lessons in the art of reigning and on the condition of Europe. He found her an eager and apt pupil. Her favourite authors were Thucydides, Polybius, and Tacitus in the original tongues. Her progress in knowledge, her quick discernment as to men and things, and her wary dissimulation were alike precocious. At the age of sixteen, she took part in the deliberations and negotiations of the council of state; and was consulted on all important political and administrative questions. At eighteen, the period of her regal majority, she received the reins of government, on a silver throne; lofty, resolute, perspicacious, subtle, almost mature for all her official functions and interests. Several of the sovereign princes of Europe, who were single, aspired, though fruitlessly, to her hand. She at once repelled the idea of marriage with a sort of disdain, as incompatible with the ascendancy which she sought over human affairs. Suitors were denied,—but the savants and literati of every country were fondly and ostentatiously welcomed to Stockholm. The French men of letters particularly, did homage to her, as they courted afterwards Catherine II. and Frederick the Great, from admiration of royal science and genius, personal vanity, or the expectation of munificent reward. Christina could commune with Grotius, Descartes, Gassendi, Pascal, Madame Dacier, and meet them nearly on equal terms in conversation and correspondence. She gave only five hours of the twenty-four to sleep, was indifferent to dress, ate very little, drank water alone, would follow study or the chase ten consecutive hours, and braved all vicissitudes and severities of weather. “Masculine in her habits,” says one of her biographers, “no less than in her endowments, she affected on all occasions a contempt for her sex; she seems not to have been aware that

the tenderness, the sensibility, and the gentleness of woman, combined with the reason and fortitude of man, afford the perfection of human character."

The noble and vast library which she formed with the aid of accomplished bibliographers whom she employed to travel for the purpose of collecting the rarest and most valuable books, became an object of interest for all the learned of Europe. She founded and endowed six colleges, added new chairs in the Universities of Upsal, Abo and Dorpat, and often presided in person at the public disputations of the Swedish university. In the number of her projects for advancing knowledge and enforcing reason we find that of a theological academy or seminary, wherein the different Christian denominations should be united. Her reading extended to the fathers of the church, of whom she especially recommended Saint Cyprian, Saint Jerome, and Saint Gregory Nazianzen. She inculcated the maxim of universal toleration, without being able to carry it into effect against the bigotry or policy of the Swedish ecclesiastics, who had much political influence, holding a command over both the consciences and understandings of their congregations. The Fine Arts shared her patronage, and one of her attempts in relation to them, gave rise to a ludicrous incident. Among the authors at her court were *Meibom* and *Naudé*, of whom the former had written on the music of the ancients, and the other on their dancing. She was prevailed upon to induce them to attempt to sing and dance, after the Greek and Roman fashion. Both acquitted themselves so ill in this undertaking, that they excited universal laughter, and then, stung to the quick, fell to blows in the blindness of their anger—a pleasant exhibition for an assemblage of virtuosi near the throne of the most learned and zealous of all the female dilettanti that ever wielded a sceptre.

After having reigned for ten years, with extensive power and manifold glory, she came to the resolution of abdicating her authority and devoting herself, independently, to letters and philosophy in a more favoured region than Sweden. The sceptre was resigned with as much pomp and alacrity as it was assumed. We have now this absolute and towering queen self-divested, at the age of *twenty-eight*, of the highest of human dignities, and quitting with apparent joy the scene of her hereditary sway, and her court, like that of Leo X. or Francis V., for a simple residence at Rome in the midst of libraries, antiquities, and professors and monuments of art. *Sedes hæc solio potior* became her device; personal grandeur her reliance. Her plan was conceived some years before it was executed, and the first impulses to it are well described in the subjoined passage of Catteau-Calleville.

"Le goût des lettres et de l'étude était devenu une passion chez Christine : elle ne connaissait point de plus grand plaisir que de s'entretenir avec des hom-

mes instruits, de s'occuper des chefs-d'œuvres du génie, de connaître les monumens des peuples les plus fameux, et de recueillir les maximes des sages de tous les pays. Une mémoire surprenante lui fournissait des citations heureuses et inattendues dans tous les genres. Elle lisait tous les jours quelques pages de Tacite, qu'elle comparait à un jeu d'échecs, et qu'elle était en état de traduire en français à livre ouvert. Parmi les écrivains de la Grèce, Platon était un de ceux qu'elle estimait le plus et qu'elle lisait le plus souvent. Son imagination, exaltée par les lectures qu'elle faisait habituellement, par les méditations auxquelles elle se livrait, et par un désir ardent de se distinguer d'une manière nouvelle, la détachait, pour ainsi dire, de la terre, lui faisait oublier le diadème, et la transportait dans des sphères où elle ne voyait que le calme, la raison, la vérité, et le bonheur, la gloire qui en résultent. Mais, revenue de ces illusions flatteuses, elle retrouvait le poids des affaires, les distractions inévitables de la cour, et les séductions de la fortune, du pouvoir et des grandeurs. Il naissait de cette disposition morale des combats pénibles, des résolutions qui se croisaient, et une inquiétude d'esprit, qui augmenta dans la suite, et qui produisit des effets remarquables."

Christina carried away with her an ample income, a sufficient retinue, and the demeanour and pretensions of a queen. Her whole subsequent career, exemplified the impressions which were then universally entertained of the sacred and indefeasible nature of royalty once held. The deference, privileges, and license, which she continued to enjoy, she owed to *prestiges*, doctrines, and habits, that have lost much of their force every where in Christendom. She retained relations with crowned heads and with cabinets, and a degree of consideration and personal power, independently of her intrinsic qualities and her wealth, merely as a quondam queen, which form a curious subject of reflection, in contrast with the quiet insignificance of the ex-monarchs of the present century, arising out of the very different sense now entertained of the origin and nature of the regal title and station. When about to quit the territory of Sweden, Christina refused the proffered hand of her successor, Charles Gustavus, and assumed the male attire, which she exchanged again for female apparel, at Antwerp. Wherever she appeared, she was treated as a queen; the courts accredited her ministers and agents. Royal palaces were opened to her, and pageants and entertainments of every description prepared for her gratification. At Brussels she abjured the religion of Sweden, in which she had been educated, and espoused the Catholic, to the ineffable scandal of the northern Protestants. The sensation which this event produced, can be conceived only by persons who are acquainted with the history of the fierce and acrimonious polemical spirit that distinguished the era of her feigned conversion. We use the epithet *feigned*, because it is plain, as her biographer confesses, that her motive for the change was the greater ease and cordiality which she would experience, as a proselyte, in her residence among Catholics. All religions were probably alike to her; no sentiment of piety is discoverable in her conduct or language: it was perceived that she used in the churches, a copy of Virgil, with splendid binding and gold clasps, instead of a prayer-book.

when complimented upon the probability of her being placed among the *saints*, by the side of St. Bridget of Sweden, she answered that she would prefer to be put among the *sages*.

Her whole progress from the north to Rome, resembled a splendid procession. The inhabitants of the countries through which she passed, assembled in immense crowds to gaze at her, and generally waylaid her with triumphal arches. At the distance of nine miles from the "eternal city," she found two cardinal legates *à latere*, accompanied by a grand cavalcade, awaiting her arrival. Her first entry into Rome was made at eight o'clock in the evening, the streets being illuminated with numberless flambeaux, and filled with the anxious people. She was immediately conducted to an apartment in the Vatican, richly decorated, and seated by the Holy Father on a "royal gilt stool." At her second entry, by day, through the *Porta del Popolo*, she rode a white steed, astride, and attired like an Amazon. The whole city was abroad, moving in the most brilliant array; the spectacle could be compared with the descriptions of the ancient triumphs and ovations of the victorious generals and emperors; the gala ended with the ceremony of her confirmation at St. Peter's. The palace *Farnése*, to which she soon removed, obtained a reputation like that of the halls of the Medici at Florence. Her biographer styles it "un sanctuaire des sciences, des lettres et des arts." Philosophers, poets, painters, architects, and musicians, rendered it attractive by discussions to which the hostess contributed, with an affluence of just ideas, and a constancy of zeal, that imparted double interest and efficacy to her munificent and enlarged patronage. She excited, surprised, and fed the science and taste of Rome, and afforded amusement to the social circles, by the anecdotes to which her freedom of speech and action daily gave birth. The Pope, observing that she talked to the cardinals during the celebration of the mass, and sometimes laughed aloud, sent her a rosary to remind her of her prayers. His Holiness was obliged to exile Cardinal Colonna from Rome, for making love to her, so passionately and openly, as to engage the attention and provoke the waggery of the Pantalouns. As a specimen of her repartees, we may mention, that having exclaimed before Bernini's statue of truth, "how beautiful!" one of the cardinals whom the Pope had deputed to attend her, remarked, "God be praised, that your Majesty admires *truth*, which persons of your rank so rarely love." "So it is," she replied, "and the reason for it—thst all truths are not of marble."

In 1656. Christina paid her first visit to France, where the king, Louis XIV., directed that the same honours should be offered to her, as were usually paid to himself. Sixteen thousand of the Parisian militia, in the most costly uniforms, and ten thou-

sand cavalry, splendidly caparisoned, were sent forward to Conflans, as an escort for the royal guest. It was stated, that at least two hundred thousand persons went forth from Paris to meet her, when her approach was announced. As she entered, on horseback, the municipal authorities delivered an address, and the keys of the city, to her, on their knees. All the streets, the windows, and the roofs, were crowded. Accustomed to unbounded homage from her childhood, she manifested no surprise, nor any particular complacency, at the sumptuous gallantry and universal commotion of the French capital. The parliament, the public bodies, the learned faculties, and the ambassadors, waited upon her in form. The strain of eulogy in which she was addressed, in reference to her intellectual powers and acquirements, by the French Academy, the first literary institute of the world, would settle the point of supremacy between the sexes, if such testimony could be admitted as sincere. A marriage between her and Louis XIV. was projected, and allusion made to it, in the address of the Sorbonne, thus—"Succia te fecit Christinam; Roma Christianam; faciat te Gallia Christianissimam." The queen-dowager, and the ladies of the French court, were at first confounded by the strange costume, free carriage, unrestrained discourse, bold tone and gestures of this formidable virago. She dealt out her learning, sarcasms, and opinions, without reserve as to place or persons. The fashion of kissing cheeks prevailed among the French ladies: annoyed by it, she exclaimed—"quelle fureur ont donc ces dames de m'embrasser? Est-ce parceque je ressemble à un homme"—a truly coarse and characteristic remark. This resemblance was a study and a source of pride.—

"Thalestris triumphs in a manly mien,
Loud is her accent, and her phrase obscene;
If thunder's awful, how much more our dread
When Jove deposes a lady in his stead?
A lady? pardon my mistaken pen:
A shameless woman is the worst of men."

Nevertheless, Christina contrived to ingratiate herself in the eyes with the court-ladies, and more than sustained the blasts of fame's trumpet in regard to her talents and stores of knowledge. She spoke French, Italian, and Latin, to the admiration of the linguists. The date of her second visit to Paris, is the year 1657, an epoch in her life, made most remarkable by the execution of the Marquis *Monaldeschi*, her grand master of the horse. This Italian betrayed her secrets, whether amatory or political has not been ascertained. At the palace of Fontainebleau, where she was lodged, she caused him to be stabbed to death, in a gallery adjoining the room to which she retired while poniards were thrust into his throat. The circumstances of this execution indicate the boldest and sternest spirit. Such an act in the palace

of a sovereign, committed by one who was in fact but a private person, would have been deemed an unpardonable outrage, if loose notions of public law, and an infatuation concerning monarchical birth and rank had not prevailed. It was blamed as a usurpation of authority, by some jurists, and defended as a right, by others: the French court uttered no complaint. No fit of doubt, or synteresis, is known to have distressed her afterwards. We need not follow her in her visits to Sweden, nor dwell on her intrigues to retrieve the throne which she had abdicated, or to obtain that of Poland. Her philosophy grew weary in the enjoyment of mere civil glory, wealth, and science. She sighed at last for an opportunity to distinguish herself at the head of armies; and we incline to the opinion that she would have proved, in that situation, equal, if not superior, to any one of her sex conspicuous in the military annals of the world. In soliciting the opportunity she wrote truly:—"Si l'on se donne la peine d'examiner tout le cours de ma vie, mon humeur, et mon tempérament, on pourra, ce me semble, me faire la grace de compter mon sexe pour rien."

On her final return to Rome in 1668, fifty carriages with six horses each, and the Pope's guards, were despatched to meet her, as a mark of homage. Clement IX., whose pontificate was called the golden age of Rome, admired and enjoyed her preeminent endowments; and the liberality with which she testified her gratitude may be understood by one example of the presents which she made to his sister—a diamond cross valued at twenty-four thousand Spanish crowns. She was not so fortunate with his successor Innocent XI., whose temper and principles were more austere. They fell into serious feuds. His officers seized a fugitive from justice within her palace; she compelled her guards to rescue him. Innocent attempted to negotiate; she defied him, and to show how little she feared his power, went to the church of the Jesuits with a large band of retainers well armed. The Pope submitted, exclaiming with a shrug—*E Donna!* she is a woman! a remark which she felt more keenly than the original cause of quarrel. Her life was prolonged in Rome until the year 1689, when she died of erysipelas, at the age of sixty-three, and was buried with a pomp unsurpassed in any obsequies that had been performed there. On the disappointment of her political hopes, she became more and more intent upon the enlargement of her stock of knowledge, the encouragement of learning and the arts, and the accumulation of books, pictures, medals, manuscripts, and antiquities, of which her collections ultimately exceeded, in variety and value, those of any other individual whatever. She wrote a multitude of letters in French, Swedish, Latin, German, and Italian, to authors and lovers of science. Besides works of a philosophical texture, she left behind her, in her own

hand-writing, memoirs of the first years of her life, comprising a prayer in which she confesses serious faults of character and a very improvident contempt of the appearances and delicacies proper for her sex. That tie or yoke—marriage—which she deprecated with real or counterfeit contempt, would, probably, have fixed her reason and affections, and preserved her from many extravagances and some crimes, without preventing the development and recognition of her intellectual superiority. There is a striking affinity in several points between her attainments, moral and physical peculiarities and habits, and personal conduct, and those of Queen Elizabeth of England, as the latter are traced in Lingard's admirable History. Both, whether as sovereigns or scholars, are almost irresistible instances for the advocates of female capacity. *Calleville* justly observes at the conclusion of his book, "En se retracant le souvenir de la vie entiere de Christine, on trouve que cette princesse réunissait les qualités les plus frappantes, les plus extraordinaires: qu'elle ne peut etre comparée a aucun autre personnage célèbre, et qu'elle se présente dans l'histoire comme un phénomène qui fixera l'attention de tous les siècles."

The earlier female annals of *England* yield quite a harvest of scholars and authors, of which we have not room to apply a large or even the most interesting part. Let us take a few samples at random. *Lady Bacon*, governess to Edward VI. of England, and mother of Anthony and Francis Bacon, illustrious sons, at an early age translated and published twenty-four Italian sermons on the doctrines of predestination and election. She translated also, from the Latin, with fidelity and elegance, Bishop Jewel's Apology for the Church of England, and sent to him, along with a copy of it, an able epistle in Greek. *Anne Baynard* died in the twenty-fifth of her age, (1697,) extensively and critically conversant with the ancient languages, astronomy, mathematics, metaphysics, and natural science. *Elizabeth Bland*, (1681,) ranked with the first Hebrew scholars. *Catharine Cockburn*, born 1679, an adept in Latin, logic, and metaphysics, composed and published at the age of twenty-two a defence of Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*, by which Locke himself was greatly edified. In her sixty-eighth year, she wrote "Remarks upon the Principles and Reasonings of Dr. Rutherford's Essay on the Nature and Obligations of Virtue; in Vindication of the contrary Principles and Reasonings enforced in the Writings of the late Dr. Samuel Clarke." The acuteness, depth, and vivacity which she displayed on a subject so abstruse greatly excited the curiosity of the public; and Warburton declares, in the preface which he furnished to this work, that "it contains all the clearness of expression, the strength of reason, the precision of logic, and attachment to truth, which render books of this nature really useful to the common cause of virtue and religion." *Lady Eliza-*

beth Russel, (born in 1529,) was celebrated for her classical knowledge, by the first judges of the age: she lived to write epitaphs in the *Greek and Latin* on two husbands, a son, a daughter, a brother, sister, and the dearest of her friends. The three sisters, *Ladies Anne, Margaret, and Jane Seymour* composed four hundred Latin distichs on the death of the Queen of Navarre, *Margaret de Valois*, which were translated at Paris in 1551, into Greek, French, and Italian. *Elizabeth Jane Weston* ranked with Sir Thomas More, and the best Latin poets of the sixteenth century; and won the lofty encomiums of Scaliger for her Latin poem in praise of typography, and her epistles in the same language on various subjects. *Margaret Roper*, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas More, was "excellently well skilled in the Greek and the Latin tongues," and her Latin style was uncommonly pure and elegant. She translated the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius from the Greek into Latin, and left behind a multitude of Latin epistles, addressed to her father and Erasmus; orations, poems, &c. She excelled in several branches of science and in music. Mary Hays, in the commencement of her sketch of this lady, makes the following just remarks:—

"In favour of the liberal cultivation of the minds of women, it may be observed, that at no period of English history does there appear to have been greater attention paid to the culture of the female mind, than during the age of Elizabeth; and at no time has there existed a greater number of amiable and respectable women. Even the domestic affections and appropriate virtues of the sex, modesty, prudence, and conjugal fidelity, far from being superseded by study and the liberal sciences, are, on the contrary, both strengthened and embellished. The habits of reflection and retirement which grow out of the exercise of the understanding, are equally favourable to virtue and to the cultivation of the heart. While the mind, by seeking resources in itself, acquires a character of dignity and independence, a sentiment of grandeur and generosity is communicated to its affections and sympathies. Dissipation and frivolous pursuits, by enfeebling the understanding, have a tendency to harden and to narrow the heart. If the concentrated passions of stronger minds, and these examples among women are rare, have sometimes been productive of fatal effects, an impressive and affecting lesson, as in the sublimer devastations of nature, may be derived from their failures. But the being restless in the pursuit of novelty, irritable, dependent, unstable, and vain, who lives only to be amused, becomes necessarily selfish and worthless."

Dorothy Lady Packington, born about the middle of the reign of James I., has the credit of having written the celebrated *Whole Duty of Man*. Her title was disputed, on the grounds that the book was full of quotations from the Hebrew writers, and that both the arguments and the diction were such as only the profoundest scholars would use. But sufficient evidence of her qualifications was adduced, and appeared, indeed, in other, unquestionable productions of her pen. Bishop Fell, her friend, who edited the work as hers, describes her as "wise, humble, temperate, chaste, patient, charitable, and devout." *Margaret Cavendish*, Duchess of Newcastle, born towards the end of

the same reign, received a learned education, and devoted the greater part of her life to authorship. We must be permitted to transcribe some passages of her biography, which is remarkable throughout:—

“She kept a number of young ladies in her house, whom she occasionally employed as her amanuenses: some of them slept near her own chamber, that they might be ready to rise in the night, at the sound of her bell, and commit to paper any ideas that occurred to her. She produced no less than thirteen folios, ten of which are in print. In speaking of herself, she says, ‘That it pleased God to command his servant Nature to endow her with a poetic and philosophical genius even from her birth, for she did write some book even in that kind before she was twelve years of age.’ By this account it appears, that she began to write philosophical treatises previous to having read any; her speculations of course must have had the merit of originality, since she was nearly forty years of age, she informs us, before she perused any philosophical authors, ‘in order to learn the terms of art.’ One of her maxims was curious, and may in some measure account for her numerous productions: she seldom revised the copies of her works, ‘lest it should disturb her following conceptions.’ Her writings, though now sunk into neglect, procured, during her own times, the most extravagant encomiums and lavish compliments from learned bodies, and men of eminent erudition. Some specimens of this adulation have been given by Mr. Granger, from a folio volume, now scarce, of Letters and Poems, printed in 1678, consisting of one hundred and eighty-two pages, filled with the most extravagant and hyperbolical panegyrics on the duke and dutchess of Newcastle, particularly on the dutchess, from the universities of Leyden, Cambridge, Oxford, &c. A still greater number of extracts, from the same book, are given by George Stevens, the learned editor of Shakspeare, affording a curious specimen of academic flattery, of which the following epitaph, designed for her grace, by the students of Trinity college (1668,) is in proof.

‘To Margaret the first:
Princess of philosophers:
Who hath dispelled errors;
Appeased the difference of opinions;
And restored peace
To Learning’s commonwealth.’

“Whatever might have been the foundation of this lady’s pretensions to philosophy, or however extravagant many of her compositions, it is certain that she added to acuteness of mind, considerable powers of imagination and invention. She is said, by Mr. Jacob, to have possessed a great deal of wit, and a more than ordinary propensity to dramatic poetry. The author of the *Connoisseur*, in his vision of Parnassus, speaks handsomely of the dutchess, whom he represents as being assisted in dismounting from Pegasus, on whom she had firmly kept her seat, while he galloped with her out of sight, by Shakspeare and Milton. He even hints that the latter borrowed many of the finest thoughts in his *L’Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, from this lady’s Dialogue between Mirth and Melancholy.

“A humorous anecdote is related of the dutchess: Dr. Wilkins, a man of genius and imagination, author of ‘*An Essay towards a real Character, and Philosophical Language*,’ projected the art of flying, when the nature of air was but little understood. He attempted in one of his projects, to show the possibility of a voyage to the moon. ‘But, doctor,’ said the dutchess of Newcastle, ‘where am I to find a baiting-place on my way up to that planet?’ ‘Madam,’ replied he, ‘of all people in the world, I should the least have expected this question from your grace, who, having built so many castles in the air, may lodge every night at one of your own.’

“The dutchess composed plays, poems, orations, and philosophical discourses. Of dramatical writers, a species of composition for which she had a peculiar predilection, she is said to have been the most voluminous. The fertility of invention which is displayed in her plots and dialogues, atones in some degree for their various defects.”

The pallidness, or rather obscurity, of the sun of her glory, reminds us of the similar fate of a more modern British literary heroine, whose name and works were familiar and dear to our immediate American progenitors. *Catherine Macauley Graham*, was born about the year 1733, and self-educated, by means of her father's well-provided library, to which she had free access in the country, during his long absences. She pored over Greek and Roman annals, until "history became her darling passion, and liberty the idol of her fancy." Her voluminous and republican *History of England*, produced in the seasons of fierce struggles between Whigs and Tories, and of civil war between the colonies and mother country, excited a general sensation, the more lively by reason of the sex of the author. She was lampooned, eulogized, criticised, followed, as much as any political and literary leader of the times. She visited Paris at the beginning of our revolution, and there met, in the midst of the exalted society that courted her acquaintance, our Doctor Franklin, whom her principles and studies caused her to appreciate according to his true, lofty elevation. We find the following relation of her subsequent visit to the United States:—

"Having been personally acquainted with the greater number of the celebrated Americans who had visited England, and in the habit of corresponding with those who had distinguished themselves on the other side of the Atlantic, Mrs. Macaulay was very desirous of making a visit to the transatlantic republic; a design which she executed in 1785. She visited nine of the thirteen United States, by whom she was received with kindness and hospitality. She terminated her journey to the south by paying her respects to general Washington, at his seat at Mount Vernon in Virginia. Under the roof of this illustrious man she remained three weeks; and continued to correspond with him during the remainder of her life.

"It seemed to have been her intention, after her return to England, to have composed a history of the American contest; for which purpose she had been furnished by general Washington with many materials. It is to be regretted that, thus qualified, she was, by the infirm state of her health for some years prior to her death, prevented from the execution of her plan. She resided during the greater part of the remainder of her life at Binfield in Berkshire, where, after a tedious illness, attended by much suffering, which she supported with exemplary patience and fortitude, she expired, June 22, 1791. She was interred in the chancel of Binfield church, under an elegant marble monument executed by Mr. Bacon."

This republican lady wrote much, besides her *History*, which is now neglected. In conversation, she delighted her auditors by the vivacity and acuteness of her remarks, and the variety of her knowledge. The bitterness of party-spirit occasioned her first antagonists to represent her person as deformed, her face as ugly, her manners as *democratically* coarse and mean. An excellent lady, who became her intimate friend, has, perhaps, in representing the caricature, used a flattering pencil in the annexed portrait:—

"Judge of my surprise, when I saw a woman elegant in her manners, delicate in her person, and with features, if not perfectly beautiful, so fascinating in their

expression, as deservedly to rank her face among the higher order of human countenances. Her height was above the middle size, inclining to tall; her shape slender and elegant; the contour of her face, neck, and shoulders, graceful. The form of her face was oval, her complexion delicate, and her skin fine; her hair was of a mild brown, long, and profuse; her nose between the Roman and the Grecian; her mouth small, her chin round, as was the lower part of her face, which made it appear to more advantage in front than in profile. Her eyes were beautiful as imagination can conceive, full of penetration and fire, but their fire softened by the mildest beams of benevolence; their colour was a fine dark hazel, and their expression the indication of a superior soul. Infirm health too often the attendant on an active and highly cultivated understanding, gave to her countenance an extreme delicacy, which was peculiarly interesting. To this delicacy of constitution was added a most amiable sensibility of temper, which rendered her feelingly alive to whatever concerned those with whom she was connected either by nature or by friendship."

Of the English *savantes*, of recent memory, *Mrs. Elizabeth Carter*, (alias Miss,) is the chief in celebrity and desert. Her name is not included in the volumes of Mary Hays, but we have in our hands the goodly octavo, entitled, "*Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Carter*," by the Rev. Montagu Pennington, her nephew; and we do not regret the time which the perusal of it cost. She was the daughter of an erudite clergyman, who at first almost despaired of her advancement in learning, so slow and difficult was her progress in the dead languages. On that account, he repeatedly entreated her to give up all thoughts of being a scholar—an exhortation which, happily, her thirst for knowledge and her resolute spirit of industry prompted her to disregard. She began with the Latin and Greek, proceeded to the Hebrew, French, Italian, Spanish, and German languages, and emerged, before her majority, a wonderful scholar. Afterwards, she taught herself the Arabic. She was never idle; she rose to study at the earliest hour, and protracted her vigils to the latest. Being much inclined to sleep, says Mr. Pennington, she was accustomed to use various means to keep herself awake, to the great injury of her health. "She owned, that besides taking snuff, she used to bind a wet towel round her head, put a wet cloth to the pit of the stomach, and chew green tea and coffee." The fame of her acquirements and propensities soon spread, even to the continent. She contracted intimacies with Hayley, Johnson, and Cave, and published her first fugitive poems, and translations from the Italian and French. Her habits were less perseveringly laborious, after she had "passed the craggy paths of study, and come to the flowery plains of honour and reputation." She used to say, that varying her occupations prevented her from ever being tired with them; and, accordingly, she hardly ever read or worked for more than half an hour at a time, and "then she would visit, for a few minutes, any of her relations who were staying in her house, or would go into her garden." Her main literary achievement, is her well-known translation from the Greek, of all the works of *Epictetus*, which are now extant, with

a copious introduction on the philosophy of the Stoics, and erudite notes. She executed it, at intervals, between the years 1749 and 1756. It seemed to vindicate Dr. Johnson's assertion, that she was the best Greek scholar he had ever known. A truly critical, exact, terse version of so difficult an author, was enough to bring a woman into the view of the world, as a phenomenon. It was published by subscription, and the first edition yielded her a thousand pounds sterling. "It sold so well," observes her nephew, "that some years after, Dr. Secker, then Archbishop of Canterbury, brought a bookseller's catalogue to her, saying, "here, Madam Carter, see how ill I am used by the world—here are my Sermons selling at half price, while your Epictetus truly is not to be had under eighteen shillings, only three shillings less than the original subscription." The friendships to which it led, procured for her annuities of several hundred pounds, which, added to the gains of her pen, placed her in easy circumstances for life. She passed much of her time in London, in the circles of Archbishop Secker and Mrs. Montagu; made a tour on the continent, and died in 1806, at the advanced age of *eighty-nine*, in full possession of her mental faculties. To her, indeed, might Chapelle have addressed the humorous lines—

" Il ne faut pas qu'on s'étonne
Si souvent elle raisonne
De la sublime vertu
Dont Platon fut revêtu ;
Car, à bien compter son âge,
Elle peut avoir vécu
Avec ce grand personnage."

This lady, though she did not marry, took early the matronly title,—from what particular motive we cannot determine. Her reverend nephew informs us that she had offers, and some of them even advantageous; and that she never declined proposals without asking her father's permission. She hesitated in favour of one gentleman, for whom she felt a *penchant*, but discarded him on discovering that he had published some verses, which, though not absolutely indecent, seemed to evince a light and licentious turn of mind. When her friends rallied her on the subject, she uniformly answered—"nobody knows what *may* happen; I never said I would not marry." Her philosophy could scarcely withstand the denomination of old maid. Hayley dedicated his witty and learned Essay to "Mrs. Carter, in her triple capacity of Poet, Philosopher, and Old Maid."—He sent her, moreover, anonymously, a copy of the work elegantly bound; but, to use a homely phrase, he received no thanks for his pains. "She was neither pleased nor flattered with the compliment." When she was upwards of forty years of age, a Yorkshire squire conceived a wish for her hand, and addressed a let-

ter to her father, desiring to be informed "with all possible speed," whether she had made any resolutions against matrimony, and if not, whether she was disengaged. She thought the questions too pointed and categorical. We are inclined to believe that there was some *flirtation* between her and Archbishop Secker. His Grace hanters her, in one of his billets, about "a certain great event that had been long depending," in allusion to that report which her friend Miss Talbot—also a little stricken in years—called "a malicious insinuation." Her biographer handles the topic quite gravely, more than once—witness the annexed extract from his book.

"Such indeed was Dr. Secker's attention to Mrs. Carter, and so high his opinion of her seemed to be, that it was supposed by many of her friends, after he became a widower, that he wished to marry her. This, however, she always positively denied to be the case, and was fully convinced that he felt for her nothing more than friendship and esteem. She always seemed indeed to be hurt at the idea, and never liked to have it mentioned or alluded to even by her relations. The same thing was also affirmed with regard to that good and amiable prelate, Dr. Hayter (first Bishop of Norwich, and then of London) with whom she was much acquainted; and some of their contemporaries are not clear that in this case the rumour was equally unfounded. Mrs. Carter, however, never allowed it to be true, and it is pretty certain that whatever the Bishop's inclinations might be, they never led him so far as to make her an offer of marriage. Once, indeed, when the two Bishops and Mrs. Carter were together, Dr. Secker jocularly alluded to this subject, and said, 'Brother Hayter, the world says that one of us two is to marry Madame Carter, (by which name he was accustomed to address her, and speak of her) now I have no such intention, and therefore resign her to you.' Dr. Hayter, with more gallantry, bowed to her, and replied, 'that he would not pay his Grace the same compliment, and that the world did him great honour by the report.'"

In her youth, Mrs. Carter was rather handsome than otherwise. Her figure was not good, but her complexion was fair, and her countenance expressive. She had fine hair and teeth. Being naturally very timid and extremely near-sighted, she made no figure in the company of strangers, or where she was under the least restraint. We may regret that she did not find or consent to accept a suitable husband; for she seems to have been endowed with the best domestic affections and notable qualities. One of the true reasons which she assigned for tardiness in writing the *"Life of Epictetus,"* was—that she had *a dozen shirts to make*. When in the zenith of her reputation, a Hellenist of high degree, caressed by the great and learned, she performed the usual domestic offices and managed the economical details in her father's household; and to one of her friends who lamented that she was so humbly employed, she replied—"As to any thing of this kind hurting the dignity of my head, I have no idea of it, even if the head were of much more consequence than I feel it to be. The true post of honour consists in the discharge of those duties, whatever they happen to be, which arise from that situation in which Providence has fixed us, and which we may be assured is

the very situation best calculated for virtue and our happiness." This is sound sense. She was extremely frugal in relation to her own dress and diet, but bountiful to her relatives and the indigent. She used to observe that it was only in personal expenses that any individual of small fortune could or ought to save, because every situation in life required, with respect to society, a certain expense and establishment corresponding to it. From Mrs. Macauley Graham she differed as widely in politics, as in social address and colloquial eloquence. Mrs. Carter was an inveterate Tory and High Churchwoman, had always "a decided bias towards the crown," and eschewed all books and persons that were taxable with "democratic principles." When she had ascertained that there was any thing in a publication hostile to government, religion, or virtue, according to her notions of each, she acted towards the author in the spirit of Dr. Johnson's answer to a person who wished to introduce Raynal to him when the Abbé was in England—"I have read his book, and I have nothing to say to him."

"Another cause," says her biographer, "which prevented Mrs. Carter from cultivating the society of men of letters in general, as might have been expected, was also a prejudice, though of a different kind. This was her extreme partiality for writers of her own sex. She was much inclined to believe that women had not their proper station in society, and that their mental powers were not rated sufficiently high. Though she detested the principles displayed in Mrs. Wollstonecraft's wild theory concerning the "Rights of Women," and never wished them to interfere with the privileges and occupations of the other sex, yet she thought that men exercised too arbitrary a power over them, and considered them as too inferior to themselves. Hence she had a decided bias in favour of female writers, and always read their works with a mind prepared to be pleased, if the principles contained in them were good, and the personal characters of the authors amiable. For both these were with her in every case indispensable; and for this reason her judgment and opinions hardly allowed to exert itself in such a manner, as probably it would otherwise have done."

Mrs. Carter's judicious opinions passed through five or six editions. Her translation of Epictetus first appeared in a large quarto, of nearly five hundred and fifty pages, and is now current in octaves and duodecimos. Her familiar letters from the continent, which occupy a third of the Rev. Mr. Pennington's "Memoirs," would do credit to any understanding.

To return to the continental biography.—We read with more interest the lives of *M^{lle}. de Maintenon*, *Madame de Sévigné*, and the *Baroness de Staël*, than those of the other prominent females. They abound with events, traits of character, and manifestations of genius and sentiment, which absorb attention, excite salutary thought and sympathy, and shed important and varied lights on human nature and existence under the forms of modern European civilization.

Upon the extraordinary fortunes and peculiar qualities of *de Maintenon*, we could dwell much longer than would be consist-

ent with the scope which we now possess, or perhaps, the patience of our readers. The masterly Memoirs which have been written of her, and the details which her own admirable writings supply, enable us to judge of her dispositions and conduct in every relation in which she stood throughout her singular career. Her first appearance is as an infant, born in a prison, wrapped in rags, and rescued from starvation by an aunt;—then we see her, on a voyage to Martinique with her patrician, but impoverished parents, about to be thrown into the sea, and saved by a distracted mother, who detected, as it were by instinct, a lurking vitality when the last spark of life was believed by all others on board the ship to be extinct.

The next scene is in France, where the widowed mother and the child were reduced to the extremities of penury and abjection. The latter was consigned, as a pledge or hostage, to the principal creditor of the deceased father, and she experienced, from the wife of the creditor, treatment so cruel, that the judge of the place took her into his own dwelling as an object of charity. Thence, she was transferred to the compassion of a lady, who soon handed her over to a callous aunt, who made a Calvinist of her, but consigned her quickly to another female relative, who, because she could not be easily reclaimed to the Catholic religion, degraded her to the condition of the lowest of the menials in her household. She was compelled to assist in cleaning the horses, to serve the maids, and to feed and watch the poultry, in the true Cinderella costume.

Her next translation was to a convent of Ursuline nuns, as a pensioner and obstinate little heretic. When her reconversion was accomplished, she was sent back to the relative from whom she was received; because nothing was paid for her board. The lady made her feel her dependance by the arts of minute tyranny and the stings of general insolence. Nevertheless, *Mademoiselle D'Aubigné*,—for that was the orphan's name—grew apace in mind and person;—she saw some good society, in company with her protectress, and at the age of thirteen, entered as an eleemosynary pupil into the Ursuline convent at Paris. Here, she became a beauty, and showed an understanding above her years. Being carried abroad into parties by her relative, her person and manners attracted the attention of the Abbé Scarron, an author whose scurrilous wit and trifling erudition rendered his name proverbial, and his acquaintance an object of curiosity. He was a valdinary cripple, who wanted a wife as a nurse, reader, and amanuensis. The French portrait of the man is untranslatable. “Sa tête toujours penchée sur son estomac; ses jambes toujours pliées à cause d'un retirement de nerfs, lui donnoient à la lettre la forme d'un Z. Il écrivoit sur ses genoux ou sur deux bras de fer attachés à son fauteuil. Les désagréments de sa per-

sonné étoient rachetés par les qualités de son ame. Il avoit le cœur capable d'attachement ; une imagination vive, qui lui peignoit tout en grotesque ; beaucoup de patience dans ses maux. Pauvre sans chagrin, gai en dépit de la douleur, satyrique sans malice, paresseux sans négligence, colere sans ressentiment." Having learnt the unhappiness of Mademoiselle D'Aubigné's destitute situation, and being smitten at once with compassion and love, it occurred to him to offer her the alternative of accepting from him a stipend which would enable her to live in a convent altogether, or of taking his hand for better for worse. With this sad option, she decided in favour of Scarron and the world. She married him in the year 1651, and proved the most exemplary of helpmates and the aptest of scholars. The picture of her situation and conduct is almost unique.

"Scarron managed to keep up his table, and to draw round him the company, which his habits and infirmities rendered almost indispensable. Of these parties his young wife was the ornament and the delight : by her graceful manner of telling a story, she frequently made her hearers forget the deficiencies of their entertainment: a domestic whispered to her one day, 'Another story, madam, for the roast is too small to-day.' But the income of Scarron, notwithstanding the economy and management of his wife, falling short of his expenditure, applications were made for a contribution, which, by the exertions of his friends, were rendered successful. Madame Scarron prudently declined appearing on this occasion, lest she should be exposed to solicitations injurious to her honour. She scarcely ever left, for a moment, her *poor paralytic*, as she was accustomed to call her husband: when ill, she was his nurse; when a little revived and cheered, his friend and companion; and at all times his amanuensis and reader. She learned from him the rules of composition, and to express herself with eloquence and ease; she acquired also the Latin, Spanish, and Italian languages, but without losing her modesty, or overvaluing herself on her attainments. Among the witty and licentious associates of her husband, she appeared with unaffected dignity, and, by the propriety and purity of her manners, without laying a restraint on their pleasures, saved them into decency, and preserved their respect. Her acquaintance was courted by persons of both sexes, of the first rank and talents. Amidst this gay and spiritless society, who were accustomed to regard with levity too many observances, madame Scarron scrupulously discharged what she conceived to be the duties of religion; nor would she dispense, notwithstanding their railery, with the ceremonies and fasts enjoined by the Romish church, of which she had become a sincere proselyte. Her example affected her husband; and, in his last illness, he was influenced by her exhortations to express a sincere repentance for the errors of his past life. During Lent, madame Scarron, at the head of her table, was accustomed to eat only a herring, and immediately afterwards to retire to her apartment. A profligate associate of her husband (so sincere is the deference which true delicacy inspires) frequently declared, that, if compelled to utter an equivocal expression before either the queen or madame Scarron, he should not hesitate a moment to trespass on the former. A high and just compliment! Her youth and the circumspection of her behaviour, in a situation so delicate and peculiar, excited esteem and admiration, and at length recommended her to the notice of the queen, to whom she had been mentioned by the baron de la Garde."

Scarron's death in the year 1660, made her a widow at the age of twenty-five, blooming, accomplished, and widely esteemed. She might then have exclaimed with Monimia in the tragedy—

Et veuve maintenant, sans avoir eu d'époux.

The "poor paralytic" left her no means of subsistence; but a

pension of two thousand livres was begged for her, upon which she contrived to maintain a decent appearance. This fund, however, was withdrawn in a few years, at the dissolution of the queen through whom it came. The widow Scarron then retired as a boarder to the Ursuline convent, whence she issued from time to time to visit her old friends and form new acquaintance. She became intimate with the famous or infamous *Ninon de Lenclos*, without suffering in her reputation, so deep was the impression of her respectability. Ninon remarked that she "endeavoured to cure her of her virtue, but that Madame Scarron was too much afraid of offending God." Just as the necessitous widow was about to proceed to Portugal in the suite of the Princess de Nemours, another and sufficient pension was obtained for her by her old friend *Madame de Montespan*, who had become the first or governing mistress of Louis XIV. Our readers must not be surprised at the readiness of a chaste French woman of that era, to be indebted and attached to a person in the situation of Madame de Montespan. The very queens of the French monarchs, the whole sex, the highest dignitaries, the most pious prelates, ~~unanimously~~ manifested the same spirit. No part of the history of France under the old régime, is more curious and instructive in most points of view, than that of the position and agency of the royal concubines. The gynarchy was absolute, acknowledged, peculiar; and in too many cases, deplorably ignominious. What sort of woman the king's ruling mistress ought to be, and France should wish—was a question discussed as formally, as much of course, as the proper, desirable monarch, the perfection of a king himself. The eloquent author of the *Memoirs of Maintenon*, has elaborately depicted and eulogized the tender *La Valliere*, the immediate predecessor of Madame de Montespan; and his language, entirely naïf, illustrates in a characteristic way what we have observed above:—

"Elle étoit destinée à être le vrai modèle des maîtresses des rois. Elle ne mit point la France à ses genoux. Elle n'entra point dans les intrigues des courtisans. Elle ne fit ni ne déplaisa le Ministre. Lui plaire ne tint pas lieu de mérite. Lui déplaire ne fut point un crime. Elle ne punit point ces Vau-de-vies, enfans de l'étourderie et de l'engouement. Elle ne sut qu'aimer. A peine se souvient-elle qu'elle avoit des parents. Elle se déroboit à la foule, se cachoit sous l'herbe, étoit honteuse d'être maîtresse, d'être mère, d'être Duchesse. Madame de Sévigné disoit: Non, il n'y en aura jamais sur ce moule-là."

Montaigne remarks, in his *Age of Louis XIV.* that "the house of Madame de Montespan was the centre of the whole court, of all the pleasures, the happiness, the hopes, and the fears of the ministers and generals." That favourite appointed the widow Scarron governess of her first child by the king. The number of the offspring increased to three, and all were committed to the same supervision. The governess lived for a considerable time with them in the suburbs of Paris, in a private way, indefatigably and

fondly employed in "teaching the young idea how to shoot." Louis XIV. had an antipathy to her name, and supposed her to be a starched pedant, but, playing one day with the eldest of the children, he found him so intelligent that he could not help saying to him—"you are very sensible" or reasonable—to which the child replied—"how could I fail to be so, since I am educated by Reason herself." The monarch was so much struck with this answer that he directed a sum of *one hundred thousand livres* to be given to the governess. On another occasion, touched by evidence of her tender devotion to the health of the children, he sent her a second largess of the same amount, and raised her pension from two thousand livres to two thousand crowns. These donatives enabled her to purchase a noble landed estate called *Maintenon*, which name she took with the title of *Marchioness*, by order of the king. Thus was her pecuniary fortune at once made. When the children of Madame de Montespan, now multiplied to seven, were publicly acknowledged by Louis, Madame de Maintenon was called to reside at court with them. By degrees her excellent sense, her noble person and demeanour, her disciplined temper, her unrivalled powers of conversation, secured the utmost esteem and confidence of the monarch. She kept even him, at the same time, in awe by her invariable dignity and decorum. When jesting or dallying with the ladies of the court, he always passed the governess. "As for her," he used to say, "I know I must not venture." As she rose in favour, Madame de Montespan lost her ascendancy. At length, the latter went into retirement; another mistress was discarded through the same influence: in 1683, the Queen died; and in 1685, *Louis le Grand* actually espoused the widow of *Scarron*, then in her fiftieth year. The marriage was never announced in form to the world, but it seems to be admitted by the historians; and the writers concede also that she preserved her honour at all times. Louis would have proclaimed her Queen of France, but for the opposition of his minister *Louvois*. He treated her in the presence of the court, army and people, with more consideration than he had ever displayed towards his deceased consort, or any of his beautiful favourites; and she exercised until his death more influence over the affairs of court and state, than any Queen of France, or mistress of any French monarch had ever enjoyed. The Duke de St. Simon, in his *Memoirs*, holds this language: "The royal authority, the public and universal homage, the ministers and generals, the whole royal family, in a word every thing was at her feet; through her alone all were happy, and without her all were miserable. Men and things, honours, justice and favours, nay even religion itself, were all in her hands, and the king and the state were her victims. What an incomprehensible sorceress! How she ruled, more than *thirty* years, without interruption,

Madame de Maintenon died four years after Louis, aged eighty-four, leaving a personal and political reputation very different from what belongs to any other woman of her country, who was ever placed in similar circumstances. Her exhortation to her pensioners of St. Cyr, deserves to be repeated to all mankind—*Faisons toujours le bien; il est rarement perdu devant les hommes, et jamais devant Dieu.*

It might be difficult for a reflecting person to decide, if compelled to choose between the protracted martyrdom of Madame de Maintenon on the pinnacle of grandeur, and the melancholy end of *Madame Roland* on the scaffold. The narrative of this lady's confinement in prison, and her barbarous execution, pierces us as deeply as the most pathetic history of wrong and anguish at which our indignation and pity have ever glowed. In the two volumes entitled *Mémoires de Madame Roland*, which are included in the recent, extensive collection of *Memoirs relative to the French Revolution*, may be found ample information of her life and character, besides her eloquent auto-biography. What elegance and fervour of style—what richness and warmth of sentiment—what activity and vigour of spirit—what brightness and compass of cultivated intelligence! She early acquired the Latin, English, and Italian languages, and devoured the best authors in the Belles Lettres and moral science generally. Champagneux, the intimate friend of her husband, has described her in these terms:—

“During the first twenty-five years of her life she had read and studied with attention every work of celebrity, both ancient and modern; from the greater number of which she made extracts. She wrote with ease and grace, both in English and Italian; her thoughts always outstripping her pen and her words. She was mistress of several sciences, and particularly skilled in botany. By her travels she had acquired experience and improvement. She was remarkable for her penetration, her sagacity, and her judgment. In private and domestic life she practised every virtue; her filial piety was exemplary.”

In the midst of frivolities and luxuries, her heart felt and reasoned as if she flourished in the very sphere of pure illumination and genuine sensibility. There is a passage in her own *Memoirs*, which particularly shadows out her youthful character, and may serve as a sample of her vivid and felicitous style:—

“Je n'étais point insensible au plaisir de paraître quelquefois dans les proménades publiques; elles offraient alors un spectacle très-brillant, dans lequel la jeunesse avait toujours un rôle agréable. Les grâces de la personne y rendent constamment des hommages que la mode ne peut se dispenser d'être de cœur d'une jeune fille est toujours très-avide. Mais ils ne suffisent point au mien; j'éprouvais, après ces promenades, durant lesquelles mon amour-propre, fort éveillé, était aux aguets de tout ce qui pouvait me faire paraître avec avantage, et m'assurer que je n'avais pas perdu mon temps, un vide insupportable, une inquiétude et un dégoût qui me faisaient payer trop cher les plaisirs de la vanité. Habitué à réfléchir, à me demander compte de mes sensations, je recherchais péniblement les causes de ce malaise, et ma philosophie s'exerçait pleinement.”

"Est-ce donc pour briller aux yeux, comme les fleurs d'un parterre, et recevoir quelques vains éloges, que les personnes de mon sexe sont formées à la vertu, qu'elles acquièrent des talens ? Que signifie ce désir extrême de plaisir dont je me sens dévorée, et qui ne me rend point heureuse lors même qu'il semblerait devoir être satisfait ? Que m'importent les regards curieux, les complimens doucement murmurés, d'une foule que je ne connais point, et qui est peut-être composée de gens que je n'estimerai guère s'ils m'étaient connus ? Suis-je donc au monde pour dépenser mon existence en soins frivoles, en sentimens tumultueux ? Ah ! sans doute, j'ai une meilleure destination ; cette admiration qui m'enflamme pour tout ce qui est beau, sage, grand et généreux, m'apprend que je suis appelée à le pratiquer ; les devoirs sublimes et ravissans d'épouse et de mère seront un jour ses miens ; c'est à me rendre capable de les remplir que doivent être employées mes jeunes années ; il faut que j'étudie leur importance ; que j'apprenne, en réglant mes propres inclinations, comment diriger un jour celles de mes enfans ; il faut que, dans l'habitude de me commander le soin d'orner mon esprit, je m'assure les moyens de faire le bonheur de la plus douce des sociétés, d'abreuver de félicité le mortel qui méritera mon cœur, de faire rejailir, sur tout ce qui nous environnera, celle dont je le comblerai, et qui devra être tout entière mon ouvrage. Mon sein s'agitait à ces pensées ; mon cœur ému, gonflé, attendri, me faisait verser des larmes abondantes ; il s'élevait alors à l'intelligence suprême, à cette cause première, cette providence, que sais-je, à ce principe du sentiment et de la pensée qu'il avait besoin de croire et de reconnaître. O toi ! qui m'as placée sur la terre, fais que j'y remplisse ma destination de la manière la plus conforme à ta volonté sainte, et la plus convenable au bien de mes frères ! Cette prière naïve, simple comme le cœur qui la dictait, est devenue ma seule prière ; jamais la philosophie dissertante, ni aucune espèce d'égarement, n'a pu en dessécher la source. Du milieu du monde, et du fond d'une prison, je l'ai faite avec le même abandon : je la prononçai avec transport dans les circonstances brillantes de ma vie ; je la répète dans les fers avec résignation. jalouse, dans les premières de me défendre de toute affection qui n'eût point été à la hauteur de ma destinée ; soigneuse, dans les autres, de conserver la force nécessaire pour soutenir les épreuves auxquelles je suis exposée ; persuadée qu'il est, dans le cours des choses, des événemens que la sagesse humaine ne saurait prévenir ; convaincue que les plus malheureux ne peuvent accabler une âme sainte ; qu'enfin la paix avec soi-même, la soumission à la nécessité, sont les élémens du bonheur, et constituent la véritable indépendance du sage et des héros."

Mary Hays has not done entire justice to this text, in the following translation, which we add for the comfort of such of our readers as do not understand the original:—

"Thus in offices of social kindness, or in solitary studies, transported by her imagination to distant ages, the days of this admirable young woman glided tranquilly away. Sundays and holidays were devoted to bodily exercise ; to an excursion in the country, or a parade in the public walks. 'During these walks,' says she, 'In which my vanity powerfully excited, was on the watch for whatever might show me off to advantage, an insupportable vacuity, uneasiness, and disgust, made the pleasure purchased seem always too dear. Accustomed to reflect, and to render to myself an account of my sensations, I inquired into the cause of this inquietude. Is it, said I to myself, to please the eye, like the flowers of a parterre, and receive a few transient praises, that persons of my sex are brought up in the practice of virtue, and that their minds are enriched with talents ? What means this desire of pleasure, so intense, which preys upon me, and even when it should seem that it ought to be most gratified, fails to make me happy ? What are to me the admiration or the compliments of a crowd of persons, of whom I have no knowledge, and whom, did I know, I should probably despise ? Is it to waste my existence in frivolous cares, or tumultuous sensation, that I am placed in the world ? No ! I have doubtless a nobler destination. That admiration which I so ardently feel for whatever is excellent, generous, and

exalted, tells me, that it is to practise these things I am called. The sublime and affecting duties of a wife and mother will, on some future day, be mine: it is in rendering myself capable of fulfilling these, that my early years should be employed: by keeping within bounds my own inclinations, I shall learn to direct those of my children. By the habit of governing my passions, and by the care of cultivating my mind, I shall secure to myself the means of giving happiness to the most delightful of societies; of providing for the man who shall deserve my heart a never-fading source of felicity, and of communicating to all about us a portion of the same bliss. Such were the thoughts that agitated my bosom. Overcome by my emotion, I shed a flood of tears, while my heart exalted itself to the Supreme Intelligence, the principle of thought, and the source of sentiment: Oh, thou, who hast placed me on the earth, enable me to fulfil my destination, in the manner most conformable to thy will, and most beneficial to my fellow-creatures! This unaffected prayer, simple as the heart that dictated it, is now my only one. In the tumult of the world, in the depths of the dungeon, I have pronounced it with equal fervour. I have pronounced it with transport in the most brilliant circumstances of my life. I repeat it, in fetters, with resignation. Persuaded that, in the course of these things, there are events which human wisdom cannot prevent; and convinced that the most calamitous are impotent to overturn the firm mind, that peace at home, and submission to necessity, are the elements of happiness, and constitute the true independence of the hero and the sage.”

The husband of Madame Roland was forty-five years of age when she accepted his hand—more than twenty years older than herself: a man of deep philosophical and political studies, republican enthusiasm, sententious speech, unprepossessing appearance, and staid carriage. He knew the value of his prize, and she devoted herself in every mode to the confirmation of his esteem and love. She shared in his literary labours, prepared his food, watched over his flickering health: and when he became a leading politician and minister of state, she served, in every respect and situation, as the most useful auxiliary whom he could have adopted, if the choice of the ablest and truest of either sex had been submitted to his judgment. —

“Studious habits,” says she, “and a taste for letters made me participate in the labours of my husband, as long as he remained a private individual. I wrote with him as I ate with him, because one was almost as natural to me as the other, and because my existence being devoted to his happiness, I applied myself to those things which gave him the greatest pleasure. Roland wrote treatises on the arts, I did the same, although the subject was tedious to me. He was fond of erudition. I helped him to pursue his critical researches. Did he wish, by way of recreation, to compose an essay for some academy, we sat down to write in concert, or else separately, that we might afterwards compare our productions, choose the best, or compress them into one. If he had written homilies, I should have done the same. When he became minister, I did not interfere with his administration; but, if a circular letter, a set of instructions, or an important state paper were wanting, we talked the matter over with our usual freedom, and, impressed with his ideas, and pregnant with my own, I took up the pen, which I had the most leisure to conduct. Our principles and turn of mind being the same, we were agreed as to the form, and my husband risked nothing in passing through my hands. I could advance nothing, warranted by justice and reason, which he was not capable of realizing, or supporting by his energy and conduct. But my language expressed more strongly what he had done or promised to do. Roland *without me* would not have been a worse minister; his activity, his knowledge, his probity, were all his own. but *with me* he attracted more attention; because I infused into his writings that mixture of spirit and of softness, of authoritative reason and of seducing sentiment, which are perhaps only to be found in a wo-

man endowed with a clear head and a feeling heart. I composed with delight such pieces as I deemed likely to be useful, and felt in so doing greater pleasure than had I been known as the author. I am avaricious of happiness, and with me it consists in the good I do."

The importance, efforts, and perils, of both husband and wife, during the first years of the Revolution, are familiar to all general readers. Madame Roland was too conspicuous to escape proscription. The ferocious tyrants of 1792, cast her into the horrid prison of the *Abbaye*, and then into that of *St. Pélagic*, whence, after an incarceration of many months, she was dragged to the *Conciérgerie*, and to the scaffold, in 1793. She died firmly, and her exclamation, as she bowed at the place of execution, before the statue of Liberty, is as impressive as that of Brutus in regard to Virtue. The Memoirs of herself, to which we have referred, and much more of the history of her times, were written in the prison of *Sainte-Pélagie*. Her husband, a proscribed fugitive, resolved, as soon as he heard of her death, to put an end to his own life, and accordingly killed himself with a sword which he contrived to procure for that purpose. *Riouffe*, who was her fellow-prisoner, speaks of her thus:—

"Though past the prime of life, she was still a charming woman, her person was tall and elegantly formed, her countenance animated, and very expressive: but misfortune and confinement had impressed on her aspect traces of melancholy, which tempered its vivacity. In a body moulded by grace, and fashioned by a courtly politeness, she possessed a republican soul. Something more than is generally found in the eyes of women was painted in hers, which were large, dark, and full of softness and intelligence. She often spoke to me at the grate, with the freedom and firmness of a *great man*; while we all stood listening around her in admiration and astonishment. Her conversation was serious without coldness, and she expressed herself with a correctness, a harmony, a cadence, that made her language a sort of music with which the ear was never cloyed. She spoke not of the deputies who had suffered death but with respect, and yet without effeminate compassion: she even reproached them for not adopting measures sufficiently strong. She generally styled them *our friends*, and often sent for Clavières for the purpose of conversing with him. Sometimes her sex recovered its ascendancy, and it was easy to perceive, that conjugal and maternal recollections had drawn tears from her eyes. This mixture of fortitude and softness, served but to render her the more interesting."

The principal biographer of Baroness de Staël Holstein, next to herself, is one who held a long and close intimacy with her, and cherished an enthusiastic admiration of her friend. Madame *Necker de Saussure* wrote, moreover, at the request of Madame de Staël's children. Every circumstance tended to the production of an elaborate and unqualified panegyric—to the concealment of obliquities, and the highest colouring of merits. Yet the passionate friend has furnished a rich volume, exhaling a perfume of Madame de Staël's genius, and conveying salutary lessons. We deem the life of this gifted woman altogether, as it is to be traced in her own memoirs, and her various works, and in the relations of her friends and contemporaries, far more instructive and interesting than that of any other female of her order. Ma-

dame de Saussure's work is properly entitled "*Sketch*;" it is not the accomplishment of that task, which an impartial writer, versed in human nature, and the subjects of Madame de Staël's volumes, and capable of philosophical reflection, might execute with particular advantage to the sex. It would be superfluous for us to enter into the details of her dazzling career. Every body knows who and what she was in the ordinary sense. But we may venture to touch a few of the prominent points in her friend's outline.

In the first place, we readily admit that Madame de Staël reflected, not because she wished to write, but wrote, because she had reflected—that her works were the natural result of the prodigious abundance of her ideas. An exuberant fertility—the fertility of a rich soil, liberally seeded—characterizes all her productions. In conversation, too, she was an *improvisatrice* equal to her own Corinna; her eyes incessantly flashed brilliant ideas: the promptness and eloquence of her speech corresponded. The talker nearly eclipsed the writer in her most auspicious fluency of the pen. Moreover, there is "no trace of pedantry" in her compositions, not even in her *Germany*; no *esprit alem-biqué*—no affectation, connected with the consciousness of genius and knowledge. In general, we give her credit for sincerity in her very hyperboles of sentiment and doctrine, predilections, and antipathies. Her inordinate sentimentality and worship, in relation to her father, we believe to have been honest. Though a man of real, as well as accidental consequence, his dimensions and elevation were so much less than those which her imagination or affection proclaimed, unremittingly, that he has suffered by the contrast, and she has been accused of an artificial piety. We have seen evidence of the fact, that she could profess in private, dispositions towards Napoleon and the Bonapartes, quite different from those which are expressed in her works, and which Madame de Saussure represents her to have entertained. Able as she is in her *Germany*, and the *Considerations on the French Revolution*, her true chef d'œuvre, we think, is *Corinna*; in it we have the direct inspiration of her twofold genius. Her biographer has justly extolled, and ingeniously defended, this "work of art and work of feeling."

Of her opinions, as stated by Madame de Saussure, some may be compressed into a small space. She used to say to eminent women—"Respect opinion, since whatever you have of good and noble, may be wounded by it, and it *will pursue you even in the very hearts of those you love.*" She maintained all her life, the pregnant doctrine, that political institutions form the education of the people, mould their character, and thus decide their internal condition. "There never is," she observed, "any such thing as a *tête-à-tête* with affected people; the personage

assumed makes a *third*, and it is the latter that answers when you speak to the other." She was fond of raillery, and practised it chiefly on her friends—those whom she esteemed the most. Badinage she cited as a proof of interest. The following traits deserve also to be set apart:—

"She always read foreign authors in the original; and had the courage, even when arrived at years of maturity, to learn languages that she had not been taught in her youth. She set an infinite value on studies of this kind, finding that the thoughts open for themselves new roads, by a change of idiom. To learn and appreciate languages, in her opinion, was the most beneficial of all exercises to the mind, and the only means of acquiring a knowledge of national character. She quoted with much pleasure the saying of the ancient poet Ennius, who averred that he had three minds, because he spoke three languages. * * *

"Of the fine arts, music was the most habitually necessary to Madame de Staël. A performer herself, and endowed with a fine and strong voice, she continued to exercise her talent, till her children were able to afford her that sort of amusement which she required from harmony. She sought in it at once tranquillity and inspiration, forgetfulness of the present, and the anticipation of a future existence. This art which sets the mind in motion, without the assistance of thought, and excites tender emotions without stirring the passions, had for Madame de Staël a charm, that nothing else could supply. * * *

"Madame de Staël was more herself as she advanced in years; whether, as she wrote to me, success encouraged her to display what she called her whimsicalities, or whether she had laid aside certain romantic forms that veiled her real originality. Perhaps there was a time when life, death, melancholy, impassioned disregard of self, were too prominent in her conversation; but, when the contagion of these phrases had infected her whole drawing-room, and threatened to extend to her anti-chamber, she grew mortally tired of them. The affectation of these imitators constantly cured Madame de Staël of any thing ridiculous. * * *

"Even with regard to intellectual faculties, she was inclined to think, that what raises distinguished persons above the general level is very trifling, compared with what they have in common with all well organized beings. The universal effect produced by talents appeared to her to prove the great analogy between men's minds, and a fund of wealth common to all, by the side of which individual differences were of small account. 'If people be stupid,' says she, 'it is always their own fault; and were I in possession of power, I would oblige every body to have intellect.' * * *

"Whatever griefs were inwardly felt by Madame de Staël, she almost always carried into company that freedom of mind which alone enables us to enjoy it. One cause of the vivacity and clearness of her conceptions was, that her mind was not too tenaciously preoccupied. All her impressions came from without, and were in consequence perfectly just. Images were formed in her mind as on a perfectly smooth canvass; and their colours were still heightened by the slight tint of melancholy that was diffused over the ground. Hence it was that every object produced its full effect on her, and that she derived a real and infallible solace from social intercourse."

There is an emphatic moral in the statements of Madame de Staël, concerning the *unhappiness* of her celebrated friend. The very splendour of her endowments, her triumphs as an author, her importance and lustre in the eyes of the world, not merely failed to secure for her "our being's end and aim," but contributed to deprive her of all tranquillity and contentment. Her talents, says her biographer, penetrated through every feature; they sparkled in her eyes, marked her slightest phrases, imparted a subduing eloquence to her kindness and her pity, *but*

embittered her existence. "Her heart was more alive than that of any other person; but she suffered more vividly, and the *intensity of her sorrow was dreadful.* She gave us the idea of a superior intelligence, whom a jealous fate had subjected to the miseries and illusions of this world, and whose high prerogative only rendered her more sensible of the emptiness and wretchedness of human life." She underwent all the fugitive and the fixed miseries of the heart; and such was her own impression of the disadvantage of her lot, that when she observed a manifestation of wit in her daughter, she earnestly warned her against seeking *celebrity.*

The spirit of Madame de Staël was, in fact, morbidly restless; her sensibility lawless and excessive; her ambition premature and exorbitant. Her passions and habits had been subjected to no discipline. Whether from obstinacy or delusion, she pursued, on every side, unattainable ends. She allowed her potent imagination to keep her in the clouds. The incessant attempt "to pass the flaming bounds of space and time," and to soar "upon the seraph-wings of ecstasy," could not but end in bitter chagrin, or a fatal catastrophe. She married, first, a worthy man, whom she did not please to love, and with whom she held but little intercourse. The *liaisons*, or ties of friendship, platonic, or more than platonic, by which she was connected with the Narbonne, the Schlegels, and the Constants, being precarious, transitory, and ambiguous, could not satisfy her aspirations, if they left her conscience at rest.

Her face may have had "intellectual beauty," and her exterior, when animated by the play of her faculties, ceased to be repulsive; but the whole woman was not of the description that awakens and perpetuates the sublime passion, of which she coveted to be the object. She excited only admiration—the love which she sought, like Sappho, was not to be won by her mental accomplishments, and she had too much acuteness, and fervour of fancy and affection, to remain blind to the absence of reciprocity. On that head of romantic passion and sympathetic union, she continued deeply excitable, and strongly imaginative, beyond the period of age when those who have been gifted with the kind of attractions which she lacked, lose much of their power and their susceptibility. Madame de Saussure tells that there was "passion, or at least emotion, in all her attachments,"—that they appeared to differ "rather in intensity than in kind," and were "naturally expansive, ardent, impetuous, and even *stormy*;" that for a long time "she comprehended only *her own manner of loving*, in whatever relation, and refused to believe the existence of sincere sentiments, that did not express themselves *like hers*;" and that she "revolted against the obstacles which the frame of society, and often human indolence, oppose

to the enjoyments of the heart." It is obvious, that with such a temperament, and such ideas, the severest disappointments and mortifications were inevitable.

Madame de Saussure elsewhere informs us that her friend "profoundly lamented the lot of women, and more particularly pitied those who were endued with eminent faculties, when denied the happiness of *wedded love*, in her eyes of all the greatest." It appeared to her, in this case, "equally difficult for them to confine themselves within the narrow limits of their fate, or to overstep those limits without exposing themselves to pungent sorrows." Her own sad experience was the teacher of this solid wisdom.—In secretly espousing, at last, a young officer, M. Rocca, claiming compassion for his wounds and debility—she attempted to fill up the aching void of her soul. Because she believed that she had inspired, or because she fondly hoped to raise, the kind and degree of love and tenderness of which she deemed herself still capable, she incurred the afflictive duty of watching and assuaging the ebb of a life which was to become as precious as her own. Ambition we have specified as one of the causes of her comparative infelicity. She was not content to shine and rule in the republic of letters alone;—she sighed and struggled for power and distinction in every exalted sphere: she would have conquered Napoleon, legislated for France, prescribed for Russia and Britain; in short, she meddled enviously and anxiously with all sorts of public affairs. The world may be indebted to this extravasation of female thoughts and desires for much of the pith of her *Considerations on the French Revolution*, but it helped to mar her own welfare.

The support of Christian piety was wanting to Madame de Staël, as well as the anchor of connubial love. Her friend mentions, indeed, that from the epoch of her father's death, her religious opinions became more decided; "the vague of a poetic belief ceased to satisfy her cravings; she required a firm faith in that promise of immortality which alone saved her from despair; she had need of being a Christian, because her father died a Christian; in her mortal struggle, she repelled the terrors of death, by the thought that she was going to rejoin her father." This was, truly, a close contraction of the Christian faith and hope; too close for a person of her liabilities and moral constitution.

It is not to her genius, or to fortune, that we must impute the miscarriage of her endeavours after happiness. Her example is full of admonition against immoderate and incongruous avidities and efforts. Talents form a productive blessing for a female, if they are cultivated and applied conformably to her plain, natural destination: simple domestic life is a safe, and not a very narrow sphere, of duty and pleasure. When the actual condition of the two sexes in civilized society is sedately and broadly

examined, the lot of each is seen to have its inconveniences and its advantages; and, perhaps, superiority cannot be asserted for either, on the whole.

With regard to relative mental powers, wild speculation and superfluous ingenuity have been lavished on both sides of the question. In endowing each, Providence has distinguished the share and quality, and separated the uses, in his general economy. We would refer to Hannah More's "Comparative View of the Sexes," for a rational and discriminative discussion of this topic. In adducing cases of female scholarship, we have shown that females are at least capable of becoming learned in the ultimate degree, but we have not meant to recommend a classical education to our countrywomen. The German professor, *Meiners*, well observes, that in the sixteenth, and first half of the seventeenth centuries, the modern languages were unpolished, and had produced very few masterpieces; and therefore, the women of genius, who were desirous of cultivating their understandings and their hearts, were obliged to learn the ancient languages, in whose works alone they could find the treasures of useful and ornamental knowledge. This necessity has disappeared; the literature of each of the modern tongues, is sufficiently refined and comprehensive. Our state of society, and the offices of an American wife and mother, are, moreover, such, that the time requisite for the proper acquisition of the Greek and Latin, cannot be afforded, and the application or general usefulness of this knowledge, would be much more limited than it is in Europe.

ART. IX.—*Memoir of De Witt Clinton, with an Appendix containing numerous documents, illustrative of the principal events of his life.* By DAVID HOSACK, M. D. F. R. S. 4to. New-York: 1829.

WHEN we first glanced at this volume, we were forcibly reminded of an article contained in the first number of the *Edinburgh Review*, on Dr. Parr's Spital sermon, in which a ludicrous comparison is instituted between that celebrated production, and its author's scarcely less celebrated wig. The similitude was said to consist in the immense "tail" which each possessed; the wig "swelling out behind into boundless convexity of frizz," the sermon increased to the size of a formidable volume, by an innumerable mass of notes, which "seem to concern

every learned thing, every learned man, and almost every unlearned man, since the beginning of the world." Thus it is with Dr. Hosack's work, the body of which, that is the Memoir, is comparatively of inconsiderable dimensions, but the appendix to it is of formidable amplitude. For this disparity, however, our author has assigned an adequate reason in his preface. He states, that in endeavouring to ascertain the nature and extent of the services rendered by Governor Clinton in promoting the construction of canals, it became necessary to inquire, how far other persons had contributed, by their labours, to the accomplishment of the same great end :—

" These inquiries have, necessarily, led to a much more extensive investigation of this subject, than was at first contemplated. In the course of this examination, to the great surprise of the author, numerous facts have been disclosed, and many valuable documents obtained, which have never hitherto been communicated to the world, and which will be found to illustrate, not only the highly important services rendered by Mr. Clinton, but those also by others who have not been before known and appreciated among the benefactors of the state, and to whom much praise is due, for the benefits which their talents and disinterested labours have conferred. The number and extent of these documents, have unavoidably enlarged the appendix to a very unexpected length, and have necessarily delayed the publication of the work. These circumstances, and the time occupied in procuring some of the materials, will account for the disproportion which will be found to exist between the original biography and the appended matter. Could these difficulties have been earlier foreseen, measures might have been adopted the better to have secured a more ample Memoir, and to have compressed the appendix within more moderate limits."

It is the peculiar custom of our country to signalize the decease of each of our great men, by public discourses; and these discourses form a large and quite respectable portion of our literature. Several tributes of the kind were quickly paid to the manes of the eminent De Witt Clinton. Dr. Hosack having been his most intimate friend, was summoned by the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York to lead, as it were, in the chorus of just eulogy. He has converted the panegyric, which he pronounced in obedience to that call, into the Memoir which lies before us, and to which he has given a very imposing and beautiful form, worthy of the subject. It is our humble purpose to make an abstract of this biographical commemoration.

In his preface, Dr. Hosack has offered an apology for any omissions or errors which may be discovered, by stating that they may be accounted for by the fact of his having been denied access to the private papers of his friend, in consequence of the selection of the Hon. J. C. Spencer, by the family of the deceased, to be his biographer. This circumstance caused him to commence a correspondence with many of the personal friends of Governor Clinton, and from the information imparted in their communications, which are detailed in the appendix, and his own

knowledge of Mr. Clinton acquired by a long and uninterrupted friendship, he has compiled the present volume.

The ancestors of De Witt Clinton were of English origin, but for some generations antecedent to his father, they had resided in Ireland, which country his grandfather left in the year 1729, for the purpose of emigrating to America, and settling with his family in the province of Pennsylvania. But contrary winds forced the vessel in which they sailed upon the shore of Cape Cod, in the vicinity of which place they lived until the spring of 1731, when they removed, together with the friends by whom they were accompanied, to a part of Ulster, now Orange county, in New-York. There they formed a flourishing and permanent settlement. The first Mr. Clinton died in 1773 on the 19th of November, leaving behind him four sons born in this country, and one daughter a native of Ireland.

James, the father of the late governor, married Miss Mary De Witt, and attained the rank of major-general in the army of the United States, having served with great distinction during the revolutionary war.

De Witt Clinton was born on the 2d day of March 1769, at Little Britain, the residence of his father, in Orange county. The rudiments of his education were imparted to him by the Rev. John Moffat, from whose care he was removed, in 1782, to that of Mr. John Addison, then the head of the academy at Kingston, where he prepared himself for college. In 1784 he was admitted to the junior class in Columbia University, and was the first student who entered that institution after the close of the war. He received his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1786, on which occasion he delivered the Latin Salutatory, a sufficient proof of his proficiency, that duty being always assigned to the best scholar of the class. His talents for composition and debate, were early displayed in a society denominated the Urarian, formed by the students for the purpose of improvement in both of those exercises.

Immediately after his graduation, he commenced the study of law with the late Hon. Samuel Jones, a counsellor of great eminence. After the customary noviciate, he was admitted to the bar, but before he had time to acquire a practice of any importance, he was made private secretary to his uncle George Clinton, then governor of the state, in which capacity he remained during that relative's administration, which terminated in 1795. In the interim, he had been honoured with the offices of secretary to the board of regents of the university, and to the board of fortifications of New-York. These events, Dr. Hosack remarks, may be considered as the introduction of Mr. Clinton to public and political life; for from that period, he was devoted, with but a few intermissions, to the service of the state.

About this time he married Miss Maria Franklin, the eldest daughter of Walter Franklin, Esq., an eminent and affluent merchant of New-York, and a member of the Society of Friends. By this union he had seven sons and three daughters, of whom four sons and two daughters are still in existence. His second wife, whom he espoused in 1819, was Miss Catharine Jones, the daughter of the late Dr. Thomas Jones of New-York, to whose varied excellence our author pays a feeling and well-merited tribute.

When mentioning that Mr. Clinton early in life enrolled himself among the ancient fraternity of Freemasons, and after filling many of its most important offices was advanced, in 1816, to the highest masonic post in the United States, Dr. Hosack bestows a lofty encomium upon that order.

In 1797, Mr. Clinton was chosen a member of the legislature for the city of New-York, the time when the two great parties which have since divided the country, were organized. He immediately embraced the republican or democratic side, which he was first induced to do for the purpose of vindicating his uncle, George Clinton, who was at that period assailed with great vehemence, by the leading men of the other party.

In the year 1800, difficulties having arisen between Governor Jay and the council of appointment, the controversy was supported on the part of the latter by Mr. Clinton, then a member of that body. It was finally settled by a convention which assembled at Albany in 1801, when a modification of the constitution was effected in accordance with the views entertained by him, as well as by the most eminent statesmen of both parties. Subsequently to that period, he was repeatedly elected to the senate of the state, where he distinguished himself by his support of every measure calculated to promote the cause of science and benevolence.

In 1801, he was chosen to supply the vacancy in the senate of the Union, occasioned by the resignation of General Armstrong, and remained in possession of his seat for two sessions. Among his associates in that august body, were some of the most eminent men who have reflected lustre upon our national councils, but even there the genius of Mr. Clinton shone with unsurpassed brilliancy.

After he had relinquished his station as senator, he was placed in the mayoralty of New-York, in which post he continued until 1807, when he was succeeded by Colonel Marinus Willett, a venerable and brave soldier of the revolution. In 1808, however, he was reappointed to that office and retained it, (with the intermission of one year during which he was superseded by Judge Radcliffe in consequence of a change in the political atmosphere,) until 1815, when the violence of party drove him into the retire-

ment of private life. During that year, as well as 1816 and a portion of 1817, he employed his time in the cultivation of letters, and in devising plans of public improvement and philanthropy.

In 1817, Mr. Clinton was called, by the almost unanimous voice of the inhabitants of his state, to fill the chair of chief magistrate in the place of Daniel D. Tompkins, who had been elected Vice-President of the United States. The two great parties formed a coalition for the purpose of making him governor, so high was the sense entertained of his talents and exertions to promote the public welfare, although he had dissatisfied the republicans by opposing, some years before, the second elevation of Mr. Madison to the Presidency, and given great offence to the Federalists by certain sentiments which he had uttered. During the first years of his administration, nothing disturbed the harmony of the state, but after the task of distributing offices was performed, discontent was excited, as might have been foreseen, and tranquillity destroyed. A systematic opposition was then commenced to his measures by persons of both parties, but especially of the republican, who accused him of having violated his faith with them, and declared they never would be satisfied until he had received the punishment, by being removed from office, of what they termed "his desertion of their standard." By dint of great exertions, his adversaries succeeded in obtaining a majority first in the senate, and then in the assembly, and as the end of his term approached in 1820, every nerve was strained to prevent his reelection. In order to attain their object, they even induced Daniel Tompkins, at the time still Vice-President, who, from his great popularity in his native state, was emphatically styled "the man of the people," to become their candidate.

The contest was one of the most warm and animated description, and for some time the issue was extremely problematical. But upon telling the votes, which amounted to 180,000, Mr. Clinton was found to have received a majority of from one to two thousand. "This," observes Dr. Hosack, "was considered by his friends a great triumph, because on his part there was nothing to urge but his talents and services; his partisans had not been well organized, whilst his opponents were mighty as a party, and had as their champion a man who had been deservedly popular during the war, and whose very misfortunes since that period had endeared him still more to his friends."

Their efforts to deprive him of his station having failed, the opposition proceeded to use every means of throwing difficulties in the way of his administration; and as one of the most effectual modes of doing so, undertook to remove his friends from office, and substitute for them his most indefatigable enemies, which measure,

the majorities they possessed in both houses and in the council of appointment enabled them to accomplish. In the year 1821, when party spirit raged with the greatest violence, they proposed, and unfortunately succeeded in effecting, a change in the constitution of the state, ostensibly for the purpose of obliterating its defects. But the real motive of it was the desire to gratify their animosity, by abridging the power of the governor, extending the right of suffrage, and removing those judges who were known to entertain towards him, sentiments of friendship and attachment.

Fortunately, the "canal policy" had been so well and firmly established, that his opponents did not dare to attack it; and having succeeded in that favourite object, he proceeded in his plans of internal improvement and usefulness, undismayed at the fury of the storm by which he was assailed. But, unwilling to be again the cause of so much dissension, he declined offering himself as a candidate for reelection in 1822, and sought the shades of private life, after discharging, for five consecutive years, the functions of chief magistrate. The acrimonious feelings, however, of his enemies, were not allayed by his retirement, but continued still to influence their conduct towards him. The enthusiasm manifested in his favour at the canal celebration which occurred in October 1823 at Albany, aroused their jealousy to such a degree, that soon afterwards they deprived him of his station as canal commissioner. To that office he had been appointed on the 13th of March 1810, by a resolution of the senate, on motion of the Hon. Jonas Platt, then a member of that body, and one of his most efficient coadjutors in his efforts to accomplish the great plan of inland navigation.

We have purposely avoided entering into a narrative of the canal-scheme with which Mr. Clinton was so intimately connected, as it would be, in our opinion, supererogatory, in consequence of the numerous and detailed accounts which have been given to the world already, of its rise, progress and accomplishment. An elaborate history of it is contained in the work before us, many pages of the Memoir itself having been devoted to that topic by the author. The appendix consists almost entirely of communications and speeches concerning it, and therefore we refer to that portion of Dr. Hosack's volume, those who may be desirous of perusing all the valuable information respecting the New-York canals "en masse," in preference to hunting it amid a large number of fugitive pamphlets and memorials.

Had the construction of these monuments of public spirit occasioned detriment and loss, instead of the immense benefits which have accrued from it, how different the light in which the idea of it would now be viewed! Instead of being ve-

nerated as public benefactors, Clinton and his patriotic associates would be considered at the present day as a set of visionary enthusiasts. Experience furnishes abundant confirmation of the line of Voltaire—

“Le parti le plus juste est celui du vainqueur,”

as well as convincing proof that it is applicable alike to civil and to military undertakings.

When Cleon, the Athenian demagogue, offered in an assembly of the people to undertake an expedition against the Lacedemonian garrison in Sphacteria, which had hitherto successfully resisted every attempt of the forces of the republic commanded by the ablest generals, all were struck with amazement at the rashness of such a proposal from one who had never exhibited any capacity for war, and all considered it as an ebullition of overweening vanity and conceit. But when he returned victorious with a numerous body of prisoners, fortune having favoured his arms, every tongue was loud in acclamation, and nothing was heard save encomiums on the valour and skill of the leader, even from the mouths of those who had previously been most forward in ridiculing him as an intemperate boaster.

It has been observed by Dr. Johnson, that projection, even when visionary, is not always the folly of a fool, but often the consequence of a “capacious mind, crowded with variety of knowledge, and heated by intenseness of thought.” To projectors, mankind are indebted for many of the most valuable discoveries in natural science, and the invention of numerous arts most efficacious in promoting human welfare. Chemistry owes some of its most important principles to the search after the grand elixir and the philosopher’s stone,—circumstances which should shield from utter ridicule those whose projects may seem to be beyond the reach of human power.

The measure of removing Mr. Clinton, from his situation as canal commissioner, was so arbitrary and unjust, that it excited universal dissatisfaction. No reason could be assigned for it, except that of personal ill-will. For, however earnestly his claims may have been disputed to the credit of being the original proposer of the canal-scheme, no one could deny that he was the most, or at least one of the most, firm and efficacious of its supporters. He persevered in his attachment to it amid difficulties and obstacles that would have appalled an ordinary mind, with ardour so unremitting, that its success seemed to be always the dearest wish of his heart. This ungrateful return, therefore, for his long and untiring services in its behalf, could not fail to excite feelings of indignation in every generous breast, and his enemies soon had reason to per-

ceive that they had overshot the mark. We cannot resist the temptation of transcribing the eloquent language of Dr. Hosack, in reference to this outrageous proceeding.

"On the 12th of April 1824, the last day of the session of that year, a day which will be ever memorable in the history of this state, De Witt Clinton, by an almost unanimous vote of both houses of the legislature, was removed from the office of canal commissioner, the man who had been many years one of the greatest benefactors of this state, and who at the very moment when his labours were suspended, was actively engaged in the completion of this work, which distinguishes the age and country in which it has been accomplished. probably for the same reason that the Athenians urged, when by the ostracism they banished their Aristides, that they were wearied with hearing the continued praises bestowed upon the good, the virtuous, the just Aristides, our representatives could also allege, as the best defence to be advanced for their high handed act of cruelty and folly, that they too were wearied with hearing the unceasing plaudits bestowed upon Clinton, the idol, the Aristides of his country. Such was the indignation created throughout every part of the state by this most extraordinary, this almost maniacal procedure of a deliberative body, that as was to be expected, it produced an almost universal reaction in his favour. Like the chains of Columbus after his discovery of a new world, this unjust and odious act, only served to enhance the value of his services, to dishonour his enemies, to rivet more strongly the affections of his friends, and the gratitude of his country, to immortalize and to identify his name with the deeds he had done, and the country he had served. He met the event with his accustomed self-possession, he calmly retired until the storm then raging might be expended, when he again rose superior to his enemies, and to every misfortune with which they had endeavoured to overwhelm him."

An interesting account of the proceedings in the legislature with regard to Mr. Clinton's removal, is given in an able communication, contained in the appendix, from William Stone, Esq. editor of the New-York Commercial Advertiser, who was present in the house at the time. We shall transcribe that portion which has immediate reference to the "extraordinary transaction," which we have been pottering.

"This harsh and intolerant measure was effected by a joint resolution of the two branches of the legislature, on the 12th of April 1824. No satisfactory excuse for it has been or ever can be made. The most that can be said in extenuation of it is, that it was done at a moment of high political excitement. The then approaching presidential election, had called into action many angry passions, and fierce conflicting opinions, touching a great measure involving the supposed rights of the people, to a direct participation in the election of president. It was well known that a large majority of the people of this state were in favour of Mr. Adams, at that time, and it was believed that a small majority of the legislature preferred the election of Mr. Crawford. Hence the friends of the former were desirous of taking from the legislature the power of appointing the electors, and of referring the choice immediately to the people. And the friends of the latter candidate, were equally anxious to retain the power in their own hands. The political revolutions of 1821-22, which had swept away the old constitution, and changed, in some respects, the aspect of our political and civil institutions, had likewise left Mr. Clinton in temporary retirement from the chair of state. And although nearly balanced upon the presidential question, a large majority of both branches of the legislature were in decided political hostility to him. The consequence of this peculiar state of things was, that the friends of Mr. Crawford, and the opponents of the electoral law, devised the resolution for the removal of Mr. Clinton, simply as a political *ruse de guerre*. Availing themselves of the supposed unpopularity of Mr. Clinton, at that moment, they hoped at once

to extinguish all clamour upon the subject of the electoral law, and ruin the cause of Mr. Adams, by identifying the friends of this measure and this candidate, with what they were pleased to consider the broken fortunes of the illustrious individual then suffering the pangs of political banishment. The project was devised, and the whole scheme matured, as I have the authority of a highly respectable member of the senate who was present, for saying, in a select and rather informal caucus, on the evening before the act was perpetrated. No one, it is believed, would have denied the high-handed and daring injustice of the measure. But it was a large stake for which they were playing, and in the heat of an embittered party contest, politicians are too often in the habit of practising upon the maxim, that the "end justifies the means."

"It was believed by the leaders in the project, that on a resolution for the removal of Mr. Clinton, the opponents of Mr. Crawford, and, as they pretended, of Mr. Clinton also, would almost to a man vote in the negative. And from that moment they were to have been denounced as Clintonians. The device was considered the *ne plus ultra* of political cunning. But unfortunately for its projectors, though most fortunate, as it proved, for the great object against whom it was aimed as the last fatal stab, the effect was directly the reverse of what had been anticipated. The resolution was moved in the senate, and instantly adopted. It was then sent down to the assembly for concurrence, where it was received just as the house was on the point of adjourning *sine die*. It was received with mingled astonishment by every member who had not been intrusted with the secret. A sort of panic seemed to prevail, and men looked at each other with fixed and countenance amazement. As I have just remarked, the house was on the very point of its final adjournment, and many of the members were picking up their papers upon their desks, as they were leaving the seats, when the resolution was introduced. Mr. Cunningham, of Montgomery county, who was a fine, noble hearted man, and in reality what Mark Antony pretended to be—"a plain blunt man, who spoke right on," was at the act of putting on his overcoat. But though others stood hesitating and abashed, it was not the case with him. With but a moment for reflection, flinging his coat over his arm, he turned to the speaker, and with a countenance glowing with generous indignation, gave utterance to his feelings in bold and manly sentiments, in language warm, and proceeding spontaneously from the heart. The appeal, however, of this patriotic man, who has since been summoned to an early grave, was vain. Many of the ablest and best men, though pricked to the heart with the injustice of the deed, were yet fearful of shares and pitfalls, and in the doubt and perturbation of the moment, voted for the fatal resolution. There was a want of moral courage in this matter, which cannot be excused. The question should have been met upon its merits, whatever might have been the consequences. Still, however, there is much in the attending circumstances, to mitigate the sharpness of our censure; and the result was all that the friends of civil liberty, and foes to proscription and intolerance, could have desired."

Colonel Stone then proceeds to describe, what we have already stated, the universal indignation, and complete reaction in Mr. Clinton's favour, which the measure produced. Public meetings were convened in every part of the state, which were thronged, and addresses expressive of the general feeling were presented to him from all quarters.

His friends did not permit the opportunity to escape, but again brought forward their favourite, in the year 1824, as a candidate for the governorship, and carried his election by one of the

"* It is said, and I believe the story is not apocryphal, that the mover was the only member of the senate, who would consent to use in his place, and offer it, and there was a division of labour in the operation as it was, one member wrote it, another copied it, and a third presented it."

most triumphant majorities on record. He received 20,000 votes more than Colonel Young, his adversary in the contest; and during the rest of his career as chief magistrate, which terminated only with his life, experienced no more of that virulence of opposition by which it had been marked. In 1826, he was re-elected by a majority of four thousand votes over his opponent, Judge Rochester, who was supported as the administration candidate, that is, as the candidate of those who were desirous of maintaining President Adams and his friends in office; and as party feeling was highly excited touching the question who should be president, that circumstance is sufficient to account in great measure, for the large number of votes which the latter received. Dr. Hosack observes, that "after this election, until the time of his death, Governor Clinton had been so successful in obtaining the approbation and support of both houses of the legislature, as well as of his fellow-citizens throughout the Union, and had gained such a complete victory over the party feelings of former times, that next to the two leading candidates for the presidency, his prospect of eventually attaining to that elevated station, had become greater than that of any other citizen of the United States?"

In consequence of an accident, Mr. Clinton had for some years been deprived, to a certain extent, of his accustomed exercise, and although his habits of living were rigidly temperate, he became plethoric, and was rendered extremely sensitive to the changes of the atmosphere. In the autumn of 1827, he was attacked with a catarrhal affection of the throat and chest, which, being neglected, brought on a fatal disease of the heart.

Our author, when on a visit to Albany, about a week before Mr. Clinton's decease, was struck by the change in his health, and communicated confidentially to his eldest son, and to some of his connexions and friends, "his imminently alarming situation." "Even too," he observes, "at this period he was daily taking bodily exercise, performing with his characteristic alacrity and energy his official duties at the capital, and his mind directed to every object except his health, and his own immediate condition, of which he was ever too regardless, and, at this time, totally unmindful."

On the Friday before his death, Dr. Hosack had a long conversation with him in his library, and took leave under the fullest conviction, as he says, that he should never see Mr. Clinton more.

On the next Monday, the 11th of February 1829, after riding, performing his usual avocations, and dining with some friends, Mr. Clinton retired, as he was wont, to his study, for the sake of transacting business, and devoting some time to his literary pursuits. "While sitting," we employ Dr. Hosack's words.

"in his library, he was suddenly seized with a sense of oppression and stricture across his chest: he spoke to his son, sitting near him, who was then writing, performing some duty that had been directed by his father, and described to him the distressful, and, as he feared, fatal sensation he experienced. Medical aid was instantly called for. By the direction of his son, some drink was given. He walked in the hall, but soon returned to his chair in the library:—the hand of death was upon him—his head fell upon his breast. A physician arrived, but too late:—all efforts, though unremittingly continued for some hours, to recall his parting spirit, proved unavailing:—sense, consciousness, intelligence, had fled forever:—Clinton was no more. The heart-rending event was communicated to his agonized family; and, with the rapidity of an electric shock, pervaded the city: the house of mourning was instantly surrounded by his neighbours and numerous friends, who could scarcely credit the reality of his death." The next day, every thing betokened the general sorrow and gloom. All business was suspended, except the necessary preparations for the obsequies, and measures for testifying respect and veneration. Nought but lamentation was heard, accompanied with praises of the deceased, even from those who had been his bitterest political opponents. As Dr. Hosack remarks in the Appendix, a volume of inordinate size would be requisite to detail the numerous public testimonials of respect, paid to the memory of Governor Clinton, throughout the state and nation. The legislature of the state, the common councils of the cities of New-York and Albany, and most of the public institutions with which he had been connected, all met, and passed resolutions indicative of the profound regret they experienced at his loss, and the great respect they entertained for his character. Every funeral honour was paid to his memory that could be devised.

The personal appearance of Mr. Clinton was dignified and commanding. He was more than six feet in height, finely formed, and well proportioned. "His carriage was elevated, his movements deliberate and dignified, sometimes manifesting great earnestness, but never precipitancy." His head was remarkable for the great breadth and height of his forehead, and was covered by hair of a brownish colour. His complexion was brilliant; his nose Grecian; his lips thin, and of that peculiar configuration, says Dr. Hosack, that some critics have deemed indicative of eloquence. His eyes were of a dark hazel colour, lively and expressive, and the muscles of his face were strongly marked, especially when he was conversing, or speaking in public.

Having thus given a description of the outward man, we may now consider the features of his mind, and view his character as a public officer, and a private individual.

In regarding it in the former light, we must first consider him

in the capacity of a public benefactor; for it is as such that he is entitled to the brightest and most durable renown. However opinion may differ with regard to his political conduct, no one can refuse to acknowledge the extent and importance of his national services, and, we may assert with confidence, that if the inhabitants of the state of New-York were called upon to decide on the person to whom they are most deeply indebted, it would be conceded by them, with scarcely a dissenting voice, that De Witt Clinton is that man. His public career was one of unremitted devotion to the advancement of the interests, in an especial manner, of his native state; a devotion which no obstacles could chill, which no ingratitude, no perversion of the motives by which he was actuated, could destroy.

We have already mentioned, that the honour of being the originator of the canal project has been denied to Mr. Clinton, and though it is by no means our purpose to engage in the controversy upon that subject, which is nearly threadbare, we may be permitted to state what is said in relation to it by our author. After a laborious investigation, notwithstanding his partiality for the subject of his Memoir, he coincides in opinion with those who have impugned Mr. Clinton's title to the palm; but to whom he accords it, we cannot positively decide. The contributors to canal navigation in the state of New-York, he distributes into four great classes: in the first, he enumerates those who foresaw and predicted, from the general face of the country, the union of the lakes, the creeks and the rivers of the west, by measures calculated to remove obstructions, improve the natural navigation then existing, and ultimately, by different outlets, to connect the same with the ocean. In this class, are Cadwalader Colden the elder, Sir Henry Moore, George Washington, George Clinton, and Gouverneur Morris. The second class is composed of those who made the proposal to join, by means of canals, the waters of the Hudson to those of Lake Ontario, or Lake Erie, or both; such as Christopher Colles, Jeffrey Smith, Elkanah Watson, Philip Schuyler, Jesse Hawley, and Joshua Foreman. The third consists of those, who, in the year 1810, were chiefly instrumental in effecting a direct internal communication between Lake Erie and the Atlantic, among whom, Thomas Eddy, Jonas Platt, and De Witt Clinton, occupy the most conspicuous place. The fourth class comprises all those who have promoted and assisted the great work by their influence, their labour, or their purses, the number of whom is too considerable for a specification of names.

But it is not only by his exertions to promote the cause of internal improvement, that Mr. Clinton is distinguished as a public benefactor; his connexion with various religious and charitable institutions gives him still further claim to that most honoura-

ble of all titles. In every possible way he endeavoured to evince the sincere and ardent desire he felt to advance the welfare of the human race, for he was not one of those who imagine they have performed every thing that duty requires, when they have laboured for the happiness of those with whom they are immediately connected either by social or political ties. He was one of the most uniform and efficient supporters of that noble institution, the New-York Hospital, and mainly contributed by his exertions, which were zealously seconded by the late eminent philanthropist, Thomas Eddy, to the passage of an act of the legislature, in consequence of which the Bloomingdale Asylum for the Insane was founded. The New-York Orphan Asylum also lies under great obligation to him for the patronage of the state which it enjoys. His services in behalf of the common school fund, were of the most efficient kind. He was one of the founders of that system, and continued through every stage of its progress to assist it by his advice and his efforts. This fund is now superior in extent to any in the Union, affording an annual revenue of more than 200,000 dollars. It was at Mr. Clinton's suggestion, that the Lancasterian method was adopted, which he considered, to use his own words in his speech to the legislature in 1818, "an invaluable improvement, which, by a wonderful combination of economy in expense, and rapidity of instruction, has created a new era in education." He was also one of the founders of the Free School societies of the Presbyterian faith, of which class of Christians he was a sincere but liberal member. This was formed for promoting the education of youth as preparatory to the ministry, and over it, Mr. Clinton presided from May 1824, till the period of his death. He also interested himself warmly and efficaciously in the Infant School Society of New-York, an institution under the superintendence of ladies, and the first of the kind established in the United States. He endeavoured, when governor, to ameliorate the condition of the Indian tribes, by every means in his power, and held various conferences with some of them in order to effect that object; nor did the unhappy sons of Africa want reason to entertain towards him feelings of affection and gratitude.

In 1808, he was instrumental in obtaining an appropriation of 100,000 dollars from the state legislature, for the purpose of fortifying the city of New-York; and was president of the board of commissioners, whose duty it was to superintend the works that were in operation on Staten Island, and other places in its vicinity, for the defence of the city.

The promotion of agriculture, was one of the chief and earliest objects of his solicitude, and in his very first message as governor, he extolled its advantages, and pressed upon the legislature

the consideration of measures for its support. The consequence of his exertions, was the passage of an act in 1819 for the formation of agricultural societies, whereby, as Dr. Hosack remarks, though all the benefit may not have accrued that was anticipated, a salutary impulse has been given to the system of husbandry throughout the state of New-York, the good effects of which are experienced at the present day. Mr. Clinton was likewise an active member of the Society of Arts and Manufactures, "and always supported the propriety of encouraging all measures by which we might be rendered independent of foreign aid, though he was sceptical of that policy, which looked to the government for its interference and protection."

As an acknowledgment of their gratitude for the services of De Witt Clinton, in relation to the canal, the merchants of New-York presented to him two superb silver vases, on the 19th of March 1825, on which occasion an address was delivered by Mr. Isaac S. Hone, to which the governor returned an appropriate and feeling answer.

The political character of Mr. Clinton has been variously represented, as that of every prominent man will be: whilst his enemies have reviled it for inconsistency, accusing him of having abandoned his party during the canvass which resulted in the second election of Mr. Madison, and after his elevation to the governorship of his state, his friends have been equally zealous in emblazoning it as a model every way worthy of imitation. It would be a useless task to examine now the justness of the charges which have been preferred against him; it is enough for us to know, that although for a time his political horizon may have been overcast, the varying clouds were in the end entirely dispersed, and that the period of his administration is at present almost universally conceded to form the brightest epoch in the history of the state of New-York. His career as chief magistrate, as well as in the station of mayor, was marked, says Dr. Hosack, by incorruptible integrity, inflexible firmness, unshaken personal courage, and a vigilant attention to the interests of the state and of the city. In the latter capacity, of mayor, he extorted eulogy from all, by the dignity, the ability and despatch, with which he performed the functions of presiding officer of the common council, and the care he took of the municipal concerns of the city.

As a judge, his learning and ability have formed the theme of lofty encomium with those who were qualified to speak upon the subject. He was called to perform judicial duties both by virtue of his office when mayor of New-York, and when a senator in the state legislature as a member of the court of Errors, the ulterior tribunal of the judiciary of New-York. In the Appendix, there is a letter from the Hon. Richard Riker, the present re-

corder of New-York, written in answer to an epistle addressed to him by Dr. Hosack, requesting his opinion as to the judicial character of Mr. Clinton, from which we extract the following passage :

"Mr. Clinton was the chief magistrate of our city for nearly ten years. As such he was the presiding judge in the court of General Sessions. During almost the whole of that period I was the district attorney, and conducted before him the criminal business of the city. You ask me to give his character in the highly important station of judge. My answer is,—that he was, in my opinion, one of the safest judges that ever presided in a court of criminal jurisdiction. He was patient—discriminating—master of all the great principles of criminal law—severe when justice required it, but always inclined to the side of mercy."

His judicial opinions have received lofty commendation from some of the most distinguished lawyers of the day. In the Appendix, two letters are inserted concerning them, one from the celebrated Chancellor Kent, and the other from Counsellor Sampson : the former says—

"Though I cannot subscribe to all their conclusions, yet you will find them to have been ably written, and they do much credit to his vigorous power of reasoning, and the force and fervour of his style. Some of them are models of judicial and parliamentary eloquence, and they all relate to important questions affecting constitutional rights and personal liberty."

Mr. Sampson says—

"Mr. Clinton most undoubtedly was master of the great and leading principles of the laws and constitutions of his country, and of general jurisprudence ; and when questions of difficulty came before him, there was none that could better or more promptly seize the true bearings of the case, and place it on its true foundation, and by the force of a discriminating and unsophisticated judgment, clear it from all perplexing embarrassments. The law never suffered by any judgment or opinion delivered by him, but often acquired additional dignity from his manly and liberal expositions. In moral courage to withstand all undue influence, Mr. Clinton was characteristically and intrinsically strong."

The laws of New-York are indebted to him for many valuable improvements ; and among them, the removal of the disabilities to which the Roman Catholics were made liable in imitation of the English law, entitles his name to enduring gratitude and respect from the professors of that faith in particular, and from all the friends of liberality and religious freedom in the country.

During the last war, throughout the course of which he filled the office of mayor, frequent occasion was afforded him of evincing his patriotism, and his firmness in supporting the laws and preserving the peace of the community. Apprehensive lest the scenes of riot and bloodshed which had occurred in Baltimore might be enacted in New-York, he prepared a system of police regulations which was adopted by the common council, and so executed, that the tranquillity of the city was maintained. He associated himself constantly with the committee of defence appointed by the corporation, and at one time tendered his services

to the governor in his military capacity of major-general in the militia. Governor Tompkins at first hesitated, assigning as his reason for so doing, that Mr. Clinton was a very young major-general, and that calling him into active service would be contrary to etiquette, and might probably offend older militia generals, whom he did not deem it altogether proper or prudent to employ: finally, however, he desired the late Thomas Addis Emmet, through whom Mr. Clinton had preferred his request, to inform him, that he might be called upon should the enemy land in the vicinity of New-York, and accordingly should hold himself prepared.

There is one trait in the character of Mr. Clinton, his devotion to literature and science, which individuated him in an honourable manner from the generality of American statesmen and lawyers, whose time is too often entirely occupied by their public or professional duties. Every moment that he could snatch from his necessary avocations, was bestowed upon the cultivation of his mind, and no one was ever more creditably ambitious of the character of a man of science and letters. He was particularly conversant with several of the physical sciences, such as zoology, botany, and mineralogy, at the same time that his attainments in the classics, and belles lettres generally, were great. He always read with a pencil in his hand, and was in the habit of noting in his common-place book every fact or principle that struck him as in any way important or worthy of remembrance; by which he was enabled to concentrate his rich fund of knowledge upon the different subjects of his more immediate pursuit. His library was extensive and well selected, and in it he spent those portions of time which others give up to the amusements of fashionable life. These he always avoided, considering them as "utterly incompatible with those pursuits and views that belong to a man who has at heart, his dignity of character, the higher interests of science, or his country's welfare." It is not, however, we presume, to be inferred from this, that he was an enemy to the more rational species of social intercourse, which all must acknowledge to be beneficial in various respects.

Mr. Clinton was a member of most of the scientific and literary institutions of his state, and other states of the Union, and an honorary member of many of the learned societies of Great Britain, and of the continent of Europe. He was the first president, and one of the founders of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New-York; he was also one of the early presidents of the New-York Historical Society, and one of its original members. He was an honorary member of the Linnæan and the Horticultural Societies of London, and of the Wernerian Society of Edinburgh, and maintained a correspondence with the late Sir James Edward

Smith, the learned president of the first, and with Mr. Knight, and Mr. J. Sabine, the able officers of the Horticultural institution.

He was also a member of the Academy of Arts of New-York, and delivered before it an excellent discourse. For many years he held the station of regent of the University, not only ex-officio as governor of the state, but from having been previously invested with it as a tribute to his talents and acquirements. In 1812, he was honoured by Queen's, now Rutgers College, of New-Jersey, with the degree of Doctor of Laws, and received the same compliment, in 1824, from Columbia College, his alma mater.

His productions are numerous, and, if collected, would form several volumes of considerable size. They consist chiefly of his speeches in the state legislature, and the senate of the United States, his speeches and messages as governor, his discourses before various literary, philosophical, and benevolent institutions, his addresses to the army during the late war, his communications concerning the canal, and his judicial opinions, besides many fugitive pieces, such as the review of Wilson's Ornithology, published in the American Medical and Philosophical Register, and his papers on the Basse of the Lakes, and on the Passenger Pigeon, in the New-York Medical and Physical Journal.

Of his speeches in the senate of the Union, the first, and one of the most able, was that delivered in 1802, upon Mr. Ross's famous resolution respecting the right of deposit at New-Orleans, in which he strenuously combated the attempt to effect a decision by arms of what negotiation might accomplish, and recommended the course that was pursued. His inaugural speech, as governor, in 1818, excited perhaps, more attention and encomium than any of his other papers whilst in that capacity. His succeeding messages are also excellent, both as to their design and their execution. According to Dr. Hosack, "they will ever be deemed models of their kind, and be referred to by the politician as successful evidences of the powerful mind and legislative wisdom of their author. Their style is manly and impressive, and they carry conviction by the logical accuracy and force of their details."

Of his discourses, the most celebrated are—that delivered before the New-York Historical Society, upon assuming the office of president, which "has been considered the most masterly and finished of his literary productions," and portrays the character of the tribe of Indians who are known by the name of the Five Nations—that pronounced before the Literary and Philosophical Society, which "furnishes abundant evidence of his multifarious reading, and extent of erudition;" and the address before the Academy of Fine Arts, which "may be deemed

almost equal, as a matter of composition, to any of his writings on any subject."

As to Mr. Clinton's style, Dr. Hosack says that he does not claim for him the graces of Goldsmith, or the classical purity of Addison, and that instances of carelessness and haste are to be remarked, but that if he does occasionally betray a want of elegance, he is, nevertheless, always clear and vigorous. As an instance of the great ease and rapidity with which he wrote, our author asserts it as a fact within his personal knowledge, that one of the most elaborate and finished of his messages to the legislature, cost him no more than the labour of twenty-four hours.

The manner of Mr. Clinton, when speaking in public, was slow and deliberate; his gestures were neither violent nor varied, and the tone of his voice was uniform, if not monotonous, but strong and manly. His discourses were remarkable for clear and logical arrangement, a forcible and perspicuous, and, at times, highly ornamented style, a felicity of illustration, and a cogency of reasoning, which rendered him one of the most influential and powerful speakers that New-York has possessed. He was endowed with the faculty, among the most valuable with which an orator can be gifted, of perceiving the effect of his words upon his auditory, to such a degree, that if we may credit his own assertion as recorded by Dr. Hosack, he could decide at the moment the probable result of his speech, and ascertain whether it would be more prudent to press an immediate decision of the question, or endeavour to have it deferred until he might be enabled to give it more efficacious support.

Mr. Clinton was an early riser, and exceedingly laborious in his habits. His moral character was unexceptionable. He was remarkable for generosity and charity, giving to the poor, as well as to public institutions, with a liberality which surpassed his means; for though he had numerous opportunities during his career in official stations of acquiring even affluence, yet he preferred imitating the example of those eminent men, among whose praises it has been recorded as not one of the least, that they resigned their dignities without having derived from them any benefit in a pecuniary point of view. In domestic life, he was urbane, cheerful, and kind; in his friendships, he was sincere and constant, sometimes, indeed, persevering in them after their objects had been rejected by the world, at the risk of forfeiting his political influence and standing in society. His apparent and alleged hauteur and distance of manners, Dr. Hosack affirms not to have been the result of arrogance, or self-conceit, but the consequence of long habits of abstraction, and a natural diffidence from which he never became free. "He scarcely entered a drawing-room," says his biographer, "where many persons were as-

sembled, without manifesting some emotion and embarrassment; even in the delivery of a public discourse, notwithstanding his long habits of public speaking, like his great predecessor Hamilton, he never rose without excitement, almost as great as that imputed to the Roman orator." Mr. Clinton never courted popularity by that indiscriminating condescension and obsequiousness, those adulatory blandishments and insinuating attentions, which are too often the means that politicians employ for the purpose of gaining their ends. Still less did he descend to those arts, of a more reprehensible and degrading character, that are sometimes put in practice. He might have repeated, after Boileau's Damon,—

"Je ne sais ni tromper, ni feindre, ni mentir;
Et, quand je le pourrois, je n'y puis consentir."

The charges of pride and ambition which his enemies have preferred against him, Dr. Hosack extenuates by saying, that the first was but the just consciousness of his worth, and the second but that moderate aspiration for well-merited honours, without which none ever yet attained to eminence and utility.

The faults of Mr. Clinton are not revealed by Dr. Hosack, with the exception of one or two that we have just noticed, which he has extenuated in the true spirit of an eulogist. We therefore shall not make any search for the purpose of discovering what they were, as we doubt much whether it would serve any good purpose to disclose them here. It is a task incumbent upon the biographer, and not upon the reviewer, to state and animadvert upon the defects as well as to laud the merits of a great man, in order that posterity may thereby be induced to shun the former and to imitate the latter. We have accomplished our duty by endeavouring to give an adequate insight into Dr. Hosack's book, which was the object we had in view in this article, as we originally announced, and not to write a life of Mr. Clinton farther than as the subject of the volume in question.

Mr. Clinton furnishes another instance of the truth of what has been remarked concerning the difference between the reputation of an eminent personage during his life and after death. It would indeed be a curious speculation to investigate the history of those distinguished characters who have enacted the most prominent parts in the great drama of life, for the purpose of discovering how far their posthumous fame could be identified with that which they possessed when in existence. We hazard little in asserting that in few instances would it be a task of easy performance; in many it would be impossible. Fortuitous or adventitious circumstances will often be the means of exalting an individual to eminence and celebrity, whose fall, when they cease to operate and sustain him in his position, will be violent and de-

plorable in proportion to the height he had previously attained
Most of those tyrants and heroes,

“From Macedonia’s madman to the Swede,”

before whom flattery and adulation were offered up as incense at the shrine of a deity, as long as the dread of their power, or blindness produced by the glare of their exploits, extorted them from their fellow-creatures, have been “damn’d to everlasting fame,” as soon as the influence of those motives had subsided, and every opprobrious epithet has been heaped upon their names that hatred or horror could suggest. Contemplate for instance the career of Sejanus the favourite of the Emperor Tiberius, who was elevated by that remorseless despot to the second dignity of the empire, and swayed in fact, if not apparently, the sceptre of the Roman world. During the continuance of his power and greatness nought was heard with respect to him save boundless panegyric: every tongue was employed in sounding his praises, every pen in recording his deeds. Men swore by his statues, and honours were paid to him scarcely inferior to those accorded to the gods—Behold the reverse of this picture when the favour of his master was forfeited, and he had undergone an ignominious death in consequence of his commands. In the words of Juvenal—

“———Descendunt statuae, restemque sequuntur,

Jam stridunt ignes, jam foliis atque caminis
Ardet adoratum populo caput, et crepit ingens
Sejanus—”

his statues were thrown down and made fuel for bonfires, or melted in the furnace, and his memory was spared no indignity nor insult that the most diabolical fury could supply. To descend to later times, who for instance would recognise the fourteenth Louis of France in the character bestowed upon him by posterity, after perusing accounts of that homage, that almost adoration, which he received when at the acme of his power and grandeur. For other examples the page of history needs only be consulted, and while it furnishes them in numbers, it also affords abundant evidence that many, very many, of those who have been reviled and persecuted during their lives, have become, as soon as consigned to the grave, objects of enthusiastic encomium. This revolution of sentiment happens especially with regard to statesmen and civil heroes in general, if we may give them that denomination, who have been the chiefs of a party or a faction, and the upholders of one set of principles. Those who are their opponents appear to deem it almost a duty to set every action in the most odious light, to paint their characters in the most revolting colours. They are continually venting their feelings of hostility towards them in words similar to those employed by the Italian poet Guarini, to indicate the “virtues” of courtiers—

“L'ingannare, il mentir, la frode, il furto.
 E la rapina di pietà vestita,
 Crescer col danno e precipizio altrui,
 E far à se de l'altrui biasmo onore,
 Son le virtù de quella gente infida.”

Censure is, indeed, as it has been well remarked, the tax which almost every one who occupies a large space in the public eye, must pay for his eminence.—

“Oh ! place and greatness, millions of false eyes
 Are stuck upon thee ! volumes of report
 Run with these foul and most contrarious guests
 Upon thy doings ! thousand 'scapes of wit
 Make thee the father of their idle dream,
 And rack thee in their fancies.”

The statesman or politician who should not pursue the even tenor of his way, heedless of the obloquy which his very station must excite, but should endeavour to regulate his conduct by the observations and comments made upon it by ignorance or malignity, would soon find it necessary to abandon his post.

For proofs of the truth of this assertion it is only requisite to refer to the political history of England, where they are furnished in the accounts given of the career of almost all the ministers who have had a voice in her national councils. The opposition and difficulties they have been obliged to encounter, have generally been of so formidable a kind, as to warrant the apology made for their conduct by Pope, even when it might be liable to misadversion.—

“Our ministers like gladiators live ;
 'Tis half their business blows to ward, or give :
 The good their virtue would effect, or sense,
 Dies between exigents and self-defence.”

Perhaps the strongest case is that of Sir Robert Walpole, who, during his entire political course, suffered as much obloquy of every species, as could possibly be heaped upon a single individual. If we were to form our estimate of his character from the *Dissertation on Parties*, or the philippics that were delivered against him in Parliament, we should be induced to consider him as one of the most unprincipled and profligate intriguers whose names sully the historic page. How different is the opinion to be conceived of his qualities, if we credit the descriptions given of them, even by his most virulent enemies, after death had caused a cessation of that envy and ill-will which distorted his every act and word ! Even Lord Chatham, perhaps the most vehement of his antagonists, lived to acknowledge the extent and importance of his services, and the benefits which accrued from his long and pacific ministry. Thus Rufus King, the great rival for a long time of Mr. Clinton, in the political discus-

sions which agitated the state of New-York, confessed, when ambassador at the court of St. James, in the course of some remarks upon the grand canal celebration, the exalted opinion he entertained of the talents and public usefulness of the latter. "He rejoiced," says Mr. Carter, in a letter to Dr. Hosack contained in the Appendix, "that Mr. Clinton had outlived the prejudices and passions of his opponents, and was in the full enjoyment of that popularity and public confidence which he had so justly merited. In a word, Mr. King spoke of the late governor in terms of the most liberal and unqualified praise."

It may not, perhaps, be here altogether irrelevant to adduce one instance of the manner in which the expressions of Walpole were perverted from their original sense, and made to bear a meaning wide of that which he intended to convey. Every one is doubtless acquainted with the sentiment attributed to him, that "*all men have their price*," which has engendered so much contumely, and to which allusion has been so often made, both in prose and verse, especially by Pope in the lines—

"Would he oblige me? let me only find,
He does not think me what he thinks mankind."

But *Coxe* in his *Memoirs* has explained in the most satisfactory manner the signification of what Sir Robert originally uttered, and vindicated him from the stigma of casting a universal slur upon his fellow-creatures. His real phrase was entirely altered by the omission of the word *those*, which related to the pretended patriots of the day, of whom he expressed his opinion by saying, "*all those men have their price*," which words were eagerly seized upon by his enemies, and perverted in such a way, as to give them an indiscriminate application.

We cannot conclude this imperfect outline, without making the most formal acknowledgments to Dr. Hosack, for his beautiful volume. His Memoir is copious, but not tedious, and his general panegyric so sustained by his documents, that he may be said to have spoken as well from the convictions of his own enlightened judgment, as from the impulses of generous friendship. We could have wished to bring our readers more particularly acquainted with the nature and value of the materials which he has accumulated in his Appendix; but we may the less lament the want of space for this purpose, since we can be confident that no inquirer into the life of Clinton, or the history of the New-York canals, will fail to consult the whole of his meritorious work. The quarto is truly magnificent; a splendid specimen of typography, and altogether, considering the time in which it was prepared and issued, a sort of literary phenomenon. It might be difficult, at first, to conceive the bare possibility of the execution of such a task, so speedily, by an eminent physician, who is not

only largely engaged in the practice and study of his profession, but involved in much of the literary and scientific action of New-York. His example is a fresh illustration of the truth of Madame Roland's remark—"Leisure will always be found by persons who know how to employ their time. Those who want time, are the people who do nothing."

ART. X.—*System of Geography, by M. HARTT-BRUN.* Vol. VI. Book civ—cxiv. *Russia.* Boston: Wells & Lilly. 1828.

THE origin of the Russian nation is involved in the obscurity which hangs over most events belonging to a remote antiquity. Even the question, to what race of men the first inhabitants of European Scythia or Sarmatia belonged, is one, which the investigations of modern inquirers have never been able to answer. "Of Russia, strictly so called," says Schözer, the most indefatigable of inquirers, "the ancients, from Herodotus to Charlemagne, knew as little as of *Otaheite*." The names of Sarmatia and Scythia are but vague appellations, applied to unknown regions in the North.

It is, therefore, impossible for the historian to trace the descent of the Russian nation from any race of the continent of Asia. Whatever may have taken place in the period, to which no Russian annals ascend, and respecting which no allusions of a decisive nature are to be found in foreign historians, to us the Russians appear in the light of aboriginal inhabitants of the provinces, which now constitute the centre of the great northern empire. From the earliest period they have had a distinct language and character; they have no community with the Tartars, or with the Goths; they were distinct from the Huns, though they may have served under the banners of Attila, in the time of his glory, and may afterwards have received among themselves the remains of a nation, whose season of power had been so short, and yet so destructive. Indeed it is possible to trace to the central provinces of Russia, the remains or the exiles of other nations. But the emigrants seem never to have subverted or even impaired the nationality of the original inhabitants; but rather to have become incorporated with them, with the entire loss of their own distinctive character. The Russian, therefore, is of all the present European nations the one, which may lay the safest and best grounded claims to antiquity of residence in its present abodes. In the darkness of ancient centuries, extended over vast plains, into which the genius of Greece and the arms of Rome never penetrated, this

people were slowly ripening to nationality during the ages of classic splendour. They were still immature, when Solon gave laws to the Athenians, and Rome strove after principles of public justice and liberty. If the *Rhoxolains** were a branch of them, they were not wholly unknown in the period of the wars of Mithridates; and in the times of the Roman emperors they sometimes appeared at the mouths of the Danube, sometimes scaled the Carpathian mountains; and the province of Mœsia† was not safe against their precipitate and careless valour.

The period, when the Russians first appeared in authentic history, cannot be determined with precision. Till the middle of the ninth century, it is on all hands agreed that their history has no authentic existence. But even this earliest season in which some facts appear supported by various testimony, is yet involved in a degree of uncertainty, which nothing but the most careful criticism can in any degree dispel. The original manuscript of the chronicles of Nestor is no longer to be found; and there are so many alterations and interpolations in the work as it now exists, that it is difficult to separate the genuine from the false. Besides, who was this monk of the eleventh century, to whom Providence has conceded the singular honour of being almost the sole depositary of the regular history of the early period of his nation? The accounts of the monk of Kiew coincide in many things with those of the Byzantine historians. Did he then draw his information exclusively from original sources, or was he guided in his inquiries by the writers of the eastern empire? Could there have been any written document in existence among the Russians on which he may have founded his narrative? Does not the time which intervened between the age of Nestor and the period assigned for the foundation of the Russian empire, leave room to doubt the security of oral tradition? And could a monk of Kiew be accurately informed of what passed at Novgorod? It is evident, that Nestor was not unacquainted with foreign literature. Are we to infer from it, that his mind was more cultivated, was better able to register the course of events? Of

* The *x* is to be pronounced as *ss*, and the name of Russians may therefore be the same with that of the Rhoxolani, or Rhossolani of antiquity. Such is Malte-Brun's theory.

† Taciti Hist. I. 79.

‡ The work of greatest critical value on Nestor is undoubtedly that of the learned and most industrious Schlözer; Nestor's *Russische Annalen in ihrer Slavonischen Ursprache verglichen, von Schreibfehlern und Interpolationen möglichst gereinigt, erläutert und übersetzt*, 1802—1809. No man surpassed Schlözer in power of application, in energy of will, as displayed in literary exertions, or in independence of mind. His character was sternly singular.

§ M. Levesque urges the coincidence in the narrative of Nestor and the Byzantine historians, as an evidence of the accuracy of the former. We consider it far more probable, that the monk had read the account of the Byzantine writers.

shall we suppose, that he was led by the influence of foreign forms to give to Russian history an aspect of greater certainty than belonged to it? The accounts of Nestor may therefore be of doubtful credit, as it respects the events, which were furthest removed from his own age; but while they have great value for the whole period through which they extend, they are of less questionable credibility in all that relates to the period immediately preceding the times in which he lived.

Tradition traces the foundation of Kiew to the middle of the fifth century; the historians of the eastern empire, not less than Nestor, have preserved the accounts of an expedition, which is said to have been made by its princes against Constantinople† in the ninth century. Nor does the commercial republic of Novgorod lay claim to a less ancient existence. Established on the banks of the Volchova and not far from Lake Ilmen, its situation explains its commerce with the North along the coasts of the Baltic; and its merchants exchanged at Constantinople their furs and honey and wax, the produce of their fisheries, and perhaps also slaves, for the wines and cloths of Grecian manufacture. The power and the wealth of the republic were conspicuous even in these earliest times. Their successors reduced many of their neighbours to subjection: and of the surrounding nations, whom they inspired with terror, they proudly demanded—“Who will dare to attack God and the great Novgorod?”

But a change was impending, which seems to have proceeded from those domestic grievances and defects, which are the result of age. What an idea of the antiquity of the Russian nation do we thus receive? Its first distinct historical celebrity is connected with the downfall of a republican state; the new dynasty of princes elevated its grandeur on the ruins of liberty. It is said that in some of the oldest temples of Egypt, the materials, used in building the fabrics, which are now standing, show evident signs of having been previously used for some architectural purpose; the oldest buildings of the oldest civilized country are then constructed of ruins. So too in Russia; the history of the modern principality begins with the subversion of an ancient constitution; and that, not by any concussion from external violence, but by a domestic revolution.

The constitution of Novgorod is not known; but prosperity produced divisions, and divisions terminated in weakness. The Varangians, the pirates of the Baltic, men who seem rather to

* Nestor was born 1056, and lived at least till 1116. When an example of writing had once been given, followers were not wanting.

† The account may be found in Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Chap. LV. He calls this the first of four attempts made by the Russians of that age to plunder the treasures of Constantinople. It is very doubtful, if this expedition belongs to the history of the Russians.

have been united by common habits than by common descent, a people numerous and warlike, attacked the republic from the north. At the same time the Slavonian tribes of the south saw their liberties endangered by the Khozars, who were advancing from the shores of the Euxine. The citizens of Novgorod, being thus reduced to a state of danger and distress, voluntarily yielded up their liberties to foreign masters. A solemn deputation was sent to the sea-coast, and Riurick, or Rurik, with his two brothers and a large train of countrymen, came to rescue the Russian provinces from foreign invasion, and lay the foundations of an empire, which even yet does not seem to have reached its limits.

It was in 862, or more probably in 852, (for Russian chronology has little certainty before the year 879,*) that the Russian throne was established. The history of the kingdom of France dates from 843; but the reign of Hugh Capet dates only from 987. England was not united under one sovereign till 827. The glory of the house of Hapsburg reaches no farther than 1232; there was not even a duchy of Austria till 1156. The Prussian monarchy is but of yesterday. Thus it is apparent, that the foundation of the Russian throne, according to ancient chronicles, and the indirect evidence of the Greek historians, extends almost as far into the middle ages, as the establishment of the French kingdom, or the union of the Heptarchy of England, while it surpasses in antiquity almost every other existing government in Europe.†

With respect to the origin of the earliest Russian dynasty, it may be well to separate the doubtful from the certain. That a republic should invite three brothers to annihilate its liberties and reign with unmitigated sovereignty is improbable, though not absolutely without example. Nor can it be decided, nor is it of the least moment for the subsequent events in Russian history to decide, to what nation the family of Rurik originally belonged. Nestor says they came from the north. In that case they were from the country of the Normans, perhaps Swedes. That with Rurik two brothers should have come also, and established principalities, should have died within two years, and thus left Rurik lord of a vast and undivided territory, is not impossible, yet in itself not natural. That some nobles of his retinue should have gained of him permission to descend the Dnieper and attack Constantinople, and should have appeared before that city with five hundred vessels, is so inconsistent with the rest

* The remark is that of Schlözer, who complains of the uncertainty of chronology in the Russian annals.

† Sweden may, perhaps, continue its history to an earlier period. But it hardly enjoyed a well established government, before the last years of the tenth century.

of the narration, that the inference is forced upon the inquirer, that the *Roses* of the Greeks were not the Russians of history.

The points on which reliance may be placed, are simple and sufficient. In the course of the ninth century the Slavonian tribes in the heart of Russia were united under one sovereign; their dominion* gradually extended to Kiew; the name of Russians, which had long existed, became a general appellation; and finally the family, which traces its origin from Rurik, possessed the dominion of Russia for more than seven hundred years.

It seems to us, almost, as if Russia formed a connecting link between ancient and modern history. France, Spain, and England, were all conquered, and adopted the manners, the language, and the science of their conquerors. In the heart of Germany, the Teutonic race preserved itself free from the loss of its language and its nationality. Have not the nations of Teutonic descent, proved, by the results of their influence on human events and intelligence, that as a mercy and a benefit to the world, their name and nation were preserved unsubdued and unmixed? Have not some of the most valuable principles in learning, in philosophy, in religion, and, we may add, in the imaginative arts, been the results of their independence? Though it was long before they learned to unite the elegances of other times, with native dignity and the acquisitions of science, yet have they not at last shown themselves strong in the depth of sentiment, in earnest truth, and moral sublimity? And is it going too far to hope, that one branch of the great Slavonic family is yet to develop an independent culture; that a nation, which has its unity and identity confirmed and endeared by a community of language, of religious faith, (and that faith a peculiar form of Christianity,) and of historical recollection, a nation placed on lands which join the Caspian and the White Sea, the Baltic, and the most important basin of the Mediterranean, a nation which is joined by an undivided interest, occupying a soil intersected by the largest rivers of Europe, and offering great and increasing facilities of navigation by canals, that unite its streams, a nation which reaches from the country of the vine and olive, to the latitudes of perpetual frost, and thus unites within itself all the conditions of national strength, commercial independence, and intellectual vigour—is it unreasonable confidence in an overruling Providence, to trust that the future course of such a nation is to be marked by results favourable to the best interests of humanity? That its copious and harmonious language is to become the voice of the muses, and the instrument of science? That intelligence is to find a way into its healthful and fertile valleys,

* Luden's Allgemeine Geschichte der Völker und Staaten Dritter Theil p 316.

and that religion and civil liberty are eventually to win new trophies in these immense regions of ancient darkness? The Russian empire, like the United States, if comparatively weak for purposes of foreign aggression, is invincible within itself. Its soil is capable of sustaining, without supposing an uncommon degree of culture, a population of a hundred and fifty millions; the most vigorous government may find enough to do in controlling the members of this vast body politic; the most ambitious can have within such limits more than abundant means of gratifying an unwearied activity. The empire already covers a vast extent of territory than any which the annals of the world commemorated, except it be the short empire of the Zingis. Where every motive of philanthropy, and of the true passion for glory, impels to the diffusion of sciences and arts, the advancement of the purposes of peace and intelligence, the full display of the great and good qualities, which are in the ancient race that has held the north from immemorial ages, it seems not an unreasonable expectation, that the voice of humanity, of justice, and of reason, will be heard. It may be within the purposes of a controlling Providence, that the agency of the Russian empire shall spread respect for Christianity through the hearts of idolatrous nations. Its emissaries have already reared the temples of a purer religion among the Tartar states of Siberia, and planted the cross on the mountains of the remote Kamschatka. The traveller, as he wanders towards the pole, in latitudes where corn is ripened in a day, (a day that extends over weeks,) hears the sounds, and sees the character of a Christian worship; and monasteries are established even in the remote isles of the White Sea: the shores of the Caspian have ceased to acknowledge a Mahomedan master, and the ancient fable of the prisoner of Mount Caucasus, the purest and most sublime invention of ancient mythology, has been but the faint image and shadowing forth of more glorious truths, which are making themselves felt and acknowledged in the very heart of the mysterious land of classic superstition.

But if, on the contrary, the form of autocratic government should prove incompatible with the diffusion of knowledge—and it certainly is unfavourable to it—and if the government of Russia should fail to become possessed of a character, insuring the free development of national energy, and the strict accountability of public servants, we may then anticipate in the worst result, a new emigration of the nations, a new subversion of the ancient order of things; perhaps another general plague, like the terrible devastations of the great destroyer of the middle ages. What force could the western nations oppose to the gradual advancement of Russian supremacy? The capital of Poland is nearly the centre of Europe, and it is in the hands of the Russians; Austria has provinces which are said to sigh for the yoke of Slavonic

masters, rather than yield allegiance to the house of Hapsburg; Prussia holds the ports through which some weighty provinces of the mighty state must have their intercourse with the sea; and probably the prosperity of both parts would be promoted, by a union of the seaboard and the interior, under the stronger government. The Wallachians, the Moldavians, are they not of the same religious faith, and anxious to be permanently placed under the authority of a power which is able to extend over them the broad shield of sufficient protection? It is not many years since Europe shrieked at the aggressions on Poland; yet now a large part of the old Polish provinces rejoice in being reunited to their ancient brethren: the heart of the kingdom, the grand duchy of Warsaw, has not for centuries enjoyed such tranquillity, such security, or such general prosperity, as at present; the Polish provinces of Prussia lament their separation from their fellow-citizens of the old republic. Where, then, is the barrier against Russia on her frontiers? On the north she extends to the poles, and the conquest of Finland has made her inaccessible from the Scandinavian peninsula; on the east her limit is the Pacific, unless, indeed, we take into account her possessions in North America, and acknowledge her for our immediate neighbour, or as separated from us only by a disputed tract. On the south, she has not a neighbour to whom she is not herself most formidable. Caucasian countries and the keys of Persia are already hers; no vessels sail on the Caspian but by her permission; she holds more than half the shores of the Black sea; the Turkish power may yet shine forth in temporary lustre before it expires; but religious and national enthusiasm, and personal bravery, cannot resist the influence of causes which are constantly operating, and always increasing in power. Thus, Russia, inaccessible on the south, east, and north, stands in a menacing attitude towards the south-east and the west of Europe. Did not Peter the Great wish to become a state of the German empire? Has not a part of the Baltic coast belonging to Prussia been repeatedly grasped at? Did not Alexander, the wise, the temperate, the forbearing Alexander, accept from his suffering and prostrate ally, a portion of coveted territory in Galicia? Did he not, even after the peace of Tilsit, partake in the spoils of his unhappy associate in arms? The memory of these things has not perished: has the spirit which dictated them become purity? Has justice entrenched herself in firmer sanctuaries? Has the consciousness of moral obligation so far increased in force, that the appearance of a tyrant, on a powerful throne, would no longer perplex monarchs with a fear of change?

These are views which it is painful to pursue. The statesman that believes in human virtue, yet seeks for a guarantee of his rights in human interests and in sufficient strength to repel unjust aggressions. It is painful to suppose that the balance of power

in the north is so far destroyed, that the strongest hope of security lies in the wisdom of governments, the personal virtues of sovereigns, and the cordial union of the weaker nations.

But it is said, that the Russian empire is a large mass, which will of itself fall asunder. And why will it fall asunder? Is there not the tie of kindred in the great nucleus of the empire? Is not the whole mass well annealed and firmly joined? Is it not cut off and separated from the rest of Christendom by its peculiar church discipline? Is it not one and undivided by its descent? Is it not bound together in the closest bonds by having the same military heroes, the same saints, the same recollections, civil and sacred? Next to France, it is of all the states of Europe the one which is safest against division. How much more secure in its unity is Russia than Austria! Of the Poles, the Russians, the Hungarians, the Bohemians, the Germans, the Illyrians, and the Lithuans, which by their motley union constitute the ill-assorted mosaic of the great central sovereignty, how many at present dislike the Austrian suzerainty! Will Hungary submit to be a dependency on a country of far less natural resources? Will the beautiful and fertile Bohemia consent to the annihilation of its language, its national laws and constitution, its time-hallowed liberties? Will Russians prefer the sway of a foreign power when the glory of their kindred is the ruling star? Will Poles desire to remain divided from Poles? Yet we believe Austria secure, except from some general convulsion. Prussia, too, labours under infinitely greater danger of dismemberment than Russia. We believe the idea, that Russia will of itself break in pieces, to be unfounded in the history or the character of the component parts of that empire.

But still it is so vast, so unwieldy!—And is it more easy to tear a member from a leviathan than a fly? Are the component parts of a beast less firmly knit together, because they are large and massive? It is a clear lesson of history that large states hold together, even long after wisdom has departed from the councils of their governors. The Roman empire never fell, till it was shaken from abroad. The Greek empire lasted a thousand years longer, and would in all probability, have lasted to this day, had it not received an irresistible shock from a nation, which as yet had no home. Now the danger which is said to hang over Russia, is solely from within itself.

What then is the conclusion of the whole argument? The history of the future cannot be read in the experience of the past. We can but trust in God that the new relations, which are rising in the world, will yet lead to a balance of power, dependent on the moral force of intelligence. We can but hope that a bright and peaceful futurity awaits a government, on which depends directly the happiness of sixty millions of men, a fifteenth part

of the human race ; a government which holds under its sway a large portion of the whole habitable globe ; a government whose soil is susceptible of infinite improvements, and whose population is but just beginning to be in some reasonable proportion to its natural abundance. The voice of Slavonic poetry has already been heard, and the lessons of the Russian bards, as far as known to us, are full of the noblest moral truths. The Russian press is now exceedingly active. Works on domestic history* are fast multiplying. The spirit of the nation is aroused by the recollections which go back for so many centuries. The pride of national feeling is deep and strong, and arts, and letters, and learning are fast making their way into the heart of a country, which from its earliest ages has possessed an aptitude for learning.

Nor should it be left out of view, that while the general administration is autocratic, the municipal regulations are not so ; that local customs, constitutions, and religious peculiarities, are respected, and that while there is no legitimate guarantee of civil liberty, and no exact limit to check the infringement of the imperial authority on particular privileges, yet practically the local institutions are respected ; and in an autocracy, of which the territory is immense, the hand of the sovereign is not felt in its rudeness except in his personal vicinity. It is in a small kingdom, that a tyrant is the most dreaded monster. In a large state the personal vices of the sovereign extend in their direct influence hardly beyond his immediate train.

They who limit their attention in Russian history to anecdotes which illustrate the debauchery of the court, the ignorance of the nobles, or the superstitions of the vulgar, seem to us to close their eyes on one of the greatest spectacles in universal history. The reception of the Russians into the pale of civilized christiandom may almost be said to form an epoch in the annals of human civilization, so wide are its influences, so powerful, grand, and beneficent the results to which it has led and may lead. What if the Russian state with its present power had adopted the manners and the religion of the east ? What safety would there now be to Christian Europe ? What increased dangers would not hang over its liberties ? He that can neglect such results in the delineation of strange and uncouth manners, or in the scandalous chronicles of the licentiousness of an immoral court, gives up the contemplation of the great revolutions in national destinies, to the unworthy office of analyzing the vices of individual debauchees. One of the noblest of the branches of knowledge, the history of nations, loses its dignity and value.

One word before we close : on the present war between the Turks and Russians. We are told by those who would place

* We may take opportunity to recur to the work of Karamsin, which deserves especial notice. A translation of it exists in the French as well as the German.

the affairs of Turkey in an advantageous light, that the Russians have been entirely worsted; that they have made an unsuccessful campaign; that they have in their turn suffered a defeat like that of the French* on their retreat from Moscow. An unsuccessful campaign!—Is it nothing to have gained complete possession of two of the largest and finest provinces of European Turkey? Is it nothing to have the undisputed control of the Danube for a great extent of the last part of its course, the mouth of the second river in Europe, the natural outlet of Hungarian commerce? Is it nothing to have taken several places of importance to the south of the Danube, and to have gained one fortress of the very first importance within less than two hundred miles of Constantinople itself? Is it nothing to have gained two fortresses on the eastern shore of the Black sea? Never was a first campaign of a Turkish war so pregnant with results. Has the siege of Silistria, or of Chumla been attended with unheard of losses? The siege of Oczakow lasted nearly six months, and the place was finally taken only by a most bloody storm. The siege of Ismail had lasted more than seven months, and little impression was made: Potemkin was playing at cards with his women, while they amused themselves with drawing cards and telling fortunes. “I predict,” said one of them to Potemkin, playfully interpreting his destiny, “you will take Ismail in ten days.”—“I know an oracle much nearer than that,” said Potemkin, and issued an order to Suwarrow to take it within three. On the evening before the storming Suwarrow addressed the troops in these words, “to-morrow early, an hour before day, I shall get up, shall say my prayers, wash myself, dress myself, then I shall crow like a cock, and do you storm according to my directions.” And in truth he did so; Suwarrow crowed like a cock and the soldiers stormed. Every body knows the result. The Russians lost 15,000 men, and avenged their loss in the blood of 35,000 Turks. The emperor Nicholas may not have soldiers to lose by tens of thousands; his mode of warfare may be less reckless than Potemkin’s; his generals less intrepid than the bold, crafty, daring, bloodyminded Suwarrow. Yet he has secured advantages of the greatest moment.

But we have been repeatedly told by the British journals, which almost all give *ex parte* statements of Russian power and policy, that the Turks will yet turn, or have turned, the fortunes of war, and will appear in the aspect of pursuers. Imagination figures the Russians as fleeing in confusion before the impetuous onset of Moslem-enthusiasm, and retreating beyond the

* We were amazed at finding this comparison in the London Quarterly. Misstatements so gross necessarily impair confidence in the general accuracy of that work. If passion is to take the place of judgment and party interests be pursued instead of truth, all truth, even in historical details and political intelligence, is at an end.

Danube, the Pruth, or who knows if not beyond the Dniester itself. The experiment has been tried already, in a former war. In 1811, Turkey, compared with Russia, was vastly more powerful than at present; for, in the French contest, Russia learned how to use her resources, as well as acquired vast increase of them. Now, in the campaign of 1811, the Turks, flushed by their successes in holding the Russians in check, and driving them across the Danube, engaged in pursuit. And, to their utter discomfiture. The Russians won new victories out of their own reverses.

It requires but little of the gift of prophecy to see, that the Turks in the present war cannot become the attacking party. Their modes of warfare consist in defending fortresses, and their most famous deeds of recent valour in the vigorous sallies on the besiegers. We are equally convinced, that peace will never be restored, but by means of concessions on the part of the Porte. It is now more than a century, since the opposing interests of the two powers have led to perpetual collisions. The dominion and free navigation of the Black Sea, have been pursued as important objects by the Russian government, with undeviating consistency. And every war, except the unfortunate one terminated by Peter on the banks of the Pruth, has ended in securing decided advantages to the Russians, in respect to purposes so intimately connected with the prosperity of the whole southern portion of the empire. The subversion of the Ottoman throne is hardly threatened. The great interests of Russia do not require it, and we may therefore believe the emperor to be sincere in denying any such attempt. The other objects are of vital importance to the whole country south and south-east of Moscow, to the vast regions of the Caucasus, and, remotely, to the Persian provinces of Russia. We do not believe, that, in any event, the interests of Russia require, or would permit, conquests beyond the Danube, though Moldavia and Wallachia may be retained.

It is the history of former wars, between the great eastern empires of Europe, which must guide us in forming our opinions on the present contest. The *arrondissement* and commercial independence of the southern portion of Russia, have been pursued with the same zeal as the conquests on the Baltic. It is from history also, that we are led to believe that Prussia will not exert itself to stay the progress of Russian ambition. The geographical position of Prussia, necessarily establishes its relations to the court of Petersburg, and those relations are now drawn more closely by treaties and family alliances. Even in the early wars of Catharine against the Turks, the wise and daring Frederick condescended to pay subsidies for the prosecution of it, and did not refuse the assistance, which was to advance successes, remotely injurious to himself. The aspect in which

even Frederick deemed it impolitic to present himself, will not be assumed by his successors. Nay, it is on record, that Frederick acted, in his expressions of favour to Russia, against his own convictions, and secretly strove to excite at Constantinople, a sensation, which he afterwards was compelled to deny, adding to his denial, the meanness of punishing the fidelity of his own agent.

We hardly take up a newspaper, without accounts of representations made to the Russian cabinet, of the renewed activity of the diplomatists, of the doubly foreboded interference of other powers. All these intimations may prove the anxiety of other powers; but if any rule for future contingencies can be deduced from past transactions, the efforts of other cabinets to influence Russia, will uniformly be resisted. It is no new affair for England and France to offer their kind mediation in adjusting the articles of peace between the two empires. But under what auspices, let us demand, did the Russians close the treaty of Kainardgi? And who was the mediator in the peace of Jassy? In the latter instance, terms were made by others for Austria, but Russia dictated her own, though a British fleet was sent to give energy to the appeal of British diplomacy, and Pitt himself was at the helm. In fine, if foreign ministers are to have any agency in forwarding a present cessation of arms, it will be, we venture to predict, by seducing the Turks to acquiescence in some of the most weighty demands of Nicholas, and not by intimidating the invaders.

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